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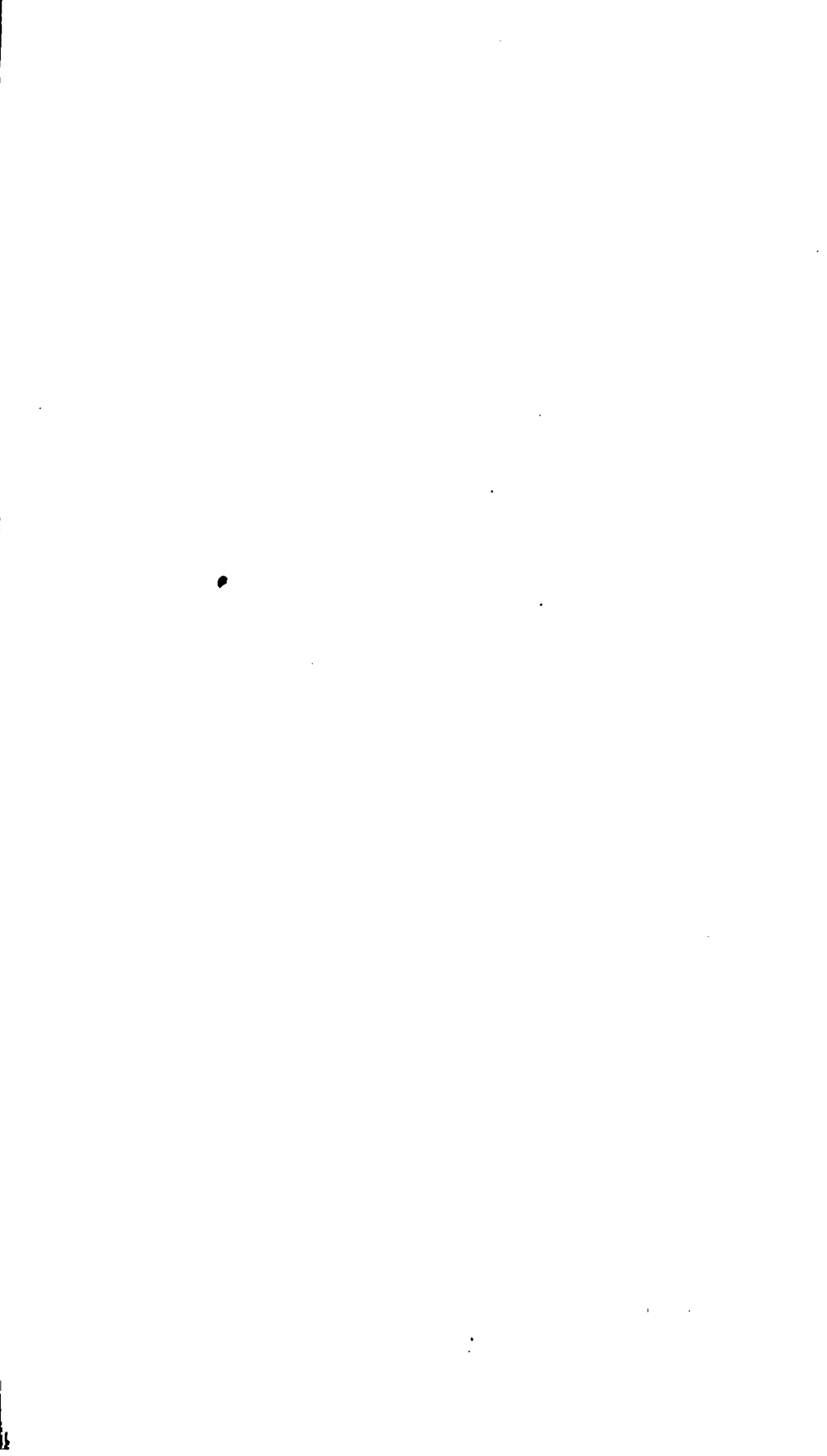
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1853

THE

the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. II.

1852—53.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY, BY

JOHN O'DALY, 9, ANGLESEA-STREET.

1855.



479

THE Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

NEW YORK
JAN 10
1881

PREFACE.

THE Second Volume of the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, being now brought to a conclusion, is dedicated to the Members as the fruit of much labour, willingly undertaken for the sake of the noble cause of Archæology. It is hoped that so far from being found inferior to its predecessor in any respect, a marked improvement will be acknowledged—due to the increased expenditure bestowed upon it, as well as to the anxious care of the Editors.

The aid afforded by Richard Hitchcock, Esq., in revising the sheets of the Part issued for 1852, is gratefully acknowledged, and the Committee have also to thank that gentleman for contributing towards the illustrations of the volume, as also to express their obligations to Albert Way, Esq., on behalf of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, to J. Richardson Smith, Esq., Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., and Richard R. Brash, Esq., Architect, for similar aid.

It will be perceived that the arrangement of the present volume is in some degree different from that of its predecessor—a condensed summary of the Proceedings of the Society being supplied for the years 1849, 1850, and 1851, whilst fuller reports of the General Meetings

which were held during the years 1852 and 1853 have been added to the more important communications which comprise the greater portion of the volume—thus affording a connected history of the Society's existence and progress, which has been taken up, and continued in its publications for the years 1854 and 1855, already issued to the Members.

Kilkenny, May, 1855.

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1852.

" If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne
cittie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these
lines, nor taken these paines."

CAMDEN.

VOL. II.—PART I.

DUBLIN :
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JOHN O'DALY, 9, ANGLESEA-STREET,
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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR 1852.

ANCIENT TAPESTRY OF KILKENNY CASTLE.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES.

AMONGST the minor paths of history, few lead to more inviting fields of research than those which introduce us to the *vie privée* of the people who lived in by-gone ages. When we can form to ourselves clear notions of how they dressed, and what they eat, of the mansions they lived in, and the furniture which formed the necessities or luxuries of high and low, history ceases to present us with mere abstractions of man and woman, we feel that we *know* the actors on the then stage of life, and take a proportionate interest in their doings and ultimate fates. It may by some be thought beneath the dignity of the Historic Muse to stoop to such apparent trifles—though I am far from being persuaded of the cogency of the arguments used in support of what is called the philosophic school of history: none, however, can deny that the legitimate province of such a Society as ours, embraces everything which can throw light on the past, or aid the historian in dashing off a true and vigorous picture of the age he may have selected as the subject of his pen.

It is very much to be feared that *comfort*, in the modern acceptation of the term, had no place in the vocabulary of the people who lived in what are called “the good old times.” Carpetted floors, and papered walls, air-tight window-cashes, and close-fitting doors they knew and recked not of. The chamber of the prince and the hut of the peasant were alike strewn with rushes; but, whilst the latter was obliged to brook the mud-built walls of his cabin, the former hid the rugged masonry of his castle hall with temporary hangings, which were, in general, carried from place to place in his train; the expensive nature of the material preventing those—except,

perhaps, Royalty itself—who boasted of more than one house, from providing each residence with furniture of this nature. A letter, which will be quoted in the course of this short memoir, proves that in the families of the first nobles of the realm this custom prevailed even so late as the termination of the 17th century; whilst many an old mansion exhibits, even at the present day, the storied tapestry which had adorned the more ancient residences of the family, in times long gone by. Many persons can well remember the “Tapestry Chamber” which existed in the Castle of Kilkenny, previously to the late remodelling of that building. Some of the present generation, however, have never seen the hangings of this room, which were taken down about twenty-eight years ago on the dismantling of the old edifice, and since that period have not been accessible to the public. The entire suit consists of six pieces, thirteen feet deep, and varying from fourteen to twenty-two feet in length. The “action” of the pictorial drama is, in some instances, rather obscure; but it is evident that it was meant to represent what the ancient Inventories still extant in the Ormonde Evidence Chamber, term “the story of Decius.” The sequence of the pieces is probably as follows:—

It will be recollected that P. Decius Mus, and T. Manlius Torquatus were consuls in the year before Christ 340, when the great Latin war called forth all the energies of the Roman Republic. The consuls, who conjointly led the Roman army against the Latins, are represented in the first of the large pieces as receiving from the pontifex maximus, or high priest, a statue of Mars holding in his hand a winged Victory, prophetic and emblematic of the event of the war. In the meantime it was revealed to Decius, in a night vision, that the army of one nation, and the general of the other, were devoted to the infernal deities, and to mother earth. He then held a conference with his brother consul, and it was agreed between them, that, if in the approaching battle either of them perceived his division wavering, he should devote himself to death for the safety of the army, and to secure victory to the side of the Romans: this forms the second subject. Decius, perceiving his wing yielding before the fierce onset of the Latin forces, immediately proceeded to devote himself, and, accordingly, in another piece he is represented as performing that ceremony before his brother consul; a fourth department represents him in the custody of the lictors, apparently about to suffer the flagellation usual before the sacrificial act. Next comes the battle scene, an admirable composition, in which Decius is represented as combating single-handed against crowds of opponents. This composition is a most admirable example of bold fore-shortening and spirited action. One must admire the grey horse rearing under his slain rider, and the rigid muscles of the dead warrior stretched in the fore-ground. The devoted Latins (for Decius by his act devoted them along with himself) are represented in the back ground as routed and flying. A sixth piece of tapestry represents the funeral pile of the dead hero,

with the trophy, and chained Latin captives indicative of victory.¹ I do not hesitate to say that the entire series exhibits talent of the highest order, both in the original design, and subsequent execution by the difficult process of the loom; and I am persuaded that the artist who designed the subjects must have been eminent in his time. It is worthy of remark that the pillars which divide the compartments are similar to those which occur in Raphael's cartoon of the "Healing of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple," which it may be remembered was also intended to be worked in tapestry.

As it is desirable that whatever is known of the history of these fine examples of ancient art should be placed on record, I have briefly thrown together a few notes from unpublished sources, derived by the noble owner's permission from the Ormonde Manuscripts, and which I beg to submit to the members of the Society.

We are informed by Sir James Ware, in his "Annals of Ireland," and by Carte, in his Introduction to the "Life of James, Duke of Ormond," that Piers, earl of Ormonde, and his lady, Margaret Fitzgerald, established at Kilkenny the manufacture of tapestry, Turkey carpets, diapers, &c., for which purpose he introduced workmen from Flanders. The manuscript Inventories still remaining in Kilkenny Castle, show that Thomas, the tenth earl, Peter's successor, was possessed of many suits of tapestry hangings, and richly wrought carpets, which probably may have come from the Kilkenny looms. It is well known that on the death of earl Thomas, James I. unjustly aided his favourite, Preston, afterwards created viscount Dingwall and earl of Desmond—to whom he gave in marriage Elizabeth, only daughter, and heir-general of earl Thomas—in seizing the property of earl Walter, the heir-male, and decreed to the former Kilkenny Castle, and the greater part of the Ormonde property. There is preserved in the Evidence Chamber an Inventory of the goods of the earl of Desmond, which had originally, no doubt, been the property of earl Thomas. From this Inventory, dated 20th December, 1630, I have made the following extracts:—

In the Castle of Kilkenny, In my Lo: of Tullye's chamber, 5 peece of tapestry, praised at 6⁴. str. Sold to Mr. David Roth.

In the staire head chamber, 5 peeces of Tapestry praised 10⁴. 10⁰. Sold to Philipp Piercevall, Esquire, for 16⁴.

In the white tower chamber, 4 peeces of Tapestry praised at 8⁴. str. Sold to Mr. Henry Masterson for 8⁴.

In the chamber nere the gallery 18 peeces of Tapestry praised att 50⁴. Sold to the Earl of Corke for 103⁴.

In "A Note of such stuffe, as are to be bought for the earl of Ormond and Ossory" occurs "Item three pieces of Tapestry, suitable

¹ Many persons suppose that this suit of tapestry comprises the events of the two Latin Wars, and that what is supposed above to represent the scourging of the

self-devoted Decius, really represents the order for the execution of the disobedient but brave son of Torquatus. This conjecture is not improbable.

to the Tapestry in Carrick." This "note" has reference to the goods above alluded to as having belonged to the earl of Desmond.

We next meet with a notice of the following pieces of tapestry hangings as being in the marquis (afterward duke) of Ormonde's possession at Caen, after his withdrawal from Ireland; the date of the Inventory is May 12th, 1652.

Five peeces of Tapestry, forest work.
Five peeces of the Tapestry of Cyrus.
Five peeces of Ahasuerus.
Five peeces of Paul.

Five peeces of Tobias.
Five peeces more of Tobias.
Five peeces of Palamon.
Five peeces of Ilias.

These hangings appear to have been brought over to France, and afterwards to have come back to Ireland with the family when they returned at the Restoration, as we find them all specifically mentioned in an Inventory of the goods and furniture belonging to the duke, in his several houses in Ireland, dated 1684. And from another Inventory, of 1689, we are informed that the "five peeces of Paul" contained "y^e story of y^e sacrifice of y^e unknown gods." A suit of "Sampson" is also mentioned, whereof a good specimen still remains, namely, the closing scene of Sampson's life, the pulling down of the Philistine temple.

The earliest date at which I have met any notice of the magnificent suit of tapestry hangings, which forms the more immediate subject of this memoir, is in an "Inventory of the duke and dutchess of Ormonde's goods at Kilkenny, Dunmore, and Clonmell, the 25th of August, 1675," where it heads the following curious list, which I have been tempted to transcribe at length from the intrinsic interest which it possesses. I may observe that the suit still in existence answers exactly to the dimensions given, namely, thirteen feet deep; and of the identity of the design, "the story of Dietius"—Decius, who devoted himself to death for the good of his country in the Latin war—there can be no question. The other suit, which is described as "of several horses," is in another Inventory alluded to as exhibiting "men on horseback :"—

SUITS OF HANGINGS.

1. One suite of Antwerp hangings, containing Seaven peeces of the Story of Dietius, thirteene foote deepe.
2. One suite of Brussels hangings, containing eight peeces of the story of Achilles, eleven foote deepe. Fouer peeces of these in my Ladye's drawing roome.
3. One suite of Antwerp hangings, containing eight peeces of the story of Octavius Cesar, eleven foote deepe. Six peeces of these in the north chamber of the gallery.
4. One suite of Lambeth hangings, containing six peeces onely of severall horses, eleven foote deepe.
5. One suite of fine Antwerp hangings, containing eight peeces, all Land Skipp, eleven foote deepe. Fouer peeces of these in y^e south end chamber of the Gallery.
6. One suite of Antwerp hangings, containing seaven peeces of the story of Palipheme [Pholyphe], tenn foote deepe. Five peeces of these in my Lady Dutchesses chamber.
7. One suite of Antwerp hangings, containing six peeces, forest work, tenn foote deepe. Foure peeces of these in my Lady Arran's chamber.

8. One suit of Antwerp hangings, containing five peeces, the story of Asverus and Hester, nine foote deepe. Foure peeces of these in the roome over my Lord's closet in the Tower.

9. One suite of Antwerp hangings, containing five peeces of Land Skippe, tenne foote deepe.

10. One suite of Antwerp hangings, containing foure peeces of the story of Cyrus, eleaven foote deepe.

11. One suite of ould Brussells hangings, containing five peeces of very small figure, eleven foote deepe.

12. One suite of Antwerp hangings, containing five peeces of the story of Diana and her Nymphs, nine foote deepe.

13. One suite of Ordinary Dutch hangings, containing five peeces of Land Skipp worke, nine foote deepe, whereof one peece without silk.

14. Two peeces of Dutch Landskipp hangings, nine foote deepe. These in my Ld. Arran's Dressing Roome.

15. Seaven peeces of ould scoured imagery hangings, eleaven foote deepe. Six peeces of these in my Lord John's chamber.

16. Fower peeces of ould scoured imagery hangings, eleaven foote deepe, and one other peece of the same sort, tenne foote deepe. All these in Mr. Lowe's chamber.

17. Five peeces of ould scoured Landskipp hangings, nine foote deepe. All these for Clonmell Dining Roome.

18. Five peeces of ould scoured imagery hangings, nine foote deepe. All these for the Drawing Roome at Clonmell.

19.^a One ould peece of Imagery hangings, five ells, ten foote deepe.

19.^b One suite of ordinary Dutch hangings, conteneing five peeces, the story of the Cobler, eight foote deepe. These are in Mr. Ferris' chamber.

20. Three Tapestry Sumpture Cloths.

21. One suite of New Tapestry hangings, eight foote deepe, conteneing five peeces. The story of Don Quixott.

22. Three peeces of new Tapestry hangings, about eight foote deepe, made for my Lord Duke's new Dressing Roome.

Belonging to Dunmore.

23. Five fine peeces of English hangings, the story of Palidore, nine foote deepe. For ^{the} Drawing Roome.

24. Three fine peeces of English hangings, Baiorells, nine foote deepe. For my Lady's chamber.

25. Three peeces of fine Antwerpe hangings, Landskipp, small imagery, eight foote deepe. The upper alcove chamber.

No. 11 in this curious list, "the ould Brussells hangings, of *very small figure*," is probably that mentioned in an "Inventory of the goods of Richard, earl of Desmond, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir-general to Thomas, earl of Ormonde, in their mansion house of Donnington, Parish of Shaine, County Berks, March 6, 1628," and valued very highly. "Item sixteene *peeces of little*, in hangings which were in pawne to Mr. William Pearse, w^{ch} Mr. Patrick Weemes redeemed from him for the some of 48^{li}. 10^s. 0^d."

The "peeces of Don Quixott," no longer in existence, exhibit, I believe, an early instance of the popularity of Cervantes' immortal work in England: the Dutch series of "the story of the Cobler" would no doubt be curious did we possess it; of most of the remainder are extant several fragments in a very decayed state, but still curious. I have been informed by the last occupant of Carrick Castle, Mr. Wogan of Carrick, that when his tenancy ceased one of the rooms was hung with tapestry representing the story of Sampson, which he states was taken down and removed to Kilkenny.

The tapestry hangings containing the history of Decius were subsequently placed in the room still called "the Tapestry Chamber," situate in the north-eastern tower of Kilkenny Castle, overhanging the river, where they remained till taken down in the year 1824, preparatory to the remodelling of the structure, and were stored away until removed from their concealment last autumn by the marquis of Ormonde. The six remaining pieces of "the story of Decius" have been repaired and re-lined, and bid fair to last for many years to come. Besides this series there are five other pieces in a state of preservation, more or less perfect, making, with one very much injured, twelve in all. The six last alluded to comprise some landscapes, into which many birds and beasts are introduced, Vulcan forging the arms of Achilles, with modern fire-irons, guns, pistols, and cannon lying about the god's forge, and the scene from Sampson's History already mentioned.

I shall conclude this hurried sketch, which might be considerably extended without exhausting the materials, by subjoining a transcript of an original letter, also preserved in the Evidence Chamber, which both proves the high value set on these adornments in the days of the Second Charles, and shows that in consequence of their expensive nature they were carried about from house to house by even the noble and wealthy families of the day :—

SIR—You will pardon this trouble which is to acquaint you by my lady's order that my Lord having bought the House he lives in till the 25th of March with some furniture that must then be returned, which must agen be supplied by you for theyr Graces use, the byeing or hireing of tapestry hangings being expensive : my lady beleeves it much better to send for som of those hangings that lye by unused at Kilkenny and has ordered Hoskins to send 3 suits of tapestry hangings which are the whole suet of Decius, the suet of Akiles, the suet of hors hangings ; also all the silver sconces, which ar all redy packt up and set up in the waiting room, if they are not well and secure for caridg Hoskins is desired to pack them beter, and to convey all that is sent for to Dublin, where Captain Backstar has orders to receav them, and send them to London. My lady desires you will take notis what is sent, that so there may be no mistake in the Inventory. By all this you will judg there are no resolutions of a sudden return, but tis but erly days for that ; but tis thought if ther Graces stay but to the end of the somer tis worth the sending for the hangings.

Sir I should be very glad if during our stay hear I could be capable of any manner of servis for you, if so let me receav your comands which shall be most faithfully performed by her who is

Sr. your friend and servant

ELIZA LOWE.

My servis to Mrs. Smith and your son and daughter. I thank God my Lord and Lady and all their children hear are well. I beg you will convey this to Mrs. Blundle, for I know not where she is.

Address—"These for Mr. Valentine Smith at his House at Kilkenny."

Endorsed—"My Lady Dutcheas and Mrs. Lowe for things to be sent to England and answer, 28 Feb. 1682."

Since the above lines were written, the following communication has been received from John Ward Dowsley, Esq., M.D., Clonmel, in answer to inquiry as to the fate of the ancient tapestry of Carrick Castle :—

Clonmel, 8th July, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR—I received yours of the 29th ult., and am sorry to say that I have not the tapestry you allude to. I think about twelve years since, I saw it in Carrick Castle. There were two large pieces, one was "Sampson killing the Lion," the subject of the other I do not now recollect. It was very much faded, as it was lying there I suppose for a couple of centuries, and going fast to decay. I got a friend of mine to enquire of Lord Ormonde's agent (I do not remember his name) if it would be sold: he would not sell it, and a short time after I heard it was sent to Kilkenny Castle.

I have four pieces of Tapestry—1st "Hercules and Omphale;" this is 10 feet by 12, colouring very brilliant. 2nd, "Rebecca at the Well," 9 feet by 18, rather faded. The two others are sporting subjects, very old and much faded. I had two other pieces, one a "Merry-making," after Teniers, 10 feet by 18, containing fifty-two figures, colours very good. The other, "Jupiter and Leda," 10 feet by 12; these I parted with to a gentleman in Carrick—Mr. Wogan.

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

Rev. James Graves.

JOHN W. DOWSLEY.

The second piece of tapestry which was originally at Carrick Castle, and the subject of which Dr. Dowsley was not able to remember, is probably Sampson pulling down the Philistine temple, already alluded to as being at present at Kilkenny Castle.

AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

OF

THE DEATH OF WALLENSTEIN,

WITH A VINDICATION OF THE MOTIVES OF COLONEL WALTER BUTLER.

BY FRANCIS PRENDERGAST, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE death of Wallenstein, the principal figure in the Thirty Years' War, has always been enveloped in a mystery never entirely explained, even to the present day. Schiller's tragedy, his masterpiece, "The Death of Wallenstein," has given the subject a world-wide renown, and invested the character of the hero of the drama with a grandeur which has not only caused posterity to deal leniently with his errors or his crimes, but to pass even a harsher judgment than usual, on those who are supposed to have betrayed him to his death. Our object here, however, is to show that the most recent researches have placed the whole transaction in a very different light from that in which it has been hitherto viewed, and to prove that Butler, the author of Wallenstein's death, does not deserve the obloquy that has been heaped upon his name by the great poet and historian, as well as by writers of later date. Butler was one of the family of Paulstown, a cadet branch of the great house of Ormonde, and it ought not to be a matter of indifference to the county of Kilkenny, or, in-

deed, to Ireland, whether the name of one of her sons, which must remain on the page of history, should stand there in its proper character as that of a soldier of fortune, who had won his way to honours and estates by fidelity and valour, or, as it has hitherto appeared, as that of a base and hired assassin, incited by sordid motives to execute the behests of an ungrateful sovereign.

The usual story of the close of Wallenstein's career runs to the effect that he had grown too powerful with the army under his command, and that the emperor Ferdinand, fearing to attempt to remove him from it or deprive him of the extraordinary powers with which he had been invested, meditated his ruin, and even his assassination. That Wallenstein, apprised of the intrigues of his enemies at the Imperial court, and aware of his danger, entered into treasonable communications with the Swedes and Saxons, and tampered with the loyalty of the army—endeavouring to secure its fidelity to himself by means of a written bond or pact, which the principal officers, and among them Walter Butler, the commander of an Irish dragoon regiment, voluntarily subscribed their names to, and thereby entered into a traitorous conspiracy against the emperor. That a proclamation was issued against Wallenstein, offering rewards for his arrest alive or dead, and that he retired, accompanied by some of his troops, and among them Butler's regiment, to the fortified place of Eger, and was there, with his principal officers, treacherously assassinated by Butler, aided by Lesley, Gordon, Devereux, and other Scotch and Irish officers. That Butler was the instigator of this assassination, and as such received honours and rewards from the emperor.

Such are the outlines of the account given by Schiller in his tragedy, and in his "History of the Thirty Years' War," by Förster, by colonel Mitchell, and other authors, who, however their opinions may vary as to Wallenstein's innocence or guilt, are unanimous in considering the deed of Butler as base and unworthy of a man of honour. "We must strive," says Mitchell, p. 106, alluding to the officers from these kingdoms in the Imperial service, "to find in their military glory some compensation for the foul blot which we shall see British hands inflicting on the name and fame of our country."

But the position of Butler and his conduct towards Wallenstein appear very differently in the excellent History of the Austrian Empire, lately published by John count Mailäth.¹ He has had access to and examined very carefully the public archives at Vienna and Prague; it is not necessary here to bring forward the evidence by which Wallenstein's treasonable intrigues with France are made manifest, it is sufficient to state that it is difficult to doubt that he engaged in such, and that the emperor, who had long harboured suspicions, was suddenly informed of Wallenstein's dealings with France through the channel of the duke of Savoy.

¹ *Geschichte des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates, von Johann Grafen Mailäth.* Hamburg, 1850.

Mailáth states that the efforts of Wallenstein's enemies at the Imperial court suddenly acquired great force by an entirely unexpected communication from the court of Savoy, by which the emperor was fully and completely informed of Wallenstein's negotiations with the French court. At the same time, intelligence was received from various quarters of the written agreement subscribed by the colonels of the Imperial army at Pilsen. This was the last drop in the cup, and determined the Imperial court to take decided steps against Wallenstein. The emperor signed a proclamation by which he withdrew the chief command from Wallenstein and conferred it upon Gallas, but apprehensive of Wallenstein's influence over the army they did not venture to publish the proclamation till its fidelity could be ascertained. When Wallenstein called the officers to a second meeting at Pilsen, Gallas thought it time to come forward, and issued a public notice to the army not to obey in future any orders from Wallenstein or his officers, but only from himself and other generals named in the proclamation. It is necessary here to observe that this proclamation is stated by most authors to have been a proclamation of outlawry, offering rewards to whomsoever should take Wallenstein alive or dead. But this is not true, it was only to remove him from the command of the army, and went no further. It appears quite clearly, from the correspondence between the Imperial generals who superseded Wallenstein, that their object was to drive him out of Bohemia, and that his death, in the manner in which it took place, was quite unexpected by them. When Wallenstein, who was at Pilsen, was informed that a proclamation deposing him from the command had been posted publicly in Prague, he endeavoured to collect his army and retire to form a junction with the Swedes. But the greater part of the troops abandoned him, and he entered Eger with only ten companies of two regiments and 200 dragoons of Butler's regiment. Mailáth says, "immediately about him were his brother-in-law Kinsky, Illo, Terzka, and Butler. This last, Wallenstein had, to his own destruction, *compelled* to accompany him to Eger. He was a Catholic Irishman, a colonel in the Imperial army, commanding a regiment of dragoons, consisting chiefly of Irishmen." Hitherto little more has been known about Butler during the last days of Wallenstein, than what is stated by Förster, and in the "Austrian Military Journal." It is to this effect: Gallas informs the emperor, "colonel Butler has let me know that he will remain true, and endeavour to do his duty to your majesty, which will be no slight impediment to prevent the traitors from executing their designs." Gallas writes further, on the 27th of Feb. 1634, to Maradas: "Butler sends word to me that, if Arnim comes within two miles of Eger, he will arrest, or slay, the traitor (Wallenstein)." But Diodati wrote to Gallas: "that the poor cavalier (Butler) had only gone to Eger upon compulsion, and that he had already written to him (Diodati) that he would withdraw himself." Up to this time we have had no other

clue to Butler's sentiments; but a document hitherto unknown throws much light upon the conduct and feelings of Butler in the last days of Wallenstein. This is an account of what occurred, written by his regimental chaplain, father Patrick Taaffe, which has been found among the legal papers of a suit between the relations of Butler, concerning the property he had left. Taaffe's account is dated Prague, 12th February, 1653, and it would appear that he had been requested by another priest to relate to him the course of the events at Eger, and Taaffe in his answer gives a circumstantial account of what occurred. He states that Butler was in winter quarters at Klatrub, and his regiment was dispersed in detachments to guard the passes from the upper Palatinate into Bohemia, when suddenly at midnight a courier arrived from the duke of Friedland, with express orders that the colonel should at once, without loss of time, assemble his regiment and march to the White Mountain, near Prague. "The colonel astonished, had me awakened and called to him. He assured me that this unexpected order of the generalissimo confirmed him in the suspicions which he had entertained, of his disloyalty, on several previous occasions. For what else is it, said he, to call away me and my soldiers from the defence of the passes against the enemy so near to us, but to open the door to the enemy and invite him into Bohemia? But go we must, said he, for so peremptory an order cannot be disobeyed. He added to this: I think that I shall die on the White Mountain, but if, as I hope, I find many honourably-minded, and of approved fidelity, I shall not die unrevenged; and I think that the White Mountain will be stained with more blood than in the battle against the Palatine Frederick." Taaffe then relates that the detachments of the regiment were immediately called in and that they marched towards Pilsen. About half way, they met some cavalry and infantry with baggage from which Illo or Terzka (Taaffe does not remember which) galloped forward, and, in the name of the generalissimo, ordered Butler to join them and march towards Mies. On the 22nd of Feb., continues Taaffe, we arrived at Mies. By order of the duke of Friedland, and contrary to military usage, the colonel was obliged to pass the night with the colours, in the town, while the soldiers remained without in the field. This still further increased his suspicions of Wallenstein, as he concluded from it that they feared he would make his escape. He consulted with father Taaffe, who advised him to fly, but Butler maintained that flight was unworthy of a courageous man, and that it would be of no advantage to the emperor, unless he could bring off the soldiers and the colours with him. On the next day, Butler and his regiment were so placed on the march among the other troops, that he could not remain behind, and go off with them as he intended to do if he could. Butler was again, on this night, separated, with the colours, from the regiment. He sent for father Taaffe, and after a private conversation with him, sent him with a written message, in the English language, to Gallas, or Piccolomini,

to the effect, that he would die a hundred deaths rather than draw his sword traitorously against the interests of the emperor; and also told Taaffe to assure whichever of them he should meet first, that he might be considered in all respects, a faithful and honourable officer of his majesty. He even added, continues Taaffe, that perhaps by the special providence of God, he had been compelled to this march, that he might perform some especially heroic act. Taaffe then relates that he delivered the message to Piccolomini, at Pilsen, and that the latter said he had never doubted Butler's loyalty to the emperor, but that, as he was placed among the disaffected, in order that others who were not so well acquainted with his character, might know it also, Taaffe should, as secretly as possible, apprise him in writing to return, and bring Wallenstein with him alive or dead, if he wished to be advanced by the emperor. "Of all this," says Taaffe, "I was an eye-witness."

"I here," proceeds Mailath, "interrupt father Patrick Taaffe's narrative, to make some observations. When Butler was at Klatrub, the emperor's proclamation against Wallenstein was unknown to him, for otherwise he would not have obeyed Wallenstein's order to march to the White Mountain; and nevertheless, he already suspected Wallenstein's disaffection. He believed that there was a great faction for Wallenstein in the army, and expected a great battle at the White Mountain, between the emperor's troops and the adherents of Wallenstein; the latter must therefore have already given many tokens of treason, and his proceedings have met with approbation in the army.—Further, the decision which Butler came to, and executed in regard to Wallenstein, was his own and not from any superior authority; for the letter of Taaffe, containing Piccolomini's charge, to bring in Wallenstein living or dead, did not reach Butler before the deed. If this had happened, Taaffe would relate it, and Butler would have made its contents of effect with Gordon and Leslie, which he did not do, as the continuation of Taaffe's story proves. Lastly, Taaffe's account is quite worthy of credit, for he separates accurately what he communicated as an eye-witness from that which he only heard; and even in that which he gives as from an eye-witness, he distinguishes accurately what he knew with certainty, from that which he does not remember well."

The continuation of Taaffe's narrative is as follows:—

That which follows I relate from Butler's own account, whom I ever found not less true in words than brave in deeds. On the way from Plana to Eger, Friedland had Butler summoned to his carriage and held, contrary to his custom, the following friendly and confidential conversation with him. He said—Herr Butler, I regret that I have hitherto been so strange, and even ungrateful, to so brave and meritorious a commander of a regiment; but the blame rests not so much upon me as on the emperor, who promised me much with which I could have rewarded meritorious officers and brave soldiers; but as he did not keep his promise, it has not only been out of my power to recompense the military according to my wishes, but I am also even compelled, not so much on my own account as for the sake of my officers, to take another course by which I can oblige the emperor to fulfil his promise, so that I may be able to recompense the deserving. Among these I am aware that few come before Herr Butler. But that he may see how

highly I esteem him, and how much I shall benefit him, I will give him two regiments—one of horse and one of infantry of Terzka's, and besides this appoint in Hamburg 200,000 (as well as I remember) dollars, for the raising of fresh soldiers through my envoys in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and quarters, or a mustering place, at the same town. Butler answered to this with great but feigned expression of thanks, for the offer of so many and such high marks of favour—that he owed no duty or allegiance to the emperor except as a soldier; and that he might therefore preserve his honour, which was dearer to him than his life, without spot, he would first write to request his discharge from the emperor, which he had no doubt of obtaining, as he could not compel a freeman and a foreigner into his service; he would then prefer to serve his highness, whose great science in the conduct of armies, and good fortune in battles above all men he had learned by experience. I do not remember that any thing else, except this conversation happened upon the way. After the arrival at Eger, Butler and the colours, as had been done the whole way, were assigned quarters in the town, while his soldiers remained without in the field. On the first night of his arrival at Eger, Butler invited lieutenant-colonel Gordon and watchmaster Leslie, officers of the infantry regiment of Terzka, at that time forming the garrison of Eger, to his quarters. After they, according to military custom, had drunk somewhat, whether from design or from the wine, he began to speak more unreservedly; he endeavoured to make out their sentiments, and thus addressed them.—I came unexpectedly here, brother officers, I did not dream of this unexpected expedition. I should be very glad to know what you think of it, for it appears to me very strange that our generalissimo, who formerly never approached the enemy unless with some 50,000 men, now advances towards him with only some five or six thousand? When they answered that this novelty looked very like treachery; Butler said: This has long been my opinion; we must therefore, take counsel together how we may keep unstained our honour and the allegiance which we owe to his Imperial majesty. We are foreigners, and have no other inheritance except fidelity and honour, which are to be preferred to everything else. After he had said a good deal more to bring their minds to the determination which he had already taken, but which he did not yet disclose to them (for as they were then of a different religion, and also officers of count Terzka, he did not trust them), lieutenant-colonel Gordon counselled flight, which was easy, as he had the keys of the town. Butler answered that it would be disgraceful to fly and leave behind the emperor's soldiers and colours which he had entrusted to them, so that they might be led against the emperor. Moreover their flight would be of little use to the emperor, for he knew well that in his regiment there were hardly any three who could not perform as good services as they three without soldiers; they must therefore think of some other method more glorious to them and more advantageous to the emperor. At last, watchmaster Leslie, with much courage and openness, burst out with the words as much longed for as suggested by Butler, Let us slay the traitors! Upon this, Butler much cheered, said, Stand by me, brothers, only pledge yourselves to keep the secret, and admit privately into the town some of my faithful officers and soldiers. I take the dangerous execution upon myself, for the support of the Almighty has never failed those who undertake what is difficult for the sake of God, justice, and loyalty. In desperate situations God helps in an unexpected manner. Lieutenant-colonel Gordon refused for a time to join in this determination, whether it was from fickleness or on account of the greatness of the danger, but at last, encouraged by Butler, he agreed.

So far the account of Patrick Taaffe. The narrative of the murder of Wallenstein and his adherents is nearly the same as that which has hitherto been known. I will indicate in their proper places any new matter supplied by Taaffe. I now return to the account of the last moments of the life of Wallenstein.

In the morning of the 25th of February, Gordon and Leslie admitted unremarked into the town several officers of Butler's regiment, namely Devereux, Geraldine, De Burgo, MacDonald, and a few more officers, about 100 privates of Butler's regiment, and almost as many German soldiers. Gordon invited Kinsky, Illo, Terzka, and captain

Neumann, to dinner. They were to have been murdered there, but the invited desired instead, an evening feast. Gordon agreed to this, and the deed was thus put off till the night. In the meanwhile the report spread that the Swedes were advancing; that they would enter Eger next day—Illo himself told this exultingly. This was a fresh ground for Butler to slay Wallenstein and his confederates. Night came on. When the guests appeared at the feast, De Burgo joined himself with 100 men to the patrol; he said it was done by command of the generalissimo on account of the nearness of the enemy, but the real reason was that any movement that might take place might be immediately suppressed. Twenty men beset the gate in Gordon's residence: they had orders to let no one in or out without Butler's order. When the servants went to their supper their doors were also guarded; a curious servant who wished to get out of the chamber was cut down. The officers were still sitting drinking when Butler's dragoons entered the apartment from two sides. Geraldine, who commanded them, cried out, "who is for the emperor?" Gordon and Leslie sprung up, drew their swords, took each a light from the table in his hand, and cried, "long live the House of Austria!" Kinsky and Illo were cut down as they were hastening to get their weapons. Terzka, by good luck, laid hold of his sword, placed himself in a corner, and defended himself manfully. His doublet of elk-skin protected him from many thrusts, so that the dragoons thought he bore a charmed life, but at last he fell to the ground pierced through the body. Neumann had escaped out of the room, but as he did not know the watchword the guard cut him down upon the stairs. Geraldine went immediately with twelve dragoons to the castle. He was admitted, as he gave out that he brought intelligence to the duke. As he hastened to the duke's chamber, female shrieks from the other wing of the castle penetrated into Wallenstein's sleeping room. It was the cry of lamentation of the countesses Kinsky and Terzka, who had just learned the murder of their husbands. Wallenstein had arisen and gone to the windows, and had asked of the watch what the noise was. Then Geraldine, with his foot thrusting open the door of the sleeping apartment, called out, "art thou the traitor who would deprive the emperor of his crown and kingdom?" Wallenstein stretched out his arms in silence; Geraldine's partizan pierced through his unflinching breast, and he sank upon the ground without a groan.

What Butler did the next day best appears again from Taaffe's narrative. It is stated there, that on the next morning he summoned the town council, told them of the deed, and the reasons for it, and administered to them the oath of allegiance to the emperor. He then proceeded, accompanied by a few, to the regiments in camp outside of the town, and of whose loyalty he had strong doubts. He demanded from them a similar oath, which they took, without a single refusal.

After Butler had ascertained, by looking through some letters found with Friedland, that the duke of Saxe, Francis Albert, would soon appear in person (as his letter promised), and that troops would follow him for the purpose of opening the closed passes that the confederated regiments might unite with Friedland, and carry out their chief design; he (Butler) sent out several squadrons of horse and dragoons upon the roads, which lead to the Palatinate, with orders to take the aforesaid duke wherever they might find him, and bring him in the emperor's name to Eger, which was also done.¹

To Gallas, Butler reported briefly the slaying of Wallenstein, and in conjunction with Gordon, issued a proclamation to the army. In this it is stated that Wallenstein intrigued with the two electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and would have plunged not only the army, but also the emperor's hereditary kingdoms and states into the most extreme danger and ruin. Wherefore, they, as the emperor's loyal subjects, had taken the most energetic means at hand to preserve the emperor's hereditary kingdom and states, and thereby inform them that, by the singular direction and providence of the Almighty and his assistance to the military execution, on the day before, the rebels and conspirators against his Imperial majesty had been brought to nought, and from life to death. In conclusion, all were called upon to have a particularly watchful eye upon the fortified places, and to obey no orders except those coming expressly from his Imperial majesty; and in fine, to have at heart the importance of preserving the general weal as the emperor's service and their allegiance required. The troops remained quiet. In one place only, in Silesia, some regiments revolted, but were soon quickly brought to order.

Having thus set forth the facts which relate to the murder of Wallenstein, it now remains to inquire who caused it.

It has hitherto been believed that the emperor caused the assassination, inasmuch as he had given the order to take Wallenstein alive or dead, and had thereby proscribed him. This assertion and view is founded principally upon "The Complete and Authentic Account of the Horrible Treason of the late Friedland and his Adherents, published by the Special Command of his Imperial Majesty."² This exculpatory document has naturally and excusably misled even the contemporary Imperialist writers, Khevenhüller and Gualdo Priorato. But as the proscribing clause in question was not contained in either the first or second proclamation, it has been sought to re-

¹ Here ends all that is worth extracting from Taaffe's letter. The remainder is only in praise of the modesty of Butler, who ever afterwards when the subject was mentioned, ascribed the whole to the providence of God, which had always, in such a remarkable manner, protected the family of Ferdinand. It is also mentioned, in con-

clusion, that Butler met with so gracious a reception from the Imperial court, that he never could do enough to evince his sense of it.

² Vienna, 1634, pp. 38. This was the official apology published by the Imperial court, which will be discussed further on.

concile the contradiction between the silence of these two proclamations and the above-mentioned complete and authentic account, by supposing that a secret special order, with the words "alive or dead," had been issued by the emperor to the generals. This opinion has been generally acceded to by almost all writers; but it is entirely unfounded. The emperor never issued any order of the tenor that Wallenstein should be taken alive or dead. The emperor had not any even the most remote share, directly or indirectly, in the slaying of Wallenstein. We must be permitted first to adduce a negative proof. No such order has ever been found in the archives of any state or country, or in the repositories of any private person, nor has even an allusion to any such order ever been discovered. This negative proof would of itself be most satisfactory, but receives great force from the following circumstances: If such an order had ever been given, it must at least have been known to the emperor's most confidential ministers and generals, namely, Gallas, Altringer, Piccolomini, Maradas, marchese di Caretto, and Pucher of the council of war; but that no such secret order was known to any of these is evident from their accounts which have come down to us.

The endeavours and preparations of all the generals were directed, as appears from their mutual correspondence with one another, only to the expulsion of Wallenstein from Bohemia (which is directly contradictory to any secret Imperial order to bring him in alive or dead, and proves the non-existence of any such), and it was only when they had heard that he had fortified himself in Eger, that they thought of enclosing him there and preventing his junction with the enemy.

The orders of Gallas only signified that Wallenstein, Illo, and Terzka were not to be obeyed; this is acknowledged by Butler himself, after the so-called execution, in his report of it to Gallas, despatched on the 25th of February, 1634, and it may also be perceived from Gallas' own letter to the emperor, dated from Pilsen, the 27th February, in which he accuses Gordon and Leslie of disobedience to his orders and therefore of disloyalty, making this imputation against them, solely because they had admitted Wallenstein into Eger. It may also be perceived from this despatch that the plan of Gallas was to drive Wallenstein out of Bohemia; even the emperor, as appears from a letter to the marchese di Caretto of the 26th of February, 1634, at a time when he was already aware that Wallenstein had left Pilsen with a small escort, only commanded that he should be followed and pursued.

Piccolomini in his despatch to Gallas of the 21st of February, 1634, was then of opinion that to drive Wallenstein out of Bohemia was the best method—a method which he never would have proposed, if he had been aware of a secret Imperial order to secure Wallenstein in any way, whether alive or dead. It must further be adduced, in confirmation of the opinion above set forth, that in a second despatch,

under date of Horasdiowicz, the 25th of February, 1634, Piccolomini still repeated to Gallas, "che V.E. venga qui con ogni prestezza, con la gente che habiamo, insieme andar persequitando il Waldstain e cacciarlo di Boemia"—"that his excellency should come to him there with all speed, that with the troops which they had they might go in pursuit of Wallenstein and drive him out of Bohemia," and is altogether silent about Butler's having sent his confessor Patrick Taaffe to him on the 23rd of February, for new instructions with regard to Wallenstein, and of his (Piccolomini's) having expressed to Taaffe "that he had never doubted Butler's loyalty, but that others might not be able to doubt it, and that he might acquire the special favour of the emperor, that he should bring back Wallenstein alive or dead." It is clear, from the turn and manner of the expression, that it was founded on no secret order of the emperor, but arose from Piccolomini's personal hatred to Wallenstein, and that he in this respect went beyond the orders of his sovereign.

That Piccolomini hated and pursued Wallenstein with the vindictiveness of a southern, appears incontestably from the continuance of this hatred even after Wallenstein's death. He alone called what had occurred at Eger "a glorious deed," and he would even have had the bodies of "the executed," as they were called, exposed in the vilest places.¹ The marchese di Caretto also, in his despatch dated Pilsen, the 27th of February, charges Gordon with having opened the gates of Eger to Wallenstein. He proposes on every occasion that a formal process should be proceeded with against Wallenstein, and could not therefore have been in any way implicated in the occurrences at Eger; neither could any secret special order of the kind have been known to him.

Pucher of the council of war, to whom such a secret special order could have been no secret, says, in his narrative of the 13th March, 1634, in clear language, concerning the occurrences at Eger, "that Butler, Gordon, and Leslie, after due consultation and deliberation, came to a decided resolution of their own, without having any order in that respect, and exterminated these manifest *patriæ proditores*."²

With this narrative agree entirely, first, Butler's report to count Gallas of the 25th; secondly, Butler and Gordon's joint proclamation, of the 26th, to the troops, and lastly, Butler's report to the emperor, of the 27th February, 1634; and from all three one may perceive that they effected the deed after careful deliberation and consequently without any order. A further confirmation of the correctness of these statements is found in the account, composed nineteen years later, by Butler's chaplain, Patrick Taaffe. This bears upon it

¹ Piccolomini to Caretto, Mies, 27th Feb. 1634.

² Pucher's narrative will be mentioned again. As he had to compose an account

of Wallenstein's murder for all Europe, all the secret circumstances connected with that transaction must have been communicated to him.

unmistakeably the stamp of veracity and of a cool view of the circumstances. He informs us that Butler was without decided instructions with regard to Wallenstein, that to obtain such, he despatched his confessor Taafe, that Taafe found Piccolomini, who, although his general, gave Butler rather advice than a command, which, however, Taafe was unable to deliver to him. But Taafe's inartificial relation of the whole details, discloses to us Butler's inmost feelings upon the occasion. His recall from the frontiers, thronged with the enemy, without the substitution of any relieving troops, and the order to march to the White Mountain in the centre of a peaceful kingdom, in the vicinity of the capital town, confirmed him in his mistrust of Wallenstein's loyalty to the emperor. In all this, he never swerved from his resolution, not to desert his colours, to which he had sworn fidelity till death, to remain unshaken in his loyalty to the emperor, and even though surrounded by rebels to fight for the good cause to his last breath. The White Mountain should be stained with more blood than in the time of the Palatine Frederick. These were Butler's sentiments on the 23rd of February, therefore he had neither concerted nor previously determined upon that, which afterwards occurred at Eger.

Wallenstein's march out of Pilsen, not as was usual at the head of a numerous army, but with a small body of troops, appeared to Butler not as a march against the enemy, but to the enemy, and his suspicions became thereby very much increased. But when Wallenstein ordered Butler to join him with his dragoons, assigned him night quarters near to himself and always at a distance from his soldiers, expressed to him his regret that he had not yet been able to reward him for his brave and faithful services, but laid the blame upon the emperor's not having fulfilled his promises; when he promised him two regiments and money to raise them, then his suspicion became certainty. Wallenstein appeared to him as an undoubted traitor, and the danger (by the generally believed approach of the enemy, magnified by the boasting of Wallenstein's adherents) imminent. And thus, from a thorough conviction of the treason, and of the urgent necessity for the deed, Butler determined to execute it.

But all these facts and proofs in writing here adduced, however they may contradict any previous order of the emperor to take Wallenstein alive or dead, are yet not sufficient to prove directly false the clear expressions in the complete account published by order of the emperor, or to make us take them, as suggested in the "Austrian Military Journal," as words of course, escaped from the pen of a legal official accustomed to this form. But that this proclamation of outlawry against Wallenstein, contained in the complete report, was really first published six months after his death (the report appeared in the course of October), is proved by the yet extant letter of Ferdinand III., king of the Romans, to his father Ferdinand II., dated Nordlingen, 5th of September, 1634, in which he says: "with

regard to the manifesto upon the treason of Friedland, sent here for our consideration, we, with the general officers and councillors there present, are most humbly of opinion, that perhaps it would be more advisable to publish likewise against the executed traitors *sententiam post mortem*." Now, however, in the complete report referred to, if considered very attentively word by word, no other passage, except this proclamation of outlawry in the usual form "alive or dead," occurs, to which this "*sententia post mortem*" would apply. This letter alone is able to remove the obstacle on which contemporaries and posterity have alike foundered, this alone can explain the insertion of the form "to arrest alive or dead" in the complete report, and give it its true signification.

In this report the second proclamation of the 18th of February was also first publicly acknowledged; but it could not have been issued at the time of its date by the emperor, as he, in a despatch of the 1st of March, still refers exclusively to the proclamation of the 24th of January, and commands that the pardon promised therein should be strictly observed; and to count Altringer, also, this proclamation was unknown on the 14th of March.

This subsequent pronouncing of sentence must appear a psychological enigma, which can only be solved by those, who are able to comprehend accurately Ferdinand's personal character. The thoroughly religious character of Ferdinand regarded the unhappy end of Wallenstein as the undoubted punishment of God, which had overtaken a perjurer and traitor; those who executed the deed must have appeared to him as instruments chosen by God for his preservation. How should he call them to an account? They must be secured from every summons before any tribunal of human justice; this could only be attained by *alleging a previous proclamation* of outlawry. The entirely erroneous supposition, that the emperor had on the 24th of January, already signed a proclamation of outlawry against Wallenstein, has also brought upon the emperor the reproach of having, with hypocritical friendship, for fully three weeks made the most confidential communications to him.¹ But how completely different Ferdinand appears, when one considers that he, on that day, signed his removal from the command-in-chief, and that he required to be assured *that it should only be made use of in the most pressing necessity*. The justice of this last assertion is confirmed by the circumstance, that Gallas did not make public this order for Wallenstein's removal from the command, and dated 24th January, 1634, before the 13th February, after he had learned that Wallenstein had summoned the officers at Pilsen to a *second* meeting.

I cannot conclude this examination without observing on two points: The emperor had 3000 masses said for the souls of Wallenstein and his accomplices. Förster infers from this that the empe-

¹ Berthold, German War, p. 131; Förster's Letters, 3 vols. p. 180; and Wallenstein's Life, p. 261.

ror felt remorse for the murder of Wallenstein. But it proves directly the contrary, namely, that the emperor considered Wallenstein to be a traitor : for if he had felt remorse for the assassination of Wallenstein he would have had masses said, not for Wallenstein, but for himself; but because he thought that Wallenstein was guilty, he had masses said, according to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, to intercede for his soul.¹ The second point to be observed upon is the assertion, that the emperor was embarrassed as to how the assassination of Wallenstein should be called, and therefore in the first despatch addressed to Gallas, after he was aware of Wallenstein's death, the word "slaying" was struck out of the draught, and "put to the sword" inserted instead. This would be very unimportant, even if it were true, but it is not. Mailàth says, "I, the author of this work, have seen the emperor Ferdinand's handwriting many hundred times in his signatures, in marginal observations, and in long letters in his own handwriting, and know that writing far too well to mistake it. The words 'put to the sword' are not in the emperor's hand, but in that of Schlick, president of the council of war. In the draught alluded to, there are several alterations inserted, all by the same hand. The emperor, moreover, could not have inserted the words 'put to the sword' in the document in question, for he never could have seen it according to the course then followed in the ministerial offices. According to the course of business at that time, the documents were first signed by the secretary of the department, then by the president or vice-president, and lastly by the emperor. The paper in question is only signed by the secretary, alterations and corrections having been made by the president when it was laid before him for signature. As many corrections were necessary, the president did not sign it; it required to be copied out afresh, and this fresh copy could not be laid before the emperor for signature till it had been signed by the secretary and president. The circumstance is, as I have already said, in itself quite unimportant. I only mention it here that the reader may again see how lightly calumnies are sent into the world, when authors, who lay claim to the title of critical historians, allow themselves to be carried away by passion and party spirit."

From what has been said it clearly appears that the emperor did not give orders for the death of Wallenstein, neither was it the design of the Imperial generals to have him assassinated, but that Butler, without any order, and of his own motion, executed the deed.

But now that Wallenstein was dead, the question arose at the Imperial court, how should this be announced to the world? Pucher, of the council of war, sketched a manifesto in which truth was mixed

¹ Förster, in the argument here made use of, is in the position of many Protestant authors when they endeavour to support their views by arguments drawn from

Roman Catholic doctrines; they generally fail altogether, because they discourse of a subject which, for the most part, they are completely ignorant of.

with falsehood, because he did not dare to avow the *real reason* of Wallenstein's deposition, namely, *his connexion with France*. The most important allegation in it is, that Butler executed the deed of his own motion. Ferdinand, at that time with the army, to whom the emperor forwarded Pucher's account for his opinion, was of another view with regard to the statement of the event; he answered the emperor that he and the general officers and councillors there present were of opinion that it would be more advisable to publish *against* the executed traitors—*sententiam post mortem*—sentence after death.

This opinion prevailed, and the emperor took the deed upon himself, although he had given no order for it. In doing this he did not think that he thereby assumed the responsibility of any unjust action or such as he might not lawfully have committed, but that he was only adopting such a deed as according to the political and legal maxims of that time, he might have commanded.¹

Another manifesto was therefore composed. But here occurred a grand difficulty against which even Pucher's manifesto was not available. Wallenstein's chief crime lay in his connexion with France; if the emperor announced this, the duke of Savoy, through whom he had obtained this information, would be compromised, and war with France inevitable; but the emperor wished to avoid this at any price. Therefore it was necessary to write a manifesto which should prove Wallenstein's guilt without alleging the true reasons, and that the emperor might assume the deed to himself a new document must be composed. This new document is the second Imperial proclamation against Wallenstein, which is dated the 18th of February, and in which the emperor orders that Wallenstein should be arrested "alive or dead." Förster has already, before me, made the remark that this proclamation appeared first after Wallenstein's death: in this he is perfectly right, but in the reason he gives for its having been composed after his death he is altogether wrong. He is of opinion that the proclamation was fabricated in order that more accomplices of Wallenstein might be discovered, sentence passed on them and their estates confiscated; but this is an error: the reason is, that the emperor wished to take upon himself the slaying of Wallenstein. After this falsely dated proclamation of the 18th of February was composed, a larger pamphlet upon Wallenstein's guilt and assassination appeared.

¹ Chateaubriand, in his "Analysis of the History of France," justly remarks that Henry III., in putting to death the two Guises only acted according to the principles of monarchy at that time: all justice emanated from the king: he was the supreme judge, he was also the constituent power as well as the executive, he made the law and applied it: he had the right to pronounce the sentence and to execute it: a murder on his part might be iniquitous, but it was legal.

² That the proclamation of the 18th of February was not issued on that day, but at some later period, is evident from the emperor's still referring, in his despatch of the 1st of March, exclusively to the proclamation of the 24th of January, and issuing his command that the pardon which he had promised therein should be strictly observed.—Altringer also, on the 14th of March, had no knowledge of this *ex post facto* proclamation, dated the 18th of February.

It is verbose, but contains few facts, and rests almost altogether upon false allegations, because, as we have already said, the emperor would not allow the truth to be told, and, therefore, it has been easy in our time for an eloquent defender of Wallenstein to refute the apology of the Imperial court, and, apparently, to re-establish Wallenstein's innocence. Another instance is here furnished in confirmation of the maxim that the truth and the whole truth is always the strongest weapon. If the Imperial court 200 years ago had published without reserve Wallenstein's treasonable negotiations with France, if it had not subsequently assumed the responsibility of the deed committed by Butler, a hundred calumnies would not have obtained circulation, and the writers of the present time would have been spared the difficult task of substituting truth in the place of long and deeply-rooted erroneous opinions.

What has been stated above may be resumed in the following heads :

Firstly—Wallenstein was by his transaction with France guilty of treachery and disloyalty.

Secondly—His deposition was justly decreed.

Thirdly—The emperor neither commanded nor indirectly caused the assassination of Wallenstein.

Fourthly—The generals in the emperor's interest did not wish to have Wallenstein assassinated, but to drive him out of Bohemia.

Fifthly—Piccolomini alone uttered an exhortation to Butler to take Wallenstein, alive or dead.

Sixthly—This exhortation did not reach Butler before the assassination of Wallenstein.

Seventhly—Butler slew Wallenstein of his own free determination, without the instigation of any other person.

Eighthly—The emperor took the deed, when done, upon himself.

Ninthly—The proclamation against Wallenstein, dated the 18th of February, was not drawn up till after Wallenstein's death.

Tenthly—The emperor did not choose to publish the chief reason for the deposition of Wallenstein, namely, his alliance with France.

Eleventhly—For this reason the emperor's declaration about Wallenstein's crime and deposition is full of false and easily refuted allegations.

Twelfthly—The Imperial court has prejudiced itself infinitely by concealing the truth, and has itself thereby contributed to numerous calumnies and lies which have been circulated and believed.

The historical moral that flows from this is, that truth is the best policy.

Wallenstein's body was given up to his widow, interred by her at Gitschin, and in more recent times deposited in the family vault at Münchengrätz.

Colonel Walter Butler was made a count and Imperial chamberlain, and received a golden chain and several of Terzka's estates. He

married a countess Phondana and died without issue at Swarrendorp in Wirtemberg, shortly after the battle of Nordlingen gained by the Imperialists in September, 1634, and in which Butler also greatly distinguished himself. His countess interred him with great pomp at Prague.

In the "Gotha Genealogical Almanac," the counts Butler-Clonebough, called Haimhausen, are stated to descend from count Walter Butler, "who in the time of the Thirty Years' War entered the Austrian military service, and died there of the plague in the rank of colonel. He received a grant of the lordship of Kirchberg, in Bohemia, from the emperor Ferdinand II. As he died without children, he substituted the son of his nephew, Thomas Butler of Clonebough, named Richard, who was in the Spanish service, to be his heir. But he resigned his inheritance to his brother Edmund of Paulstown, who had come to Germany from Ireland since 1666, and from whom the present count (1838) descends in the eighth generation. On the 10th September, 1681, the emperor Leopold granted to Edmund Theobald the *incolat* of Bohemia, and an acknowledgment confirming his rank of count. In 1772, Theobald married into the family of the counts of Haimhausen in Bavaria; and, on its extinction, succeeded to the estates and assumed the name and title; hence, the additional name of Haimhausen."

It may be inferred from the genealogical account, given by Lodge in his "Peerage of Ireland," that count Walter Butler was the grandson of Edmund Butler of Paulstown. His brothers having died without issue he had, properly speaking, no nephews.

The Thomas of Clonebough, mentioned in the German almanac, may have been the Thomas of Clonmore, whose issue are not there given by Lodge.

By an extract from the register of the diocese of Leighlin,¹ of the will of Sir Richard Butler of Paulstown, bart., dated 1678, probate 1680, it appears that Sir Richard, "then going to Germany, made his last will and testament." He left portions to his three daughters, £400 each, "and in case I doe recover my estate in Germany, that then my said daughters shall have more portions proportionate to what I shall recover."

From Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland" it appears that Peter Butler of Roscrea (second son of Edmund Butler of Paulstown), by Catharine De Burgo, had three sons who all died without issue: first, Edmund; second, Walter, "who, being a commander under the emperor, had given him the lordship of Hesberg (*query* Kirchberg) in Germany, which descended to the house of Paulstown;" third, Theobald, who died in Poland, in 1634.

Walter Fitz-Edmund of Paulstown, the eldest brother of the above-named Peter, had issue Sir Richard Butler of Paulstown, his

¹ Marked vol. ii.; furnished to me by the Rev. James Graves.

heir, who died in 1619, and Thomas of Clonmore. Sir Richard left Edmund, who died in 1636, Richard, Peter, and Walter his heir; Edmund's son and heir, Walter, was created a baronet in 1643; his son, Sir Richard Butler, died in 1686.—*Lodge*; title, *Mountgarrett*.

In Harte's "Life of Gustavus Adolphus," 2nd edition, 1767, we find the following statements:—

The yellow and blue Swedish brigades entered and attacked the quarter [of Frankfort on the Oder] where colonel Butler lay with his Irish regiment, who gave the Imperialists an example of resolution which might have saved the town had it been followed. He stood his ground till he had scarcely a soldier left, and did not submit till he was shot through the arm with a musquet ball and pierced through the thigh with a halbert. About sixty officers were taken prisoners, among the latter Butler, not the elder brother who had a hand in Wallenstein's death. The Butler who made such heroic resistance was named Walter. He was of the Ormond family, and nearly related to James, then earl of Ormond. The Imperial generals, to exculpate themselves, laid the blame upon Butler, but Gustavus having that night all the chief officers at supper with him protested that he could not eat a morsel till he saw the brave Irishman—and yet (added the king) I have something to say to him, which he may not chuse to hear. When he came in Gustavus asked, Are you, Sir, the elder or the younger Butler? He answered that he was the younger. God be praised, said Gustavus, O thou brave soldier, had you been the elder I had reason to have passed my sword through your body. Gustavus drew up a certificate of Walter Butler's personal behaviour and signed it, as did all his generals. All we know of Walter Butler after this period is, that when he left the Swedish army, his first business was to send a challenge to colonel Behem, who had commanded a regiment at Frankfort, and whom his enemies had pitched upon to be his accuser. But the Swedish testimonial had terrified Behem, and he signed a full retraction. Butler then went into Poland and raised a very fine troop of cavalry at his own expense. On his return he took Prague, which made him more and more a favourite with Wallenstein, and afterwards married the countess of Phondona. He decided the victory in favour of the Imperialists at the famous battle of Nordlingen, where he stood firm without losing an inch of ground for three and twenty hours during a continual fire, and though 16,000 soldiers were killed in that engagement. Soon after he died.—Vol. i. p. 245.

Harte adds in a note:—

What unsoldierlike action of the elder Butler is here alluded to, is not known from history. It must have been notorious or the king would not have threatened to kill him with his own hand. Time showed that the king knew men and their character very well, for *this* Butler [whose Christian name was James] had a principal hand in the assassination of Wallenstein. Our Butler was at Prague when Wallenstein was assassinated. The Court of Vienna strongly suspected him to be in the generalissimo's interests, but in truth he was neither *for* him nor *against* him. He saw Wallenstein's faults, but knew how to preserve his own personal gratitude at the same time. Not that he had any objection to his being removed (if the emperor so pleased), or tried in a judicial manner. Had Butler not been a *very honest* man he might have made a *great fortune* just before Wallenstein fell: for that general, who always gave the preference to foreign troops, besought him to go to Ireland and raise a great body of infantry, adding that he had bills of exchange at Hamburg, and ready money at his palace of Sagan to make good the sum he intended for that purpose, namely, £32,000, and upwards. But Butler declined the employment, and turned it off very politely by saying "that poor Ireland had been drained too much of her men already." This anecdote I learned at Vienna, but the memorandum was mislaid. I insert it now because Carve confirms it; with this difference that he labours to make Walter Butler a well-wisher to his brother James's "glorious conspiracy," as he calls it. But to *that* matter one confutation may be given, even at this distance of time, namely, that Walter Butler never rose in the army after Wallenstein's death, nor obtained any place at Court: though his *noble* family gave him pretensions that have great weight in Germany.—Vol. i. pp. 245-50.

Harte states that the account of Gustavus Adolphus and Walter Butler at the storming of Frankfort on the Oder, as well as of the

assassination of Wallenstein, was new-written for his second edition, and chiefly upon the authority of the Rev. Thomas Carve, chaplain to colonel James Butler, one of the assassins.

The narrative of the assassination does not differ from the usual account, but Harte says concerning the Butler engaged in it:—

We have spoken of this officer, and his brother in the storming of Frankfort on the Oder, and have observed there that the king of Sweden (probably for just reasons) had a personal hatred to him. He enjoyed his countship, and the large confiscations made over to him, not above one year after Wallenstein's death: for Carve left Ireland in August, 1634 (as appears by the Apostolic Vicar's testimonial), and having wandered over Poland, Bohemia, and great part of Germany, found our James Butler dead in the duchy of Wirtemberg. Carve, by the way, was sent for from Ireland to be made chaplain to Butler's regiment. Butler bequeathed his riches as follows:—Those *pious* riches, says Carve, *quas exquisitissimo Marte masculi sui manus adquisierat*. He left a memorial of £20 value to Lamormain, the emperor's confessor; £3,300 to the Irish and Scottish College at Prague; £500 to be distributed to Irish students then resident there; £1,000 to his sister; and £150 to Walter Devereux who killed Wallenstein. His widow whom he left very rich, carried his body into Bohemia, being guarded by a troop of dragoons, and buried him there with great pomp.

Of Devereux it appears from history that he afterwards became colonel of Butler's regiment that he had also the gold key of the bed-chamber given to him. When he was created a colonel he appointed Carve chaplain to his regiment, and hence it is supposed that Carve knew more of Wallenstein's death than any other writer. I find Devereux alive in 1638, by the testimonial he gave this chaplain when he returned to Ireland, and whom he had raised at last to be chaplain-general to the English, Scottish and Irish forces in the Imperial service.—*Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 191.

Harte states "that he thought the archives of Vienna or Prague might contain some official account of Wallenstein's assassination, but such a paper," says he, "after all my inquiries, I never could hear of. M. de Firmian put Carve's book into my hands as the only real assistance that could be given me. His account is supposed to be the most authentic in many respects." It is very strange that Harte, relying upon Carve as his authority, and referring so specially to the "Itinerarium"¹ to support his statements, should nevertheless have so much misapprehended him. The extracts from Carve appended, will be amply sufficient to show that Walter Butler, who behaved so gallantly at Frankfort on the Oder, who contributed to the victory at Nordlingen and died soon after, leaving the countess Phondana his widow, was the same who was the chief actor at the death of Wallenstein, and who bequeathed his fortune as above mentioned; and that Harte's allegations as to James Butler are unfounded: It does not even appear from Carve, that James was the *brother* of Walter Butler.

This Itinerary through Germany, Bohemia, Poland, by the Rev. Thomas Carve, chaplain-general to the English, Scottish and Irish in the service of the emperor, was first printed at Mayence, in 1639, and is dedicated to James Butler, earl of Ormonde. Carve seems to

¹ Itinerarium R. D. Thomæ Carve, Tipperariensis Sacellani Majoris in fortissimâ juxta et Nobilissimâ Legione Walteri Devereux, sub Sacrà Cæsareâ Majestati

stipendia merentis; cum Historiâ facti Butleri, Gordon, Lealy et aliorum. Editio tertia auctior et correctior. Moguntiae, 1640.

have been in some sort a dependant of the house of Ormonde, and to have regarded the earl as his feudal superior. The following passage from the Dedication to the earl of Ormonde will sufficiently show Carve's disposition towards the house of Ormonde and his desire to extol the name of Butler:—

It has not occurred by chance, that my pen has preferred to address you rather than any one else; for it relates the heroic actions of those of your name, which add glory to your illustrious family. It tells of those Butlers, your most noble cousins, who, as they were ever chiefest in name in their own country, so among foreign nations were always of the first consideration on account of their eminent valour. Deign to follow them with me to the farthest bounds of Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Bohemia, and hear the fame of the Butlers of your most noble house, celebrated everywhere for its fidelity to the emperor and other kings. Would that (I say this with all the sincerity of my heart), would that the spirit of thy Walter, to whom I was for many years the inseparable companion, could return to life and appear in arms before you; then, indeed, you would see a man, in war, rather a friend to peace than eager for hostile strife, you would behold a man, potent in arms and in all his warlike dispositions, regarding nothing so much as, by his most strenuous endeavours, to restore to the Holy Roman Empire its pristine tranquillity.¹

In the Preface to the reader, Carve thus explains his motives for writing his journal:—

While affected by the grief of others, I was also myself very much touched by the domestic funeral of my most esteemed Butler, with whom I had lived a most delightful time, the greatest part of it in the most confidential intercourse; having been always treated by him as a brother, having always respected him as a father. To make some return for his very great kindness, and show before I died, that I was not ungrateful, it occurred to my mind that I might compose a book relating his illustrious deeds, and publish it to the world. I had seen with what envy he had frequently undertaken many expeditions under the best auspices. I had seen his name unjustly traduced during his life, and first covered with glory after his death; but I had also seen and learned from the example of others, how brief is the remembrance after their decease, especially of military commanders. That I might prevent such happening to my Butler, the most dear to me of all men, I undertook to write this little History, or rather Itinerary, that whilst writing concerning many memorable things which happened to myself, I might record also the deeds of my Butler, and leave a token of my affection by publishing this little work, in a manner, as a monument of it. I had desired indeed to have comprised in one and the same work, all his actions and those of the other Butlers, but when I found that I could hardly do that amid the tumult of war, and that leisure and quiet would be required for it, I laid aside the idea till a more convenient time.²

¹ This passage occurs in the Dedication to James Butler, earl of Ormonde, the original is as follows:—

“Quod vero ad te potius quam ad quemvis alium suo impetu feratur calamus, non id quidem temere evenit. Complexus est enim ipse heroica Tuorum facta; quæ ad tuam quoque totiusque Perillustria Stemmatibus laudem spectant, portat Nobilissimos Majores et Consanguineos tuos Butleros, qui ut in Patriâ semper fuerunt summi nominis, ita apud externos, ob egregiam virtutem, præcipue auctoritatis. Age, vade, si lubet, in extremam usque Germaniam, Poloniam, Lithuaniam, Hungariam, Bohemiam, penetra, si vacat, et audi si non

Butlerorum tuorum fama Imperatori Romano, aliisque regibus æque fida, quam nobilissimæ prosapiæ tuæ gloriosæ ubique celebretur? Utinam (cum intimo id affectus mei sensu ingenuè proloquor), utinam, inquam, manes Waltheri Tui, cui annos plusculos individuis fui comes, in vitale corpus remigrare possent, et se tibi in armis præsentare, videres utique virum inter arma potius ad amicam pacem quam hostilia bella propensum, spectares virum in armis fortem, omni bellico apparatu nil potius spectantem, quam ut Imperio Romano pristinam restitueret pro virili suâ tranquillitatem.”

² “Ad Lectorem.—Me jam etiam aliorum

Carve devotes a chapter to the heroic actions (*heroica facta*) of Walter Butler previous to his decease:—

After [the taking of Frankfort on the Oder], he remained a prisoner for six months and was ransomed for 1000 imperial crowns. He directed his course to our army, which then, after the battle of Leipsig, was marching through Lusatia into Silesia, and meeting with marshal Tieffenbach was received by him with the greatest honour and favour. He here, by the authority of Tieffenbach, compelled colonel Behem, who had been the principal calumniator of Butler at the emperor's court, to deny in writing the calumnies he had uttered against him, and to assert that, on the contrary, Walter Butler had done all that became a brave soldier. Having duly vindicated his reputation, Walter, with the leave of the generals, proceeded to Warsaw, in Poland, and at his own expense raised a regiment of dragoons of chosen soldiers, which it was his intention to lead back into Silesia. Our Walter had scarcely arranged for winter quarters when he received orders from Wallenstein to march to Sagan in Lusatia, a town of Wallenstein's, which being likely to be captured by the enemy, he thought its defence could not be entrusted to one more faithful than Walter, where he arrived unexpectedly and dispersed the enemy. After three months in Bohemia he departed for Lymburg, from thence to Wallenstein at Pilsen, who led him away to the siege of Prague.¹

These matters being thus settled, Walter Butler was ordered to Eger, and making sudden irruption upon the enemy made a great slaughter of them and took twelve standards, and thereby obtained the good graces of Wallenstein, so much so that he received as a reward the county of Jegerndorf and its appurtenances for his winter quarters. While making a stay of some duration at this place he united himself in matrimony with the very noble countess of Phondana. But the many actions performed by our Walter

dolore tristem, domesticum quoque funus optimi Butleri mei tangebatur plurimum, quocum dulcissimos dies, eosque plusculos in omni confidentiâ exegeram, à quo suavissime semper tanquam Frater habitus, cultus ut Pater fueram : cujus tantæ benevolentie cum par esse non possem, nollem tamen ingratus mori, hoc tandem succurrit animo, ut præclara ejus facta mundo vulgata, inter homines Libello, aperirem. Viderem quantâ cum invidiâ multas sæpe expeditiones optimis auspiciis susceperat, videbam ejus nomen ipso adhuc vivente inique traductam, post mortem effulgere clarius : videbam vero etiam, aliorum doctus exemplo, quam brevis, maximè inter milites, mortuorum sit recordatio. Hæc omnia ut in Butlero meo virorum omnium amantissimo caverem, Historiolam vel Itinerarium potius hoc scribendum suscepi, ut dum de multis quæ mihi memoranda contigerant, scriberem, etiam Butleri mei recordarer, ac amorem meum quantulocunque hoc opusculo saltem publico affectus monumento testatum relinquerem. Voluisssem quidem omnia ejus et Butlerorum aliorum facta, uno solo ad id suscepto Libello complexus esse, sed cum inter bellicos tumultus id fieri difficulter posset, et id tranquillius otium requirat, cogitationem illam in commodiora tempora deposui."

¹ "Post sex mensium captivitatem Waltherus tandem vincula mille Imperialium litto redemit. Movebat tum fortè post

Lipsiacam stragem exercitus noster per Lusatiam in Silesiam, ad quem Butlerus noster cursum direxit, ac Marescallum Tieffenbach conveniens summo cum honore ac raro favore ab eo est receptus. Hic colonellum Behem, qui potissimus fuerat Butleri apud Cæsarem diffamator, auctoritate Tieffenbachii adegit scripto revocare, quæ contra Waltherum in aula Imperatoris temerè effuderat, in quo Waltherum egisse quod masculum militem addeceret, asseverat. Famâ ritè assertâ, Waltherus obtentâ a Generalibus veniâ, in Poloniam Varsariam profectus est, suisque impensis centum equo pedestrium selectorum militum collegit ut in Silesiam eadem quâ venerat viâ reduceret. Vix Waltherus noster pactus erat cum incolis loci pecuniam pro hybernis militum solvendis, cum a Wallensteinio sine morâ diu (*sic*) noctuque properandi Saganum advenit imperium. Est Saganum urbs in Lusatiæ confiniis sita spectans ad ipsum Wallensteinium quam cum hostes impetituri videbantur, Wallensteinius fideliori quam Walthero committi haud posse putavit, ideoque nil cunctatus Waltherus Wallensteinii decretis obsecundare, opinione hostium citius adfuit, eosque ex insperato ad ortus fudit fugavitque, ac immanem prædæ vim obtinuit, cumque illic trimestri substitisset in Bohemiam postea ex Lymburgum profectus est, inde Pilsenam ad Wallensteinium abiit, qui eum ad obsidendum Pragam abduxit."

Butler in the service of his Imperial majesty upon various most dangerous occasions can scarcely be related. I shall only add this one, worthy to be remembered in all ages to come, that at the battle of Nordlingen, in the presence of the king of Hungary and Bohemia and the cardinal Infant, he fought most bravely for twenty-four hours without intermission and lost his lieutenant-colonel and watchmaster. . . . He was then sent to besiege the city of Aurach, close to which was a very strong fortress of the duke of Württemberg's, which he took, but not without considerable loss of men, and after taking it by storm gave it up to be pillaged by the troops. At length after having recovered various towns and forts, this eminent man, worthy of being held in perpetual remembrance, most loyal to the emperor, closed his life most placidly, at Swarrendorp, having received all the rites of the Catholic Church.¹

In a subsequent chapter Carve relates the rise and general events of the career of Albert Wallenstein till its close in the catastrophe of Eger:—

Wallenstein hoping by means of his wealth [*hisce gradibus argenteis*] to ascend the throne of Bohemia, had selected a fitting place called the White Mountain (at which Frederic, the count Palatine was formerly defeated and driven from his own lands, as well as from those which he had usurped, contrary to all right and justice), but so treacherous a machination could not long be concealed from the emperor, who, as soon as the rumour had reached his ears, prohibited the generals who were loyal to him from receiving any further commands from Wallenstein; and this prohibition was first published at Prague. But it happened when Wallenstein wished to assemble the army on the White Mountain, that count Terzky, his relation, having ascertained that the treason was discovered, returned to Wallenstein, informed him of the disclosure of his design, and explained the hazardous nature of the step he was about to take. He thereby induced Wallenstein to order all the cannon to be spiked, and to appoint to the command of Pilsen a man devoted to himself, whom no promises or solicitations should induce to give it up to any one but himself. Wallenstein himself turned towards Eger with a thousand soldiers, partly foot, and partly of horse. In this escort was comprised the regiment of Walter Butler, which rumour represented to the Imperialists everywhere, as being of Wallenstein's faction, but how falsely, the event shows. This indeed is clear, that Wallenstein had frequently endeavoured to induce Butler to share in his designs, had promised him large estates and high rank, and that he had offered him large funds in bills, partly on Hamburg and partly on Sagan, to raise Irish soldiers for his service. Butler was always suspicious of this favour, so tardily shown towards him by

¹ *His ita compositis Egram cum octo cohortibus equitum destinatur Waltherus, qui irruens in hostem magnam illic stragem edidit, cui duodecim vexilla militaria forti pugna eripuit—ideoque mirum quantam gratiam a Wallensteinio inierit, ita ut in compensam comitatem Jegerndorff unā cum pertinentibus pro hybernis suis acceperit. Hic dum commoratur diutius matrimonio sibi associat perillustrem Dominam Comitissam de Phondana. Quanta porro Waltherus noster Cæsari obsequia præstiterit in variis iisque periculosis occasionibus, dici vix potest, exequenter ceteras militis egregii laudes alii qui ex instituto Butlerum commendandum suscepere: hoc unum addo omnibus post nos sæculis memorandum, quod ad Nortlingen coram serenissimo Hungariæ et Bohemiæ Rege et Cardinali Infante viginti quatuor horis continetur sine intermissione fortissimè præliatus est, adeo ut vice tribunum suum cum præ-*

fecto vigiliis amiserit. Nec tamen hosti pedem unum cesserit, quoad Hispani (qui se vere viros et magnos milites eo in conflictu præstiterunt) cum Croatis in succursum venirent. Quanta his sanguinis utrobique profuvies, facile est prudenti cogitare, dum audit eodem prælio sedecem millia eodem die quæ fuit decimā sextā Augusti anni millesimi sexcentissimi trigesimi quarti, in loco conflictus occubuisse. Ab hoc conflictu missus est Waltherus cum octo legionibus ad obsidendam civitatem Auracensem cui fortissima adiacebat arx duci Wirtembergensi parens quam feliciter non tamen sine suorum militum jacturā aliquā tandem obtinuit et prædæ militum cum vi cepisset reliquit. Tandem post varia oppida et castella recuperata, vir sempiternā memoriā dignissimus Cæsari fidissimus, ad Swarrendorp vitam placidissimè, omnibus prius sacris ritu Catholico munitus, finivit.—pp. 71-2, vol. i.

Wallenstein. But when he understood distinctly what an evil design was intended, he would never consent to be released from his oath to the emperor. From that out, his whole endeavours were directed towards arresting this traitor, who had been raised to so great a height by the emperor, and delivering him up to be punished according to his deserts. When he found, that unassisted he was not equal to this undertaking, he took into his counsels a soldier of staunch loyalty to the emperor, and of great bravery, Walter Devereux, at that time commander or captain of a troop, who most faithfully gave his assistance to Walter Butler. Sure of his aid, Butler without hesitation joined his regiment to the forces of Wallenstein, then on the march to Eger.¹

The rest is told as in Mailath. It is not easy to divine how Harte, in a second edition of his "Life of Gustavus Adolphus," for which, as he states, the account of Wallenstein's death was new written, chiefly on the authority of Thomas Carve's work, could have fallen into the error of attributing the death of Wallenstein to James, and not, as the fact was, to Walter Butler, the same who behaved so gallantly at Frankfort on the Oder.

Carve's second volume is dedicated to Isabella [*recte* Elizabeth] countess of Ormonde, and in the prefatory letter, extolling the Butlers generally, he says,² "I need not mention James and Walter Butler; Germany knows, and Poland, how illustrious are their names and what men they were ever found to be." Carve mentions that James Butler was colonel of the regiment of which Walter Butler was lieutenant-colonel at Frankfort on the Oder, and that he was also at the siege of Lymburg, and that he afterwards served in Poland against

¹ [Wallenstein] sperans argenteis hinc gradibus ad Bohemici regni solium conscendere, ad id delegerat etiam locum commodum (montem album appellant, in quo olim Palatinus Comes Fredericus et alieno honore sibi contra jus fasque arrogato et propriis terris exutus est), sed non potuit diu latere Cæsarem tam iniqua machinatio, ad cujus aures cum venisset rumor, scripto quamprimum inhibuit fidelioribus belli ducibus ne post hac a Wallensteinio imperia capeissent: Hocque scriptum Pragæ primum innotuit. Accidit verò, cum Wallenstein totum exercitum convocare proposuisset in dictum montem, ut Comes de Tersky, affinis Wallensteinii de propalato proditorio proposito certior factus, ad Wallensteinium rediret, ipsique proditum negotium instituti sui nunciaret, explicaret etiam quam periculose plenum opus alere ageretur, eo Wallensteinium adduxit ut omnia tormenta bellica clavis obdurari præciperet, Pilsnæque hominem sibi fidum præficeret, qui nullis pactis pollicitationibus aut rationibus, locum illum alteri quam Wallensteinio traderet: Ipse vero se Egram versus converteret cum millibus aliquot partim equitum partim peditum. In hoc comitatu comprehendebatur legio Waltheri Butleri, quæ fama Cæsareanis passim Wallensteinianæ factionis esse iniquè arguebatur, quam verò id falso,

declaravit eventus. Hoc quidem evidens est Wallensteinium sæpius conatum esse Butlerum in consilii sui societatem tradere, ipsique pollicitam esse amplissimas terras et opimas dignitates, ducentaque Imperialium millia per cambium partim Hamburgi partim Segani destinasse ad colligendos milites Iberos in sua servitia fidos, Butlerum tamen semper suspectum habuisse tam prolixè propensum sibi Wallensteinii favorem. Quando vero clarius intellexit quo res pessum vergeret nunquam consentire voluisse ut Sacramento Cæsari facto solveretur: Dehinc omnibus viribus annexus est, ut Proditorem hunc a Cæsare adeo elevatum comprehenderet, ac Imperatori pro merito plectendum traderet: cum verò ipse solus sufficiens haud esset tam arduo negotio expediendo, in consilium propositi sui adhibuit militem inter paucos fidum Cæsari, et plenum maculo animo Waltherum Devereux, tunc temporis turmæ uni præfectum seu Capitaneum qui suam Walthero operam fidelissimam addixit. Hoc adjutore securus Butler, libenter suam legionem Wallensteinicis copiis Egram commigrantibus adjunxit.

² De Jacobo et Walthero Butleris nil moveo, novit Germania, novit Polonia quam chara capita quam rara nomina quantos vivos semper experta sit.

the Muscovites. At the conclusion of Carve's work is a chapter entitled "Series Butlerianæ Prosapiæ," an account of the lineage of the Butlers. Of the "Butlerianum Stemma" he enumerates fourteen families in order: 1. Dunboyne; 2. Cahir; 3. Mountgarret; 4. "De Tullia Equitis Aurati;" 5. Ikerrin; 6. "Jechia olim celeberrima;" 7. "De oppido Pauli (Paulstown) ex hac familiâ Perillustris Dominus Waltherus Butlerus, Comes, et Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Colonellus, ac ejusdem Cubicularius, et Theobaldus Butlerus, Richardus item Butlerus cum Edmundo, omnes Capitanei, ortum et originem suam sumpserunt;" 8. Kilcash; 9. Moyally; 10. "Cilvolicio;" 11. Knockgraffon, of which was Thomas, surnamed the Lame, famous in the wars in France; 12. Grange; 13. Bansagh; 14. Clonova.

Carve then descends to particular families—"nunc ad particulares familias descendo"—and gives the names of many cadet branches of the above fourteen principal families. Among the "Illustres Familiae ex Vice-Comiti Monte Garretæ exortæ," he states the second to be that "de Daginsalano ex quâ Illustrissimus Dominus meus Jacobus Butlerus, Generalis, excubiarum Præfectus in exercitu Hispanico, Nobilitate inter Polonos clarus, Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis necnon Regni Poloniæ Colonellus, descendit."

Coleridge's translation shows the Iago or Zanga-like character that Butler is made to play in Schiller's famous tragedy;¹ and a despatch from secretary Windebank to lord Strafforde,² at Dublin Castle, upon the event, affords proof of the great importance attached to it at the period: and, in conclusion, it may be observed, that natural repugnance to such a deed as "the taking off" of Wallenstein, as well as its manner, secret and treacherous, will probably ever form a bar to a fair consideration of the conduct of Walter Butler. If Taaffe's evidence can be relied upon, and circumstances concur to render it unimpeachable, then Butler was assuredly not the double traitor of the tragedy, nor a sort of executioner for the mere love of gain. He was compelled to be cognizant of, and his life was in peril, if he did not seem to aid and abet a treason, in the failure or success of which the fate of the empire and the emperor was involved. After his death, it would appear that Wallenstein had miscalculated his strength and that his great designs would probably have miscarried; but so great was his power and his potency of character that Butler by cutting him off in his treason was reasonably, at the time, considered to have saved the empire.

And who shall say that he did not? This deed of Walter Butler may have prevented a train of consequences the most momentous, and if the *manner* of executing it forbids us to call the act, with Carve, "*heroic*," the circumstances as now stated will, I trust, go far to relieve Butler's character from the infamy which has hitherto

¹ *Piccolomini*, act i., scene 5. *Death of Wallenstein*, act i., scene 4; act ii., scene 5; act iii., scene 6; act iv., scene 2. ² *Strafforde's Lett.*, vol. i. pp. 215, 216.

rested upon it, and to exhibit him in the light of an officer impelled by a stern sense of duty in a critical hour to use the best and *only* means remaining to him to protect his sovereign's crown.

FOLK-LORE.

No. I.

BY MR. NICHOLAS O'KEARNEY.

AINE, or Aighne, as the name is sometimes written, was a being of great note in the olden times, as may be seen from the evidences which I shall adduce, and generally supposed to have been possessed of extraordinary or supernatural powers, having an affinity to the attributes of a Pagan deity. This Aine was the sister of Milucradh of Sliabh Guilleán, better known among the peasantry as the *Cailleach Biorar* (i.e. the old woman who frequents the water) of Loch Dagruadh, on that mountain, and daughter of Cuilleán, or Guilleán, from whom the mountain is supposed to have derived its name.¹ But before any further notice is given of Aine, it is necessary to give a short sketch of Guilleán himself, in order to show his connexion with the ancient mythology of Ireland, and lead to the inference that his daughter, too, was connected with the Pagan worship of our ancestors. Cuilleán, or Guilleán, himself was a very famous being that once resided in the Isle of Man, and of so long-lived or mythic a nature, as to be found living in all ages of Pagan history; at all events he is represented to have lived at the time when Conchubar Mac Nessa, afterwards king of Ulster, was a young man, who possessed little prospects of aggrandisement, except what he might win by his sword. Conchubar, being of an ambitious and enterprising nature, consulted the oracle of Clochor, and was informed that he should proceed to the Isle of Man, and get Cuilleán, or Guilleán, a noted *ceard*, or worker in iron, to make a sword, spear, and shield for him; and that the *buadha* (supernatural power) possessed by them would be instrumental in gaining for him the sovereignty of Ulster. Conchubar, accordingly, repaired to the Isle of Man and prevailed on Cuilleán to commence the work. But while awaiting its completion, he sauntered one morning along the shore, and, in course of his walk, met with a mermaid fast asleep on the beach. Conchubar bound the syren; but she having awoke, and perceived she was bound, besought him to liberate her; and, to induce him to yield to her petition, she told him that she was Tiobal, princess of the ocean, and promised, in case he caused Cuilleán

¹ *Vid.* MS. *Féis Tighe Conain Cinn-sleibhe*, announced for publication by the *Ossianic Society*.

to form her representation on the shield surrounded with this inscription in large letters—"Tiobal bean-élaíe na mara," i.e. "Tiobal, princess of the ocean," it would possess such extraordinary *buadha*, that whenever he was about engaging his enemy in battle, and looked upon her figure on the shield, read the legend, and invoked her name, his enemies would diminish in strength while he and his people would acquire a proportionate increase to theirs. Conchubar had the shield made according to the advice of Tiobal; and, on his return to Ireland, such extraordinary success attended his arms that he won the kingdom of Ulster. The king was not ungrateful; for he invited Cuilleán to settle in Ulster, and bestowed on him the tract of land along the eastern coast, extending from Gleann Righe, or the vale of the Newry, on the north, to Glas Neasa, or the river of Annagasson, near Dunany, on the south; which were the boundaries of the ancient Cualgne.¹ The same Cuilleán flourishes in the *Tain Bo Cualgne*. In that piece he is introduced offering an invitation to the king of Ulster: "Cuilleán Ceard a aghm, acur do nymed plead lair do Choncobair, acur do curaid do éocairad go h-Éamhain; acur adúbaric le Concubair zan do breic leir ach uatad fion-laeach, oir ní raib críche nó fearad aicce ach toirad a óir, acur aghneona, acur a éancharic," i.e. "Cuilleán Ceard (*artifex*) was his name; and, having prepared a banquet for Conchubar, he went to Éamhain to invite him. He requested Conchubar to fetch none with him, except a few warlike men; because he had neither patrimony nor lands to support him, and solely relied on the produce of his hammer, anvil, and vice." It was on the occasion of this feast that the mythic being, Seán Mac Subhaltach, then called Mac Beag, in consequence of his diminutive stature, killed Cuilleán's mythic watch-dog, and was obliged to discharge the duties of the hound for Cuilleán. Hence he was called Cu-Cuilleán, or Cuchulainn, i.e. Cuilleán's hound.² This same Cuilleán, or Guilleán, as he is usually styled in popular tradition, resided in a cave on Sliabh Guilleán, and is still remembered with horror in the traditions of the peasantry, which traditions must have been derived from the notions concerning Guilleán, or the form of religion with which he had been connected, inculcated by the first preachers of Christianity. There is an Irish phrase in common use in some localities, namely, "golla gullín," i.e. "the servant of Guilleán," synonymous with an imp of the devil, which strongly warrants the inference. Milucradh, or the *Cailleach Biorar*, Guilleán's daughter, is supposed to reside still in the cave or artificial vault inhabited by her father on the mountain; and, in accordance with the nature of the name she bears, to be in the constant practice of frequenting Loch Dagruadh, which she caused the Tuatha Dedanan druids to form for her accommodation, and to bestow many strange *buadha* upon it.

It may be necessary, in order to render what I have already stated more clear to such as happen to be unacquainted with this branch of

¹ *Vid.* MS. Acts of Muiredach.

² *Vid.* *Tain Bo Cualgne*, MS.

Irish literature, to give part of a gloss, or rather an interlineal note found in an old copy of the MS. entitled *Ἀν τ-οὐραν Ζαεῖαλ*, or Achievements of seven celebrated Irishmen in the East, under the command of the royal champion Conall Karnach: the note will tell for itself, at least, it will show that some person saw and studied certain Irish MSS. not known to us of the present day, or invented a form of religious belief for our Pagan ancestors long before our grandfathers were born, and very possibly at a much earlier period, since the writer of the copy, from which this transcript is made, was manifestly ignorant of Latin, and therefore could not have been the author of the note in question. The interlineation occurs in that part of the MS. where Mananan Mac Lir is introduced instructing Cuchulainn to use the *Gath-bolg*, or sting, which he extracted from a serpent that infested *Loch-na-Niath*, near Mananan's house, in Armenia:—"Gullinus quidem Ποσειδων fuit, nam ἵη Ibernicum aut Phœnicum nomen Neptuni, et idem quod mare;¹ ideo Guillinus fuit alterum nomen pro ἵη, deo maris, ut Tiobal maris dea fuit. Nam illa Concubaro Mac Nessa, postea regi Ulthoniæ, apparuit sub specie mulieris pulcherissimæ, cum in Manniam jussu oraculi cui nomen Cloch-ḡη—i. e. saxum solis—quod isto tempore celeberrimum fuit his partibus, adebat ad Gullinum quendam uti daret *buadha* druidica clypeo et armis ejus. Gullinus imaginem Τιοβαλ in clypeum finxit, et *buadha* multa invincibilique habebat, secundum aucthores vetheres Ibernicos." Well then, if, according to this curious note, Guilleán, or Cuilleán, was the same as the Ποσειδόν of the Greeks, the Neptune of the Latins, the ἵη of the Irish, and the ocean, or deity of the ocean, of all these; if the Guilleán of Man was the Lir of the Irish² the assertion made in a former paper of mine, printed in the Society's *Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 145-8, and to which exception was taken by some critics, namely, that Aine, the daughter of the Guilleán (possibly the Tiobal, Aoibheal of the Irish, characteristic of another attribute), was the moon, which in all ages, and among all civilized nations was, and still is, considered to possess so much influence over the waters of the ocean, was fully justified. Why should any person unacquainted with this branch of Irish archaeology rashly assert that the picture I had drawn, after a long and painful study, was a bugbear conjured into existence by dint of my morbid imagination?

I have not, however, wholly done with the mythic being, Aine; but fear to be prolix. I must, however, in self-defence, follow the inquiry a little further.

¹ It may be worth remarking here that the Romans, like the Irish, imagined that Neptune was the ocean as well as its deity: "Mare etiam (Deus) quem Neptunum esse dicebas."—Cic., *De Nat. Deor.*, lib. ii. cap. 20.

² The writers of the "History and Antiquities of Man" assert that the island was

first peopled by fairies, or supernatural beings, who enveloped it in a dense mist, in order that it might not be manifest to human eyes, lest an invasion should be the consequence. This agrees, in a remarkable manner, with the Irish traditions concerning Mananan Mac Lir, after whom the island was named.

Aine, or Aighne, as the name is sometimes written, signifies a small ring or circle, according to Irish lexicographers, and is the diminutive of $\Delta\eta\eta$: it may have had this denomination in opposition to $\Delta\eta$, or $\Delta\eta\eta$, the greater circle, or $\text{bél-}\Delta\eta$, year, "the great circle of Belus, i.e. the sun, or the annual course of that planet through the ecliptic,"¹ or it may have been so called, because it is an inferior globe. To show that popular tradition supports the opinion that Aine was the moon, it is necessary to remark that a great stone called "*caṡaṡṡ ḡṡne*," or "*caṡaṡṡ ṡa ṡ-ḡaṡṡe baēṡ*," i.e. "the chair of Aine, or the chair of the lunatics," was located, possibly still is, near Dunany; and the people generally believed that lunatics, actuated by some insuperable impulse, if at liberty, usually made their way to this stone, and seated themselves thrice upon it; and it was as generally believed that after having performed that ceremony they became incurable. It was also considered a very dangerous act for persons of sane minds to sit upon this stone, lest they too might become subject to the power of Aine, that is, become affected with lunacy. The human race were not the only beings supposed to have been affected by the mischievous Aine, since rabid dogs even were said to have come from many parts of the country and flocked around this stone, to the great danger of the neighbours and their cattle: when they remained around the lunatics' chair for some time, they then retired into the sea, as if compelled by some potent invisible power, and the people supposed that they were forced to visit the submarine dominions of Aine, since they were entirely under her subjection.

Aine was much dreaded by the old people on the Friday, Saturday and Sunday immediately following *Lá Lughnasa* (Lammas Day), for these three days were supposed to have been sacred to her in conjunction with Crom Dubh, or Crom Cruach, and were called *Aoine*, *Satharn*, *agus Domhnach Aine agus Chroim Duibh*, which circumstance, independent of any other evidence, warrants the opinion that Aine was the name or title of an ancient Irish deity, since she had certain days dedicated to her in conjunction with Crom, an universally acknowledged deity of the Pagan Irish. Though this Crom is generally supposed to have been a deity, there are reasons for supposing it was only the name of a certain festival of the sun and moon held by the *Buicnechta* (peasantry) to return grateful thanks for the fruits of the earth having reached maturity through the joint influence of both planets, or deities, the king and queen of heaven. The Romans seem to have conceded like functions to these planets, especially to Diana, who was the moon:—

Rustica agricolae bonis

Tecta frugibus replea.—*Catull. Hymn to Diana, v. 515.*

"Ipse sol mundum omnem sua luce compleat, ab eoque Luna illu-

¹ See *O'Brien's Dict.*, sub. voc. $\Delta\eta\eta$.

minata graviditates et partus, maturitatesque gignendi."¹ But the three days dedicated to Aine were considered to be unlucky, and few persons in the neighbourhood of Dunaine would, in the olden time, venture to bathe on those days, nor would the fishermen follow their avocations but with great reluctance, because it was remarked that one or more persons should forfeit their lives by drowning, as a sacrifice to the relentless Aine. These notions, which, like all ancient customs, are now nearly forgotten, would seem to be a remnant of some tradition relative to cruel rites practised on those days, and may, perhaps, have some affinity with the Lacedemonian custom of offering human sacrifices to Diana. Some Irish writers assert that the Milesian colony, in course of its transit hither, sojourned for some time in Lacedemon, and afterwards proceeded farther west, accompanied by a large body of Greeks. If this be true, the superstitious observances alluded to might easily have crept into Ireland with the colony. Now, I would again ask such as object to that doctrine, is there anything paradoxical in the supposition that this Irish Aine, who was supposed to have possessed so great an influence over lunatics, rabid animals, and even the sea, may have been a name of the being made to represent the moon—the lesser circle; because the year of the ancients was lunar; and to have imagined an affinity with the Anec of the Carthaginians! But this is not all: there was a sister of Dido and daughter of Belus—a very important name in the planetary theogony—who followed Æneas into Italy, which in plain terms would seem that he introduced her worship into his adopted country, since this Anna became a Roman goddess by the very simple process of diving under the waters of the river Numicus, and asserting she would abide there for ever: hence she was called Anna Perenna, exactly like our Aine, who is supposed to be still living in the submarine dominions off Dunany point. This same Anna was supposed to have been the moon;—"quia mensibus impleat annum," like our Aine or lesser circle:—

*Sunt quibus hæc Luna est, quia mensibus impleat annum:
Pars Themini, Inachiam, pars putat esse bovem.*²

The truth is, Luna, or Aine, or Anna, or Anec, was all these, for the Egyptians made the cow to represent Isis, or the moon, as the ox represented Osiris, or the sun, because of their great utility to man; and the ancient Egyptians never deified any animal except such as were found of great utility to mankind, as Cicero remarks:—"Ægyptii, nullam belluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent. . . . Ita concludamus tamen belluas a barbaris propter beneficium consecratas."³ This same Anna of the Romans, or Latins, as being the moon, was also Diana; for Diana was the moon,

¹ Cic., *De Nat. Deor.*, lib. ii. cap. 46.

² *De Nat. Deor.*, lib. i. cap. 36.

³ Ovid, *Fast.*, lib. iii. v. 657.

because she measured the year by her monthly phases, as Catullus in his Hymn to Diana, asserts :—

Dicta lumine luna
Tu cursu, dea, menstruo
Metiens iter annorum.¹

Cicero, too, asserts that Diana and the moon were the same :—“*Dianam autem et Lunam eandem esse putant*,”² and the sun was a god called Apollo, and the moon was a goddess called Diana by the Greeks, according to the same authority :—“*Solem deum esse, Lunamque, quorum alterum Apollinem Graeci, alterum Dianam putant*.”³ Anna, or Anec, was a Carthaginian goddess ; and Juno was specially worshipped at Carthage ; but Diana, or the moon, was Juno, according to Catullus :—

Tu lucina dolentibus,
Juno dicta puerpulis.⁴

and the same poet makes his Diana—a singular coincidence with the functions attributed to our Aine, and her sister Milucradh, or the Cailleach Biorar—mistress of rivers, or waters :—

Montium domina ut fores,
Silvarumque virentium,
Saltuumque reconditorum,
Animiumque sonantum.⁵

But, after all, if I be accused of inventing a system of worship for our ancestors on the slightest possible pretence, I find I am not singular in this respect, as the Rev. Dr. Carew, in his “*Irish Ecclesiastical History*,” has been busy at the work of invention too, if invention it be. Speaking on the Pagan theology of the ancient Irish, he says : “*The profound veneration which Paganism inculcated for every object, influenced, in the imagination of its votaries, the concerns in which they were interested. Did they, for example, derive from the bounteousness of the soil their principal means of subsistence ; or, was the care of their flocks that which chiefly engaged their attention ; the sun and the moon, with the whole host of heaven, were for them so many deities, whose favour they were anxious to propitiate*.”⁶ In Cormac’s Glossary⁷ *Ana* is stated to have been the mother of the gods, apparently, because the sun and moon were the two great deities of the primitive Pagans ; but the fancies, passions, and prejudices of men, not guided by true revelation, soon invented many attributes to those deities ; and as there were two, why should not there be many more gods and goddesses ? Consequently, all the

¹ V. 512.

² *De Nat. Deor.*, lib. ii. cap. 27.

³ *Id.*, lib. iii. cap. 20.

⁴ V. 509.

⁵ V. 505.

⁶ See p. 25.

⁷ See *O'Reilly's Diet.*, sub. voc. *ana*.

attributes of the deity were subdivided, and a special divinity appointed to preside over each. Hence we have various names clashing; in elucidation, I may instance Diana, the one in question, which, when accurately analysed, will be found to have been but the one and same after all the mystification of mythologists:—"Pars (enim) Themin, pars Inachiam, pars putat esse bovem."

I am sorry to be forced to extend this subject to so great a length; but after all, I must stop in the middle, and before I have said half my say. I was just proceeding to show, as well as I am able, how Aine was *Αθηνη*, and how she was frequently invoked by our bards as the *Leanan-sighe*, or the spirit of inspiration which bestowed upon them the gifts of poetry and music. I was also about to show how she was the *Rae*, possibly, the *Rhea* of the Latins—how herb-doctors and charm-mongers believed she had unlimited influence over the human frame, and looked upon her as something equivalent to the vital spark which, they said, traversed the human frame once in the twenty-four hours; and experienced blood-letters were always very cautious what vein they opened, and at what time, lest the efflux might carry away the *Rae*, or vital spark, and in such a case life should be extinct. Now, it is very plain that this was nothing else except the accurate knowledge they entertained of the circulation of the blood, which many, I may say almost all old Irish women, well knew, even long before Harvey was born. I may instance one; Maire Ruadh-ni-Hararan, when I was a child, was at least ninety years of age; she used to frequent my aunt's house where I was bred, she was attached to the family, and was consulted on all occasions when sickness or indisposition occurred. I state this for the credit of the Irish people, to show that they understood the nature of the circulation of the blood long, I should say always did, before the knowledge was recovered in Europe. Maire never knew, as they used to say, "B from a Bull's foot." I well remember that on one occasion, but cannot recollect what was my complaint, possibly none at all, the learned Dr. Woods (the family doctor) attended. He was a first rate Irish scholar, and a bard of no mean talent, with an extract from whose works I shall presently conclude this rambling paper. The upshot of the visit was that blood-letting, a favourite remedy with the old people for all complaints, especially for fevers, colds, and pleurisies, was resolved on. Maire did not exactly approve of the remedy, perhaps the gentleman himself did not, but in case it did no harm, being too general a remedy to be overlooked, it should be resorted to. The operation was about commencing, when the cautious Maire, having observed the vein which the doctor was going to open, screamed, and caught hold of his arm, exclaiming, "Oh, mille murder! this is Wednesday, two o'clock, an' the pae is in that very pulse—it is the very place it should be in just now, an' you shan't cut it, sir." A short conversation ensued, which resulted in the gentleman's declining the operation, through force of Maire's argu-

ments. I ever after felt grateful to the poor old woman for saving me from so very disagreeable an operation, and though very young then the incident made so deep an impression on my mind that it can hardly be ever effaced. I made much inquiry since then concerning the *pæ*, and the result is, that I feel satisfied that the general opinion was, that the *pæ*, or moon, had such influence upon the human frame, as to cause the blood to circulate through the vessels in the space of twenty-four hours.

I should not omit stating that Maire learned all she knew from her mother and other old folks, who learned it from others, still older than themselves, many of whom were said to have been eminent leeches long before any regular practitioners were known in the locality.

I said that Aine in Ireland was the same as *Aθηνη* of the Greeks; the learned Lindon of the Fews of Armagh, who died in 1733, introduces her lamenting the demise of a son of genius:—

Τα υμῶν δε μῦθον-μῖνα ἡ ἐλπίς
 Τῆς ζῆλου-ἐλπίτος ἀπὸ πῦρ ἀπὸ πῦρ
 Ταῖς ἀοιδεῖς ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦς ἀ-
 γαστῆρος.

The greater number of the inspiring geniuses of the learned
 Shed tears in abundance through excessive grief;
 Aoidheal and Aine are tearing their tresses.

That our *Bean-sighes*, or spirits of inspiration, held a high place in our Pagan theology there can be no doubt; the learned Dr. James Woods, of whom mention is made above, singing the lamentation of a brother bard, speaks much plainer:—

Chuaib ré le h-Aine tne'n Fhail-éiríoch aoidheach,
 Do zác lán-líor na m-bláé m-ban ríze;
 Zo h'íbead a fáit de'n aib-ríuúé d'íoríde
 Ár éoríuáib álaíu ríad-zeal aolá,
 Á zríorad, a cáil, a' r' d'fáizíreab líoríéa
 Á céadfab árida do cum zríada míuuzad.

He accompanied Aine throughout the pleasant districts of Fail,
 And visited all the full residences of the blooming *Bean-sighes*;
 To quaff copious draughts of the supreme fountain of druidism
 From chaste, brightly-polished goblets,
 With the view of whetting his genius, and firing his spirit
 For the arduous task of tracing out the pedigree of each class of people.

THE ROCK MONUMENTS OF THE COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

BY HENRY O'NEILL, ESQ.

IN the summer of 1851, I availed myself of some spare time to study the antiquities of the county of Dublin, and among other vestiges of by-gone times, I have examined those extraordinary remains called cromleacs, or druids' altars; I have taken their dimensions, and compass bearings, and made sketches of them. The facts I have collected have led to my concluding, that these monuments are sepulchral, an opinion which is supported by J. J. A. Worsaae, respecting similar remains in Scandinavia. That author's work I had not seen till after my views were formed, a fact which I mention, because to me it seems to be an additional probability that the idea of those monuments being sepulchral is correct.

These remains are known in the county of Dublin, by the name of druids' altars; sometimes, but rarely, by that of cromleac.¹ In examining this or any similar topic, the investigation must be conducted irrespective of any name, which is often but the expression of some olden theory, lost to literature, but preserved orally. Any one who has attended to the way in which the peasantry catch up the stray opinions of learned disquisitionists, will see the truth of this observation, and estimate its value. Literary antiquaries have devoted much time to the question of the purpose for which these gigantic works were raised, and, misled by names, have followed an *ignus fatuus*, with, of course, the usual consequences, being lost in a literary quagmire. How little regard is to be paid to mere names, may be known from the fact that, besides the two very opposite ones of cromleacs and druids' altars, by which they are known in the county of Dublin, similar monuments have various other names in other localities—for instance, in the county of Kilkenny, one is called the stone of the champion, another the goat's stone, another the ass's manger, another the grey stone; names purely local and so far differing from those used for such monuments in the county of Dublin, that they indicate no opinion as to any common object which their founders may have had in erecting them. We must therefore look beyond mere names, and, by a careful examination of the remains themselves, endeavour to ascertain the purpose for which they were constructed.

¹ The appellation, *cromleac*, is never applied to the primitive rock monuments of this country by the unsophisticated amongst the Irish peasantry. By them they are almost uniformly termed *leaba*, beds, or graves, or *leac*, stones [of memorial]. The word *cromleac* was introduced from Wales by Vallancey and his school,

and, when merely used as a conventional term, is unobjectionable. The name, *druid's altar*, is founded on the baseless theory entertained by some writers that these structures served as altars for the human sacrifices said to have been offered by the druids to the Pagan deities of Ireland, and should be studiously avoided.—Eds.

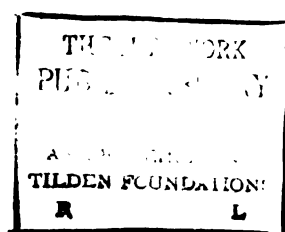
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HOWTH.—On Howth hill, about one mile from the sea shore, is a rock monument; it is on the side of a steep hill, under a high cliff of quartz. The roof rock measures seventeen feet in its greatest length, twelve in its least, its average measure being fourteen feet; at its thickest part it exceeds six feet in depth, and its weight I calculate at about ninety tons. An attentive examination of this monument has convinced me, that this enormous mass constituted the roof of a chamber lying E. by N.; the chamber being about twelve feet long, by four feet wide, the floor of clay, the walls of other great stones, three at each side, and one at each end, eight in all. The roof rock, though very irregular at its upper surface, is tolerably level beneath, and was so situated as to have the under surface horizontal, or nearly so, thus constituting a level ceiling to the chamber; but, owing to the great thickness and consequent weight at one end, the supporting stones have given way, and, in slipping, the roof rock has been caught by a part of the stone on which its present higher portion rests. The supporting stones from which it has slipped are still standing undisturbed, and are seen on the left-hand side in the accompanying sketch. These are about seven feet high, so that the original height of this monument must have been twelve or thirteen feet. The longer direction of the chamber is E. by N., its floor is a little below the natural level of the soil. There are several rocky fragments lying around, which in one part form a sort of rude intrenchment to the monument, but whether artificial, or the result of accident, I could not decide. This monument is of quartz rock.

SHANGANAGH.—This rock monument is about seven miles south of Dublin, within half a mile of the sea shore. The field in which it lies is almost level, there is no trench or other artificial arrangement in connexion with it. There are only four supporting stones, two on each side, one of these has been broken in the middle, and the opposite one fallen in; but the roof rock rests on the side of the fallen one and the top of the fragment on the opposite side, so as to be retained in its present inclined position. The roof rock is nearly seven feet six inches square, by about three feet thick; the under side is, as usual, nearly flat. The weight is probably twelve tons. The chamber lies E. and W., is six or seven feet long, by two feet six inches wide, and was probably five feet high. The floor is of clay, and at the level of the surrounding surface. This monument is of granite.

BRENNANSTOWN.—The two monuments I have described, have their roof rocks disturbed from their original situations; the present one has suffered no such derangement. It is situated in a small and deep grassy valley, close by a small hill stream, and about one mile inland. The valley is modernly called Glen-druid. The roof rock is fifteen feet broad and across, it is five feet thick at its utmost measure; the average thickness being about three feet. Weight, sixty tons. These are, of course, only the proximate quantities. The chamber is about twelve feet long, by six wide, and the same

high. The direction is E. and W., the floor clay, and considerably lower than the surface of the field. There are several large stones lying about, and tolerably decided indications of some of them having been arranged to form two parallel lines of approach to the lower end of the monument. It is of granite.

KILTERNAN.—This is a still more gigantic monument than the one immediately preceding. It is situated on the slope of a coarse, rocky, and furzy hill, about eight miles south of Dublin, and about three miles inland. The roof rock, in its extreme, measures twenty-two feet long, twelve and a-half feet wide, and nearly six feet thick; probable weight, eighty tons; the greatest length lies E. and W. The supporting stones have given way on the south side, so that the roof rock leans in that direction. At the north side the chamber is five feet high; it is about eighteen or twenty feet long, by half that in width. The supporting stones are a good deal disarranged, which renders it difficult to decide these points with certainty. The direction of the chamber appears to be E. and W. The floor of the chamber is of clay, and below the surrounding surface. At one side of this rock monument, the hill seems to have been cut away, and roughly faced with stones, so as to keep it clear of the monument, which is of granite.

MOUNT VENUS.—On the side of the counties of Dublin and Wicklow range of mountains, and about seven miles inland, in a very sheltered situation on Mount Venus, is a very remarkable rock monument. The extreme measures of the roof rock are twenty feet long, ten feet eight inches wide, and four feet five inches thick. The average thickness is four feet. The chamber lies N.W., it is rectangular, and about eighteen feet long, by six feet wide, and four feet five inches thick; the floor is of clay, and a foot below the surface level, to which height its sides are faced with small stones without mortar. The roof rock rests at an angle of forty-five degrees *against* the upright one, seen on the left hand in the sketch. This supporting rock is eight feet high from the surface to its apex, and must have been higher, as it is evidently broken at the top. Measured at the surface level, this rock is five feet six inches wide on its inside face, its thickness is three feet eight inches. As all the pressure of the roof rock comes against this, the only supporting stone, it must be firmly embedded in the ground to resist the immense weight lying against it. The roof rock probably weighs above seventy tons. There are the stumps and fragments of other large masses of rock lying about the chamber; one great mass, which was probably a supporting rock, is lying on the ground; its measures are—length, fourteen feet; average breadth, four feet; average thickness, two feet. If we suppose this to have been set upright, and sunk in the ground four feet, it would be still ten feet above the ground. Add to this the thickness of the roof rock, and the result is that this rock monument had probably a height exceeding fourteen feet. This monument, besides its

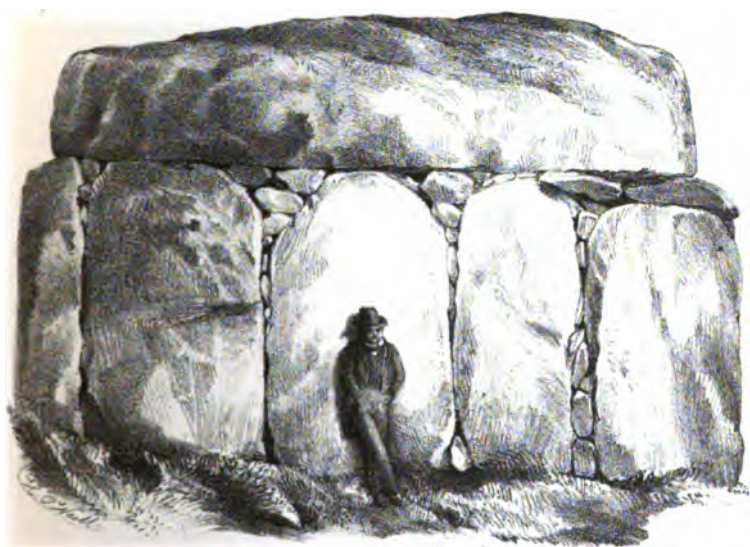
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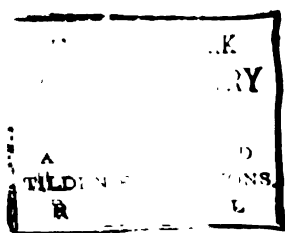
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gigantic proportions, is remarkable for the sharpness of the angles of every part of it. There is no appearance of weathering. In other similar remains the angles are rounded as if they had been exposed for ages to the influence of the elements; here, on the contrary, the stone is as sharp as if but recently quarried; there are, nevertheless, no marks of the hammer, chisel, wedge, or jumper. The sharpness of the angles may be partly owing to the monument being in a very sheltered situation, possibly to the stone being of a very good quality, and also, that, till a comparatively recent period, the monument may have been covered up under a mound or barrow, a suggestion which the monument on Knockmary will elucidate. In the accompanying illustration I have ventured on representing the Mount Venus rock chamber, as I conceive it appeared when undisturbed, in order to give an idea of its gigantic character. This monument is of granite.

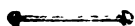
GLENCULLEN.—On the hill at the Dublin side of Glencullen I discovered a rock monument. The roof rock is ten feet long, eight feet broad, and four feet thick, extreme measures; the longest direction of the roof rock is W.S.W., or nearly E. and W. The chamber is greatly disarranged.

KNOCKMARY.—The monuments heretofore described have been possibly for ages lying exposed, and subject to casualties and violence. In describing them I have ventured to offer conjectures as to what they may have been when in their pristine state. However plausible these conjectures may appear, they want that convincing force which the examination of a rock chamber, to all appearance undisturbed, will have. Fortunately, such an examination has taken place lately, and the evidence it has afforded I now furnish. The Phoenix Park, Dublin, consists of a gently-sloping plain, which, on the south side, dips rather suddenly towards the river Liffey. In the course of some improvements which were making in this park, the workmen were removing a mound on the brow of the slope; the mound was called *Cnoc-marraíde* (the hill of the mariners); and was about fifteen feet high, and one hundred and twenty feet in diameter: four small urns of burnt clay were found; they contained ashes and fragments of burnt bones; one of them has been preserved, and is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; they were enclosed in small stone chambers or cists. In the centre of the mound was a rock chamber; the top rock, six feet six inches long, three feet three inches wide, and one foot thick. The longest direction was N.N.E., or nearly N. and S. It was supported on several stones, enclosing a chamber of an irregularly oval shape, and about four feet long, by scarcely two feet deep, the floor of clay, and below the surface level. In this chamber were found two perfect male skeletons, and a human thigh bone; the individuals, of whom the remains were here discovered, had passed the meridian of life. The skeletons were doubled up, and lay with their heads towards the north; there were also found a bone, supposed to be of a dog, a quantity of small sea shells, the *Nerita*

littoralis, prepared so, that they might be strung, and some of which had a string of sea-weed passed through them; a small bone fibula, and a flint knife or arrow head. The roof rock is of calc, and looks water-worn, as if it had been taken from the bed of the adjacent river. Here, then, is a rock chamber to all appearance undisturbed, and it furnishes clear proof that the purpose of its erection was sepulchral. I give a drawing of two of the shells, the fibula, and the urn; the two latter are drawn one-fourth the size of the originals; the shells are full size.

For a detailed account of the discovery of this rock chamber see the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. i. pp. 186-90. While writing this paper I met, in the *Dublin Evening Herald*, dated February 26th, 1852, with an account of the discovery of a rock chamber in a mound in the county of Tyrone. The principal particulars are as follow:—Tullydruid, *anglice* Druidshill, is distant from Dungannon a mile and a-half—a small barren spherical hill, the summit of which forms a circular plane of thirty feet diameter. The materials were in process of removal to repair the adjacent road when the workmen discovered the cist-van on the south-east slope of the hill; by the assistance of four men the immense slab which covered the vault was removed and the skeleton exposed to view. It was in a sitting posture, the head towards the east, and at the knees a moulded and gracefully swelling sepulchral urn. It was empty, no charcoal nor anything to indicate fire was found. The vault was four and a-half feet in length, two and a-half feet in breadth, and two feet in depth, the bottom paved, the sides composed of several stones, and their interstices so carefully filled that the vault was quite free from any foreign substance. The skull is described as being a fine specimen of the Celtic type. The author of the article assumes this barrow to be of Celtic origin. The teeth were remarkable for possessing a fine vitreous glaze; the bones large—the thigh bone nineteen inches in length. Such are the principal facts contained in the account, and the close coincidence between them and those relative to the Knockmary rock chamber is quite evident.

On looking at the Knockmary chamber as it now stands, denuded of its enclosing barrow, it will be seen how much its general features resemble those of the other rock monuments I have described. The probability appears to be, that all these rock chambers were sepulchral, the larger ones being intended to hold several bodies, as, the various members of a distinguished family, or several chiefs who may have fallen in conflict; that originally these chambers were covered over with a quantity of earth, or whatever other suitable material was at hand; that these barrows have, as in the case of the Knockmary and Dungannon rock chambers, been removed, leaving the monuments exposed, and that the roof rock originally had its under surface horizontal, though now in most cases these rocks lie off a part of their supporters, and inclined to the horizon. It is unne-



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me to add that the facts I have indicated are at variance with the supposition of these rock chambers having been druids' work, a notion which their great height and magnitude seem sufficient to refute, and their having been concealed in enclosing barrows completely destroys.

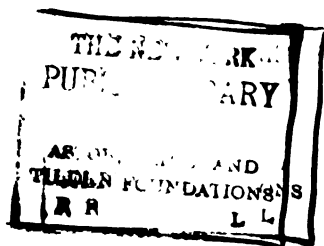
Rock chambers are very extensively distributed over Europe and they abound particularly in the north of these regions, but they are found as far south as Bombay; in no case is it known by what people they have been raised—they belong to an age antecedent to the present. Some antiquaries divide them into three classes, divided by the remains found in them into the stone, the bronze, and the iron: from the flint arrow head found in the Knockmary chamber it would doubtless be classed as of the age of stone, the most ancient of these monuments. The Dungannon rock chamber is described as being near the summit of the barrow. All those I have seen are on what seemed to be the natural level of the soil, and the level of the chambers, with one exception, below that level—in the case of the Dunstanstown one, perhaps three feet.

The remote time at which these monuments are supposed to have been erected, the very inadequate means which their founders are thought to have possessed for the execution of such gigantic undertakings, added to the deep veil of mystery which hangs over the names of the races by whom they were constructed, are circumstances which must render rock chambers deeply interesting to the antiquary, the philosopher, and all who study the history of our species. One thing is clear, that they were not erected by the giants of old. The remains found in even the most ancient of them are of beings not very far above the average standard height of the present day.

Those who have read the accounts of similar monuments situated in other parts of this island, cannot have failed to observe how often it is mentioned that there is a tradition of human bones having been found under them—a circumstance which further corroborates the conclusion I have deduced from the rock chambers of the county of Dublin.

From the preceding accounts the following general characteristics are deducible:—That the county of Dublin rock chambers are formed of upright masses of stone, covered over with a single rock, having had its under side horizontal and level, or nearly so; that the inner surfaces of the supporting stones were also level and placed in line with the sides of the chamber; that the rocks, more particularly the roof rocks, are rough and massive, constituting a monument, generally speaking, of gigantic dimensions, that the chambers are of a corresponding size, have plain clay floors, sunk below the ordinary level of the surrounding soil. The longer direction of the chambers is, in most cases, E. and W., or nearly so.¹ That these remains are found

¹ In a paper on the Primeval Antiquities of the Channel Islands (see *Archæological Journal*, vol. i. p. 222), it is stated of the cromleacs to be found there—"It has



cessary for me to add that the facts I have indicated are at variance with the supposition of these rock chambers having been druids' altars, a notion which their great height and magnitude seem sufficient to negative, and their having been concealed in enclosing barrows completely destroys.

Rock chambers are very extensively distributed over Europe and Asia, they abound particularly in the north of these regions, but they have been found as far south as Bombay; in no case is it known by what people they have been raised—they belong to an age antecedent to all history. Some antiquaries divide them into three classes, distinguished by the remains found in them into the stone, the bronze, and the iron: from the flint arrow head found in the Knockmary barrow, it would doubtless be classed as of the age of stone, the most ancient of these monuments. The Dungannon rock chamber is described as being near the summit of the barrow. All those I have seen, are on what seemed to be the natural level of the soil, and the floors of the chambers, with one exception, below that level—in the Brennanstown one, perhaps three feet.

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singly, without any apparent connexion, as regards each other, or any religious or other monument of ancient times; and that each rock monument is constructed of the kind of stone found in the locality.

I have read accounts of similar monuments situated in other counties, but do not recollect any one of them equalling in magnitude the largest rock chambers in the county of Dublin.

I have described every rock monument I know of in the county of Dublin. There may be more—but I have taken the best means in my power to ascertain their existence.¹ The best way I know of is an examination of the Ordnance Survey map, and marking on an index pocket map, with vermilion, the locality of each monument. My reason for limiting this essay to the county of Dublin is, that it is better to complete one county than give even more examples without having the collective character which is attained by limiting the locality.

To our antiquarian societies I would respectfully suggest, that the study of our antiquities would be greatly accelerated if the principle of the division of labour were made use of—if one member were especially appointed, and devoted himself to the subject of raths, another to rock monuments, a third to ancient crosses, a fourth to pillar towers, a fifth, or perhaps several, to old castles, others to ecclesiastical buildings; again, each labourer might take a limited district, a county where specimens of the class of antiquities allotted to the individual were rare, a barony or other division, when more numerous. Again, in the examination of monuments, *method* should be carefully observed—the general nature of the locality, the peculiar local position, compass bearings, measurements, general appearances, details of interest, presumed changes from its original condition, careful drawings—all these are necessary in order to convey a correct idea of an ancient monument.

In this paper but a very small part of Ireland—old Ireland—as these rock monuments clearly show, is embraced. I hope other investigators will come forward, and that ere long, the remaining counties will be examined and detailed.

been remarked that several of them are placed nearly east and west; this is often the case in these islands as well as in France, but whether from accident or design, it is difficult to decide: many in Brittany are due north and south; two out of three at L'ancreuse in this island [Guernsey], are also in that position; and in the plain in the island of Herm, one due east and west

is only 30 feet distant from another north-west and south-east; with this exception, all the *large* cromlechs, in Guernsey at least, are placed east and west."

¹ In Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 159, is a representation, by Dr. Petrie, of a cromleac at Shankill; I could not find it, and heard that it had been taken away a few years ago!

ON ANCIENT IRISH BELLS.

BY T. L. COOKE, ESQ.

WITH this paper were sent to the May meeting of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, for inspection of the members, the remains of seven bells of Irish Christian saints; also, some spherical and pear-shaped crotals of Pagan times, some sheep bells of the sixteenth century, and some others. As some account of these bells may prove acceptable, I request the forbearance of the learned while I proceed, in the first instance, with a detail of whatever particulars have come within my reach respecting the BELL OF ST. MOLUA, of Clonfert-Molua, *alias* Kyle, in the Queen's County. This bell, if we deem it to be really of the same era with the saint whose name it bears (and there does not appear to be any reason for doubting that it is so), has now existed 1245 years—a long space of time indeed. Nothing but the most profound spirit of veneration, heightened by a feeling of religious awe, could have preserved this remnant of an intrinsically valueless piece of metal for such a length of time in a land such as Ireland has been, where the feuds of its children vied with foreign influences in accomplishing the prostration of the country.

This venerable remain is composed of iron; and, like many other ancient bells, is in shape, at the base, a parallelogram.¹ Its sides were rivetted together, and the joinings were also brazed, so as by a better union of its parts to increase the capability for sonorousness. The circumstance of this and many other ancient bells having been brazed, shows how early the practice of brazing iron was in use in Ireland. The portion still remaining of this antique probably does not exceed two-thirds of the original height. It now measures seven and a-half inches from top to bottom. It is six and four-tenth inches long by four inches broad at the mouth. The front and sides remain to the present time studded over with bronze nails, which evidently were inserted for the purpose of fastening to the bell plates of bronze or of some more valuable material. Those plates were, doubtless, highly ornamented and inlaid with crystals and variously coloured stones.

The saint, whom tradition names as having been the owner of this bell, was the celebrated Lua, known also as Molua—a term of endearment, and compounded of the Irish word *mo*, *my*, and *Lua*, a proper name. He is also known under the appellations Lugeus, Ligidus, and Luanus. Both Ware and Ussher write of Molua and Ligidus as of one and the same person. He is called Ligidus in the Paschal Epistle of Cuimin-fada, which reckons him one of the fathers of the Irish church. The bell of St. Cuimin-fada is amongst the collection now sent for exhibition, and a more full notice of it will be found in the sequel of these pages.

¹ As a solid it resembles a prismoid.

St. Molua's parentage is given by Fleming, thus:—"Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis de provinciâ Momoniæ, de regione Hua-Fidhgenti, de plebe Corcoiche, nomine Molua, cujus pater vocabatur Carthach, sed vulgo *Coche* dicitur; mater vero ejus Sochla, id est, *larga*,¹ vocabatur; quæ erat de occidentali Lageniensium plaga, id est, Osraigí, oriunda." Ware, in his "*Writers of Ireland*" (as quoted by Lanigan, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 207, n. 85), says of St. Molua—"Beatissimus abbas Lugidus, generosis ortus parentibus, patrem habuit Cartharium, genere Mumeniensem; mater autem dicta est Sochla natione Osrigensis." Dr. Lanigan, in his "*Ecclesiastical History*," informs us that he had not met with any account of the time of St. Molua's birth. Ussher (p. 919) mentions that he was a disciple of Comgall of Bangor, under whom it is believed he embraced the monastic state. After sojourning some time in the present county of Limerick the saint repaired to Sliabh-Bladhma,² and founded a monastery on the east side of that mountain at a place since known as Clonfert-Molua. This place was situated in the ancient district of Ossory, the principality of Mac-Gilla-Patrick, and near to the boundary between Ossory and ancient Munster, where Ely-O'Carroll meets the modern Queen's County. Dr. Lanigan erroneously places Clonfert-Molua in the King's County, but the Ogygia correctly has it in the Queen's County. This error of Dr. Lanigan may have arisen from his confounding Clonfert-Molua with Lettir-Lua, another house founded by the same saint, and situate in the King's County on the northern side of the Sliabh-Bloom range of mountains. Clonfert-Molua is also denominated Kyle, which seems to have been a more ancient name of this place. The family of which St. Molua's mother was a member was located in this neighbourhood.

Molua is said to have founded many religious houses besides that at Kyle. Some writers report that he established no fewer than one hundred. Thus, St. Bernard (*Life of St. Malachy*, c. 5) writes—"Locus vere sanctus sæcundusque sanctorum, copiosissime fructificans Deo; ita ut unus ex filiis sanctæ illius congregationis, nomine Luanus, centum solus monasteriorum fundator rectissime fertur." St. Molua compiled, for the government of the religious over whom he presided, certain rules, amongst which was one for the exclusion of all women from his monastery at Kyle—namely, "ut nulla mulier ibi semper intraret." He died early in the seventh century, and is commemorated on the 4th of August. The *Four Masters* fix A.D. 605 for the year of his decease, and the same date is adopted by Colgan in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Ware (*Writers*, b. i. c. 13) places his death in A.D. 609, while Butler (*Lives of the Saints*, vol. vi. p. 53) says "he passed to immortal glory on the 4th of August, 622."

¹ Sochla, instead of being equivalent to *larga* seems to mean *sensible*. It appears more likely to be derived from the word *roclad*, sensible. The lady probably was

gifted with much good sense. *Sóclu* signifies fame, renown, reputation.

² Supposed to be from *blač*, a flower—*blačmac*, blooming.

The bell of St. Molua was presented to me by the Rev. John Egan, now parish priest of Dunkerrin in the King's County. It has been known by the appellation "mjoñ Molua," that is, *relic or bell of Molua*. From very early times it was handed down in the family of which Mr. Egan's mother was a member. This lady was descended from the Duigans, once proprietors of the castle of Clonecouse and the lands surrounding it, in the parish of Kyle and Queen's County. I glean, in substance, the following particulars from a letter addressed to me in June, 1851, by the Rev. gentleman to whose kindness I am indebted for the possession of this antique instrument of sound.

According to the tradition of the Duigan family, this bell is not supposed to be itself the reliquary of St. Molua, but it sustained the reliquary, which was formed of plates of gold and silver, richly ornamented with precious stones and inlaid with a blueish-coloured metal-like substance. If we suppose the bell itself to be the relic, and its ornamented covering to have been the reliquary, the description just given of the latter is quite consistent with what we know of other bells of saints. These, having in course of time become useless for the production of sound, and having been succeeded by bells better in construction and composed of a more sonorous metal, were incased in richly adorned metallic coverings, and were afterwards carefully preserved in honour of the memory of the venerated saint to whom they respectively once belonged. Such was the fate of the Barnan Coulaw, or bell of St. Culanus of Glenkeen, in the county of Tipperary. He was brother of Cormac Mac Cullenan,¹ the well-known king and bishop of Cashel. The Barnan Coulaw is amongst the bells sent with this paper. It belongs to my collection, having come into my possession about forty years ago.² There are yet remaining, fastened to it with rivets, various bronze ornaments, curiously and artistically inlaid with gold, silver, copper, coloured stones, and a blueish metal-like substance,³ such as that said to have been used in the reliquary of St. Molua. The bronze rivets, still projecting from the surface of this last mentioned bell, strongly bear testimony to the accuracy of the tradition, which says that some other ornaments once adorned it.

The manner in which the Rev. Mr. Egan accounts for the loss of the ornamental covering of St. Molua's bell is thus:—He says, the same family tradition reports the Duigans, who were keepers of this relic, to have once been the owners of the castle of Clonecouse, near

¹ Cormac Mac Cullenan was long, but incorrectly, reputed to have been the founder of Cormac's chapel, on the Rock of Cashel. However, in a paper of mine, published in the 24th number of the Irish Penny Magazine, the 15th of June, 1833, under the signature B, I proved it to be the work of Cormac Mac Carthy; and, in

the words of that learned antiquary, John D'Alton, Esq. (34th No. of same Magazine), "wholly refuted" the pre-existing opinion.

² The Rev. Michael Bohun, P. P. of Glenkeen, who presented the Barnan Coulaw to me, died on Christmas day, 1815.

³ Probably niello, which is a composition of silver, copper, and sulphur.

the church of Kyle. This castle passed into their family by inter-marriage with a member of the house of Fitzpatrick of Ossory. Mr. Egan adds, that Clonecouse was subsequently granted to Sir Charles Coote, whose conduct during the revolutionary war has given a remarkable notoriety to his name on the pages of Irish history. My reverend friend has further informed me of a tradition, that, while the bell of St. Molua was deposited at Clonecouse, some marauding freebooters attacked that castle. They carried off the bell, with a vast quantity of other plunder. In their retreat it became necessary for them to cross a river not very far distant from the castle; but strange to say, as the legend relates, neither man nor horse could pass it! After remaining some time, as if spell-bound, on the river's banks, it occurred to the marauders that their retreat was supernaturally arrested by the mystic virtue of the bell they were about to carry away. That idea no sooner struck them, than they threw the bell into the river, and they then immediately effected a passage without further interruption or difficulty. After the lapse of many years the relic was recovered from the watery bed, in which it had lain concealed, by some labourers in the employment of a Mr. Walpole, who then kept Coolraine mills in the Queen's County. That gentleman with becoming propriety soon placed it in the custody of the descendant of its pristine guardians, the Duigans of Clonecouse castle.

Let me here examine how far the foregoing family tradition accords with written records, of the existence of which the Rev. Mr. Egan is, I believe, wholly unconscious. I find by an inquisition *post-mortem*, taken at Maryborough, the 24th of September, 1631, that Philip Duigan died the 24th of December, 1629, seized in fee of the lands of Ballyduffe, Kilclonecouse and Rahyn, containing four messuages, 630 acres of arable and pasture land, and 1340 acres of wood and moor; and that he left a widow, whose name was Ellice, and a son and heir, John, then 24 years of age and married. Kilclonecouse seems to have been the name of the lands on which the ruins of the monastery and also those of the castle stand. In fact the site of the monastery is between Clonecouse castle and Ballyduffe, another of the denominations mentioned in the inquisition I have referred to. How or when the Duigan family was divested of the lands specified in the foregoing inquisition I have not found recorded: but it is probable the head of that race was, in common with many of his countrymen, slain during the war of 1641, and the usual laconic entry—"in rebellion' interfect"—placed opposite his name. However this may be, we at all events find his broad lands in the Queen's County, to the extent of 1970 acres, granted by the crown, the 26th of October, in the 18th year of the reign of king Charles the Second, to Charles Coote, earl of Mountrath, at an annual quit rent of only £31 13s. 8½d., afterwards reduced to £20 13s. 2d. So far the tradition of the Duigan family, as communicated by the Rev. Mr. Egan, is corroborated by historical proof. It is very likely that

the asportators of Molua's bell from Clonecouse castle were some of Sir Charles Coote's celebrated cavalry—the same, by whose daring and intrepidity that active officer relieved Birr castle and several other forts in the Parliamentary interest in those days. This supposition assumes the appearance of greater probability from the circumstance of the bell having, in after times, been found in the waters supplying Coolraine mills, situate on the old mountain road, which formerly led from Clonecouse to Mountrath, the then usual head quarters and rendezvous of Sir Charles' followers. Leaving the miraculous detention of the freebooters on the river's banks, and the supernatural influence said to have been exercised by the bell, to be discussed by those who delight in legendary lore, I may here observe that, if the weight of plunder caused any inconvenience to the Cromwellian troopers on their march, the bell of an Irish saint was not an object for preservation by them; but, on the contrary, it would be the very first portion of the booty to be consigned to the stream. The bell of St. Molua is not the only relic of the kind which has been the subject of asportation in former times. Accordingly, the Four Masters, at the year 1261, relate that Donal O'Hara plundered the sons of Bermingham, in revenge for the killing of Cathal O'Hara and violation of the church of St. Fechin, at Ballysadare, in the county of Sligo; and the annalists add, that he slew Sefin, son of Bermingham, *the weapon with which he killed him being the bell which Bermingham had carried away from the church of Ballysadare!* This, truly, was a murderous and sacrilegious use to be made of the relic of St. Fechin!!!

The Rev. Mr. Egan states that the bell of St. Molua had been stripped of its ornaments before it reached the hands of his grandmother, from whom it descended to him. He impressively adds, "from her I had it—from me you have it."

This bell, like many others of the same kind, was used for the purpose of adjuration. On this subject the Rev. Mr. Egan writes—"I need hardly inform you that down to times almost within my own recollection, it was customary with the people, especially of Kyle, to swear on or before it (the bell). The manner of swearing was, as I have heard, to place the right hand on the reliquary, and to call God and St. Molua to witness the truth of whatever was asserted. The false swearer of such an oath would, according to popular belief, be immediately, visibly, and terribly punished; and cases have been cited in proof of this belief."

The use of bells, in the administration of oaths, is almost as ancient as Christianity in Ireland. They were, with that view, consigned to the custody of particular families and persons. This practice made it not uncommon to designate an individual by the title, "keeper of an adjuration bell." Accordingly, the Four Masters, *ad ann.* 1356, write, "Solomon O'Meallan, keeper of an adjuration bell, died. He was the most illustrious of the clergy of Ireland." Bells used for

adjuration were generally carried about in leathern cases called "minister," that is, *meiurciu*, from *muir* *airciu*, travelling relics (see Dr. Petrie on the *Round Towers*, pp. 331 to 334). *Uioñ* and *muir* are Irish for a relic. Camden (*Britannia*, p. 788), following Cambrensis, has, in his account of the Irish, the following observation regarding their modes of swearing on bells and other relics of saints:—"Secundo, ut adhibeat sibi testem sanctum aliquem, cujus baculum recurvum, vel campanam tangat et osculetur." Nor was this mode of testifying to the truth unknown to Pagans. Thus, Pliny, lib. xix. c. 6, informs us, that, "allium, porrum, cepasque inter Deos jurejurando habuit Ægyptus."

If Christians swore by the bells and crosiers of saints, and the Egyptian by his onion, in like manner we find that the Jews swore by the temple, the altar, &c. Accordingly, we read in the learned work entitled, *Moses et Aaron*, p. 926, "Judei autem præprimis jurabant per Hierosolimam, per templum, per templi aurum, per altare, et donum super altari." It is worthy of observation how great an analogy is thus to be found between many of the religious rites and ceremonials used by Pagans, Jews, and Christians in former times.

It is proper to notice here, that Kilclonecouse, the modern name of the place where St. Molua erected the religious establishment known as Clonfert-Molua, has the first syllable (Kil) pronounced short, while Kyle, by which monosyllable the site of the monastery, as well the parish surrounding it, are also designated, is long, as the word is at present spoken by the inhabitants of that neighbourhood. *Cuyl* properly signifies a *couch*, *closet*, or *cell*; and hence it is used to express a *grave*. It appears to me that the site of the monastery of Clonfert-Molua was used as a place for worship and for burial before St. Molua established his house there, for we find within its precincts, as well as close to and outside of them, some ancient remains which bear strong marks of Paganism. Prominent amongst such is what is now known as *the grave of St. Molua*. It is near the south-western corner of the enclosure which surrounds the ruins of the church. In writing of it I shall call it simply, the *grave* (*cuyl*).

I do not believe that St. Molua was ever interred in it. We know that this saint came to Kyle from the neighbourhood of Sliabh-Luachra, in the county of Limerick; and we also know that he afterwards left Kyle and returned to the former place, where he erected several other religious establishments in the ancient district of Hy-Finginte, a territory which extended over the barony of Iraghticonnor, in the county of Kerry, and that of Conillo in the county of Limerick. I have not met with any account of where St. Molua died, or of where he was interred. The *grave* at Clonfert-Molua speaks plainly that it never contained his bones. Had the saint been interred at Kyle, *alias* Clonfert-Molua, it is far more probable that his resting-place would be found within the church of his own foundation, and near to,

or beneath, the principal or only altar thereof, than in the open ground outside. But, wherever he might have been interred, his corpse would, at all events, have been placed lying east and west, with his feet towards the congregation, according to the manner of sepulture of Christians and of clergymen.

Let us now inquire what is really the appearance of the *grave* in question? It is most remarkable, being twelve feet in length by three feet in breadth. A large, rude, and uninscribed stone marks one end; and a nearly similar stone points out the other end. The limits of the sides are defined by rough lime-stone flags standing on an end. The upper edges of these flags are barely visible above the surface of the ground. From what I have already written it seems evident that the *grave* resembles a Pagan cist more closely than it does the place of repose of a Christian father of the church. That it really is a Pagan remain is indisputably proved by the fact of its bearing north and south, and at right angles with every acknowledged Christian grave at Kyle, all of which lie east and west. While I reckon the *grave* to be a Pagan monument, I am in no-wise surprised to find the simple and credulous peasantry of the district believe that an object so remarkable must be the burial-place of their revered and celebrated patron saint.¹ But the Pagan aspect of this place does not end with what I have already written respecting it. About one hundred yards south-west of the *grave* is a large rock in its rough and natural state. Its upper surface contains two hemispherical or bowl-shaped cavities, each of which is somewhat more than a foot in diameter. This is called *clóc Mhólua*, i. e. Molua's stone. In my opinion it was either an emblem of God, or an altar, and served for the purpose of religious worship in Pagan times. It closely resembles several rocks undoubtedly used in Pagan rites in various parts of the country. One of these is in the King's County, and still bears the name of *Án mórta*, the

¹ We are informed by Mr. Hitchcock that he has seen several similar graves in the enclosures belonging to the small primitive churches in the west of the county of Kerry, and even in enclosures where no remains of a church are now to be found. Two, in particular, he mentions, as much resembling the grave above described by Mr. Cooke. One is situated at the west or door end of Temple-Managhan—a ruined, but beautiful oratory, about three miles to the north-west of Dingle—and is fourteen feet long, four feet broad, and three feet high. At the west end of this grave stands a fine pillar-stone bearing a long Ogham inscription, an engraving of which may be seen in Dr. Petrie's work on the *Round Towers*, p. 135. This is said to be St. Managhan's grave; but it is doubtful if the saint ever had such a pile of earth and stones raised over him. The reading of

the Ogham inscription would probably decide this question. There are several smaller and more unpretending graves in the same enclosure, and the whole of them seem to be of remote antiquity. The other grave alluded to is situated further to the west, in the townland of Vicarstown (of course, a modern name), and looks, indeed, very like a Pagan monument. It measures ten feet long, six feet broad, and about two feet high; it is covered with flags laid cross-wise, and has a stone standing at each end, the largest, or that at which Mr. Hitchcock takes to be the head of the grave, exhibiting some strange markings, possibly the remains of a cross, and several smaller ones, within a circle. There are no vestiges of any ancient building in the immediate vicinity of this grave; but several undoubted remains of Paganism are to be seen in the neighbourhood.—Eds.

great Ana. This deity was the earth, the Pagan Irish magna Mater, or Mater deorum. An also signifies a ring or circle, or cup, a bowl or round vessel. The hemispherical hollows in the rock at Kyle were, therefore, probably emblems of Ana. Until about sixty years ago a meeting used to be annually held at this so-called stone of St. Molua. This meeting was celebrated for dancing, merriment, and match-making. It was distinguished from the day dedicated to St. Molua by its having been held on the *first* of August, the day of the Lughnasa, or Bhrascampae (tournament), instituted by Louia, called Lám-fada, or long-handed. The anniversary of St. Molua was the *fourth* of August.

There is a townland called Kylebeg, near the village of Aglish-cloghan, in the barony of Lower Ormond, county of Tipperary. At this place is an enclosure containing about an acre and a-half, or two acres, in the centre of which is a stone with two bowl-shaped cavities, and another stone which is convex and in the form of a half globe. It is to be remarked that these stones are of a coarse-grained granite, while the country for miles around Kylebeg presents no other rock than lime-stone. These stones must therefore have been brought thither a long distance. Innumerable human bones are found within the enclosure, which seems to have been once resorted to for religious worship and for sepulture. That it was originally Pagan is proved by the circumstance that the people of the country round, are, to the present day, in the habit of interring there those children which die without baptism, and whose corpses are, therefore, thought fit companions for those of Pagans only. Around the stones described as being at Kylebeg there are several white-thorn bushes. There is in my small collection of Irish antiquities, a small bronze pin with a pendent ornament in the shape of a crescent or new moon. It was found at Kylebeg. About a hundred yards from the Kylebeg enclosure, and in the same townland, is a spring well rudely environed with a wall, one side of which is shaped like an altar: it has upon it a lime-stone slab bearing the following inscription—"This is erected at this well in memory of St. Passawn, being a place of pilgrimage. Dtd. e Febr. 9^r. 1772." It is said that a person named Simon Grady caused the inscription just copied to be set up, and that hence the fountain is called "Simon's well." I am not aware that there was any Christian saint named Passawn. The peasantry pronounce the word *Pishawn*. Now píř, in Irish, signifies mystery or sorcery; píř, a tree, a trunk of a tree; and píor a cup; while an signifies both water and the Irish Mater deorum. Passawn, therefore, may mean either mystery at the well, tree at the well, cup at the well, or Ana's mysteries. There is a very large and now dead white-thorn standing over this well. The pilgrimage to which the inscription refers, was some sort of religious performance, which was partly gone through at the granite stones within the before-described enclosure or burial-ground, and partly at Simon's well. I have not learned on what day

such religious rounds used to take place; but I think there can be little, if any, doubt, that they had their origin antecedent to Christianity. The identity of names, i. e. Kyle and Kylebeg, furnishes some additional reason for believing that Kyle, or Clonfert-Molua, was originally a Pagan fane, when we can scarcely doubt that Kylebeg was one. It may be added, that no remains of a Christian church exist at Kylebeg.

At the eastern boundary of the church-yard at Clonfert-Molua there is a curious stone vessel, now called "the trough of St. Molua." This last mentioned appellation seems to have originated in popular credulity and mistake similar to those which connected St. Molua's name with the *grave*. The trough probably was a Pagan sepulchral chest used for containing bones or ashes, the remains of cremation, or possibly both. It is too small to have contained the body of an adult. It is made of sand-stone, and measures on the interior three feet in length, by fourteen inches in width, and as many in depth. It is somewhat narrower at one end than at the other, and it is wider at bottom than at top. A groove or cell runs around its inside at the top, and seems to have served for the reception of a lid or cover.¹ At the eastern end of the trough is a thorn bush, amply decorated with many coloured rags. This thorn bush and its parti-coloured drapery is another mark inseparable from the memory of religious rites practised anterior to the introduction of Christianity into Ireland.

With regard to the names by which Clonfert-Molua has been, or yet is, known, I have already shown that Kyle meant a burial-place in connexion with the ceremonies of religion. Clonfert is an appellation bestowed on several places in Ireland. These were distinguished from one another by additional epithets. The two most remarkable places denominated Clonfert, are Clonfert-Brendan in the county of Galway, and Clonfert-Molua, the subject of these lines. It is very probable indeed that the last named place was called Clonfert when St. Molua first went there. From the saint's connexion with this locality it has been described as "*latibulum mirabile Sancti Moluæ*." It is generally admitted that the early ministers of Christianity in Ireland, selected as sites for their religious establishments such places as they found previously venerated for having been dedicated to the worship of Baal, of Ana, or of some other Pagan deity. Indeed, the well-known fact that the ruins of Christian churches are so frequently accompanied by round towers, pillar-stones, hole-stones, and cromleacs, ought to convince the most sceptical that some such motive must have caused the otherwise not to be accounted for companionship. The name Clonfert is, I believe, compounded of *cluafn*, a remote situation, or *clón*, a pillar, and *feapac*, a grave. I have already shown that *cuil*, from which is derived Kyle (another name

¹ May not this "trough" have been the rude baptismal font of the early church of St. Molua? We have seen many such in

church-yards, where there are no indications of Pagan remains. The sunken groove for the cover is common in fonts.—Eds.

of Clonfert-Molua), also signifies a grave. The most ancient denomination by which Clonfert-Molua was known is Ross-Bulead, which also has reference to a depository for the dead, as well as to the culture of religion. Ror signifies a plain, a promontory; so rór is a grove, science, knowledge; and ulað means a charnel-house, a monument, while ulla is either a burial-place or place of devotion. Thus each of the three names by which this place has been known, viz., Ross-Bulead, Kyle, and Clonfert, has reference both to sepulture and to religion. It is very probable that the stone chest already described was formerly deposited in the now so-called *grave* of St. Molua, and that the *grave* itself was, as I have already suggested, a Pagan fane.

In taking my farewell of St. Molua, it may prove acceptable that I should notice a sepulchral slab lately discovered within a few miles of Clonfert-Molua, and which was inscribed to the memory of a descendant of one of the followers of this saint. The discovery took place at Monaincha (near Roscrea), once a house of the Culdees, who are called meic beathað, or sons of life, by the Four Masters. Monaincha itself was known by the appellation “insula viventium.” The slab is sand-stone, and measures forty-nine inches in length, twenty-two and a-half inches in breadth, and two inches in thickness. It is inscribed in Irish characters:—

E. 2.
OR 2R MÆNACH
U2 MÆILLU5DACH.

The stone, unfortunately, was broken across; nevertheless, the inscription is sufficiently legible. The letters E.2. apparently represent words, of which they are the initials. They probably stand for eiré aétair. Thus, the inscription would literally be in English, “Hear, Father, a prayer for Maenach O’Mael-Lugdach.” This inscription is remarkable in having the monosyllable, ari, instead of the usual one, do (for), generally met with on tomb-stones. I find the same monosyllable in an inscription copied in the second volume of Mottes’ abridgment of the “Philosophical Transactions,” from 1700 to 1720. That inscription runs, “or ari 3illa 3iaiaiu,” i. e. “a prayer for him devoted to Kieran.”¹ It probably was the sepulchral slab of O’Heyne, king of Siol Muireadhy and Connaught, who was interred at Clonmacnoise, A.D. 1100. It remains at Clonmacnoise yet.

We find several religious persons named Maenach. Thus, there was a Maenach, abbot of Aghaboe, who died in the year 914; Maenach, abbot of Clonard, who died in 954; Maenach, abbot of Duleek, who died in 895; Maenach of Bangor (county of Down), who died in 919; and Maenach of Kells, who died in 1001. There was also *Maenach, abbot of Clonfert-Molua*. See Colgan, *Acta SS.* p. 58, where Maenach is Latinized Mænachus. As Mael-Lugdach

¹ The word ari is also to be found at Mael-Kieran, on that of Tuathal, and on Clonmacnoise on the stone of the abbot that of Findan.

(the term used on the Monaincha slab) means a person devoted to St. Molua, it is most likely that the individual to whose memory this stone was engraved, was of the family of Maenach, abbot of Clonfert-Molua. Archdall informs us that Maenach was interred at Clonfert-Molua. The characters on the Monaincha slab indicate its belonging to the ninth or tenth centuries, and, accordingly, that it is of an antiquity of nine hundred or a thousand years.

I will now pass to the BELL OF ST. CUMMIN of Kilcommon, in the King's County. This bell is made of iron, and, at the base, is in the form of a parallelogram, the ends of which are fastened with rivets, and also united by a soldering of brass. This relic is much corroded and damaged by oxydation. Nevertheless, it is far more perfect than the bell of St. Molua, just written of; and, notwithstanding the injury which time has inflicted on it, it at present measures ten inches in height, and seven inches by five at the base. This bell, as well as that of St. Molua, belongs to my little collection. It was presented to me in the year 1848, by Patrick Quinliak, a farmer occupying part of the lands of Kilcommon, in the King's County, near to the ruins of the church, to the founder of which, this bell once belonged. The relic was given to Quinliak, as a death-bed donation, in 1842, by Patrick Heenan, a relative of his, who was then quitting this world, after having seen upwards of ninety annual suns pass over him.

According to the better opinion, St. Cummin, to whom this bell belonged, was known as Cuimin-fada, or "the tall" Cuimin. There were several saints named Cuimin. The only competitors, however, for the reputation of having established the monastery at Kilcommon are Cuimin-fada and Cummineus albus, or "white" Cuimin. There is little, if any, doubt that the former was the founder of it.

Kilcommon formerly was known by the name of Disert-Cuimin (*Acta SS.* p. 409), and it is situate a few miles west of Roscrea. *Disert* is the Irish for a lonesome unpopulated place, and of that character Kilcommon appears to have been at the time St. Cuimin resided there, for he himself writes of it thus:—"hæc dixi, non ut vos impugnarem, sed ut me ut nycticoracem in domicilio latitantem defenderem" (*Colgan, Acta SS.* pp. 408, 411). A remarkable proof of the identity of Disert of old with the modern Kilcommon is the following:—Boate (*Natural History of Ireland*, Dublin edition, 1726, p. 71), treating of mines of iron, has the fourth section of his book occupied with that particular description of the mineral, which he designates "the second sort of iron-mine, called rock-mine," and he says, "of this kind hitherto there hath but two mines been discovered in Ireland, the one in Munster, near the town of Tallow, by the earl of Cork's iron-works; the other in Leinster, in King's-county, in a place called Desart land, belonging to one serjeant major Piggot, which rock is of so great a compass, that before this rebellion it furnished divers great iron-works, and could have furnished

many more, without any notable diminution; seeing the deepest pits that had been yet made in it, were not above two yards deep." About a year ago (I write in 1852), some persons, employed under the Board of Public Works in Ireland, in the drainage department, struck, not very far from Kilcommon church, and in the parish of that name, upon an extensive bed of rock-ore, consisting of iron, sulphur, and some arsenic. They found it within six or seven feet of the surface. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the mine thus recently opened is that described by Boate so long ago. Gerard Boate prefixes to the edition of his book, published in 1652, two hundred years ago, a letter from his brother Arnold, from which we learn that the nominal author had not been at all in Ireland up to that date, but that he had his information from his brother Arnold, who was himself instructed by others, amongst whom was Sir William Parsons, then of Birr castle, an ancestor of the present earl of Rosse, a nobleman so highly celebrated for his scientific attainments. When the "employés" of the Board of Works unwittingly struck upon the iron mine, mentioned by Boate, and saw its shining, yellow, metallic lustre, they concluded that it was pure gold; but their fond dreams were soon dispelled by a merciless chemist, who made known the true nature of the mineral.

Archdall (*Monasticon*) erroneously attributes the religious establishment at Kilcommon to Cuimin "the white." The better opinion, however, is that Cuimin-fada was its founder. He was educated at Durrow, and is reported to have delivered himself most learnedly in the famous synod of Leighlin, on the subject of the proper time for celebration of Easter. He subsequently wrote a very learned epistle on the same subject, and therein ably defended the Roman time for keeping the paschal festival. In that epistle he calls by the name Lugidus, St. Molua, whose bell has been written of in the preceding pages of this paper. It has been judiciously remarked that the epistle just mentioned, proves Cuimin to have possessed an extraordinary degree of learning in its various branches, and that it also demonstrates the Irish monastic libraries to have been well supplied with books at that early age.

This saint was son to Fiachna, king of West Munster. Cuimin-fada was born A.D. 592, and died the 2nd of November, A.D. 662, aged seventy years, according to the Four Masters. Ware (*Bishops*, at Clonfert) assigns his death to the 12th of November in the same year. A considerable difference of opinion exists amongst the learned as to whether he was a bishop, and, particularly, as to whether he was bishop of Clonfert. Both Colgan and Ware suppose him to have been a bishop, the latter, on the authority of the Four Masters, placing him in the see of Clonfert. On the other hand, the late Dr. Lanigan argues, from Ussher not having styled him bishop or *comarban*, that he never was one. This saint, at all events, was interred at Clonfert; and his memory must have been highly revered there, for we find that,

precisely five hundred years subsequent to his decease, his relics were exhumed and placed in a shrine by the clergy of Clonfert-Brendan. The following passage from the Four Masters (*ad ann.* 1162) is a proof of this:—"Cairr eprcoir Mhaoineann ⁊ Cummaine Foda do tabairt a cairdeir la cairdeir Brenainn, ⁊ no cuirtear i cairdeir comra,"—i. e. "the relics of bishop Maoinenn and of Cummaine Foda were removed from the earth by the clergy of Brenainn [Clonfert], and they were enclosed in a protecting shrine." I cannot think that, because the Four Masters have, in the passage just quoted, given to Maoinenn the style of bishop and withheld it from Cuimin, we should conclude that St. Cuimin was not of that order. The title of bishop was necessarily used to distinguish Maoinenn from others of the same name; but Cuimin was sufficiently particularized by his being called "Foda," as none of the Cuimins, except himself, were known by that epithet. It must also be remembered that, in the early ages of Christianity in Ireland, very many of the parochial clergy were of the order of bishops.

The present dilapidated state of the ruins of Kilcommon church does not offer anything worth dwelling on here.

The next remain, to which I shall call attention, is the BELL OF ST. CAMIN, of Kilcamin, King's County. The only fragment of this antique now remaining is that sent herewith. It is part of the top and handle, with a small portion of one side and of one end. It measures about six inches in length by three inches in breadth. This bell has probably been, since the days of St. Camin until about a year ago, exposed to the worst of usage. It, undoubtedly, has been badly treated of late years. Up to a comparatively short time ago it was left open to the vicissitudes of the weather, in the fork of a white-thorn bush, within the precincts of the burial-ground at Kilcamin, near the town of Cloghan, King's County. We cannot be surprised that we find so small a remnant of this bell now forthcoming, when we reflect that it was, for a long series of years, acted on by the cold and rains and frosts of the winter, and by the scorching heats of summer. Notwithstanding the bad treatment it has experienced, enough, however, of the relic survives, to show that the bell of St. Camin was made of iron, and in the parallelogram shape.

If the patron saint of Kilcamin be the same with him who founded a monastery at Iniscealtra, or, as it is now called, Holy Island, situate in that part of Loughdearg known as the bay of Scariffe, he died the 24th or 25th of March, A.D. 653. Camin was son of Dima and half-brother of Guaire, king of Connaught, universally renowned for his hospitality. In connexion with the name of king Guaire, I send for inspection a bottle, which was presented to me some years ago by James Mahon, Esq., of Northampton, in the county of Galway. It was found in a cellar of the long dilapidated castle of king Guaire, at Kinvarra, in that county. This cellar has been for ages submerged beneath the waters of Galway bay. Could we but believe that this

bottle might have served at the hospitable board of the prince of Hy Fiachra-Aidne, eleven hundred years ago, what a moral lesson would it teach us, when we see the fragile glass vessel still perfect and uninjured, whilst its owner, the generous and powerful Guaire, has many centuries ago crumbled into dust !

The name of St. Camin's mother was Cumania. St. Camin wrote a Commentary on the Psalms, which was accompanied by the Hebrew text. The manuscript in his handwriting was in existence in the days of Colgan and Ware.

The next object I request attention to is a small bronze BELL from SCATTERY ISLAND, near the mouth of the Shannon. I obtained what remains of this bell from Mr. Underwood, who informed me that it was found at Scattery. This island was called Iniscathy, and also Cathaigh-inis, names probably derived from *inir*, an island, and *cata*, worship, which in the genitive case is *catai*. Inis-cathaigh, or Cathaigh-inis, may thus mean "island of worship," or "worship island." It was also called Inis-cathiana. This last appellation appears to mean "island of worship of Ana." Ana was the Pagan Irish "Mater deorum," or the Earth, of whose worship we find traces connected with the names of numerous places in Ireland, which have been subsequently rendered conspicuous by religious foundations under the Christian dispensation.

This Scattery bell is composed of bronze, having a crimson-coloured fracture, as if some antimony had entered into its composition. This specimen is, by far, the smallest I have met with of rectangular-shaped bells, its dimensions at the mouth not being more than two inches by an inch and a-half. It measures two inches three quarters in height, exclusive of the handle, which is of one casting with the body of the bell. Traces are yet visible of a staple having depended from the interior of its top, as if for suspension of a clapper. This staple, or rather remains of one, is evidence that tongues were sometimes used in small square bells, although I am inclined to look upon the clapper at present attached to the rectangular bell of St. Ruadhan of Lorrha (now also sent for inspection) as not at all so ancient as that bell itself.

St. Senan was founder of the Christian religious establishment at Inis-cathaigh, in the territory of Corcabaigín, and present county of Clare. This island is situate in the river Shannon, within a short distance of, and opposite to, the town of Kilrush. There are many vestiges of days gone by yet existing here—or there were such in October, 1839, when I visited the island. To particularize them is beyond the scope of this paper. I may, nevertheless, observe that Archdall and various other writers assert that the fine round tower here is 120 feet in height. But this is not the fact. I measured its elevation with a Hadley's sextant in 1839, and it does not exceed eighty-seven feet. The door-way, by which this tower is entered, is *on a level with the ground*. It has a semicircular arch, while the four

apertures at the top of the tower are flat-headed. The tower is built upon a rock, whose surface, at the time when I visited the place, was perfectly free from debris, or other accidental accumulation. The fact of the easily accessible position of the door of this round tower, as well as the existence elsewhere of doors similarly circumstanced, such as the door of the tower on Ram Island, and of some others, is an argument bearing against the theory that such structures were erected as places of security. An idea seems to have been adopted (without sufficient inquiry) that the entrance door of every one of the Irish round towers was elevated considerably above the level of the ground.

St. Senan is said by some to have established his monastery at Iniscathy before the arrival of St. Patrick on his mission for the conversion of the Irish. He was a native of Corcabaigín, and was born at Magh-lacha, in that district, about A.D. 488. His death took place the 1st of March, A.D. 544, and he was interred at Iniscathy. The name of this saint's father was Ergind or Ercan, and that of his mother was Coemgella. Both father and mother were of noble extraction.

O'Halloran (*Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 188) says that the bell of St. Senan, or some other bell taken to be it, was still (when he wrote) religiously preserved in the west of the county of Clare; and that to swear by it falsely was then agreed by the common people to be followed immediately by convulsions and death. Could the little broken bell now being written of be the remains of that once revered and dreaded relic of the patron saint of Scattery Island? Who can now determine? It, however, is more likely that the bell written of by O'Halloran is that yet preserved in a family of the county of Clare, and which is known by the name Clogoir, i.e. cloḡ, bell, and oḡda, precious.

I also send for inspection three other bells of saints, namely, the BARNAN COULAWN, the BELL OF KILLSHANNY, in the west of the county of Clare, and that of St. RUADHAN of Lorrha, in the barony of Lower Ormond, and county of Tipperary. I lent these three bells to the Royal Irish Academy a few years ago, when my esteemed and respected friend, Dr. Petrie, read a communication of his own on the subject of them. The Academy went, at that time, to very considerable expense for drawings and engravings of these three bells. I am not aware whether the observations of Dr. Petrie regarding these bells are yet in print. I feel, however, that I may be well excused from expatiating on such a topic as they furnish, when it has been already handled by one so capable of doing justice to it as Dr. Petrie is. I shall, therefore, confine myself here to noting the eras of these saints, and offering a few observations I deem to be requisite in justification of myself for suggestions made over thirty years ago.¹ On the occasion to which I allude I was wholly astray as

¹ See *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xiv. (1825), *Antiquities*, pp. 31-43.

to the nature of the Barnan Coulawn. I had not previously seen any other ancient bell. It is now quite clear to me that the iron portion of this relic was the veritable bell of St. Culanus. It will be easy to induce the observer, who looks at the little semicircular aperture in the base of the bronze curbing environing this bell, to agree with me in thinking that the appellation, Barnan Coulawn, means, simply, "little gap of Culanus." Dr. Petrie, if I mistake not, thinks it means "the gapped bell of Culanus." Notwithstanding my great respect for the opinion of this excellent antiquary, I much regret that I cannot at all agree with him on this point. *Barnan* is the Irish for a *little gap*, and this little gap, evidently, was that left in the protecting curbing for the person swearing upon the bell to introduce his thumb or finger by. It was from this gap, rather than from any fortuitous injury to the original bell, that the term "Barnan" was used in reference to it. No matter how gapped or injured the ancient bells of Irish saints may have been, I believe that the term "Barnan" was not applied to them except when they were ornamented and preserved as relics to be sworn on. The bell of St. Evin, who was brother to St. Culanus, was called Barnan Evin. It was deposited in the care of the MacEgans, hereditary justices of Munster, for them to administer oaths on. Colgan, writing of St. Evin, says of his bell:—"Fertur et ibi post ejus mortem extitisse cymbalum, sive nola hujus Sancti *Bernan-Emhin* appellata, et in tanta veneratione habita, ut per eam tanquam inviolabilis sacramenti genus, posterī præsertim ex semine Eugenii patris ejus oriundi, consueverint jurare, et motas controversias juramenti Sacramento concludere." The Barnan Coulawn and Barnan Evin are the only two bells to which I can at this moment recollect that the term "Barnan" has been applied.

St. Culanus died about the beginning of the tenth century, as I suppose, for his brother Cormac, the celebrated scholar, king, and bishop of Cashel, was killed in the year 908. The bell of Culanus was given to me more than forty years ago by the Rev. Michael Bohun, then parish priest of Glenkeen, county of Tipperary. He died on Christmas day, A.D. 1815.

St. Cuana of Kill-chuana, *alias* Killshanny, in the west of the county of Clare, is supposed to have died about A.D. 650. The bell of this saint was given to me by the late Rev. Mr. Nowlan, then parish priest of New Quay, county of Clare.

St. Ruadhan of Lorrha, or Lothra, was of noble extraction. Dr. Lanigan assigns his death to A.D. 584, and his festival to the 15th of April. The bell of St. Ruadhan was presented to me, some years ago, by the Rev. Mr. O'Brien, Roman Catholic incumbent of Lorrha, in which parish this relic was preserved.

In addition to the seven Christian bells already dwelt on, I send also for inspection a few specimens of Pagan crotals. On this subject I content myself by referring to two papers in the fourth volume of the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy." At p. 239

will be found the observations of the reverend, learned, and respected president of that society; and at pp. 428, 430-433, are some humble opinions of mine on the same subject.

In order that this "bell" subject should be complete in every variety for the members of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, I further send for inspection some sheep bells of the sixteenth century, and also some other bells. One of these latter is a curious little bell, presented to me by a late lamented and excellent friend, the Rev. Paul Holmes, then rector of Gallen, in the King's County. It was found on his land at Corbeg, in the same county. A modern sheep bell accompanies the others. A comparison of it with one of the ancient crotals, is decisive in favour of the art of bell-casting in our own day.

ON THE CROSS-LEGGED EFFIGIES OF THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES.

NOTHING is, perhaps, so interesting to the student of antiquity as the investigation of customs connected with the dead, and the universal desire evinced by all races, at every period of the history of man, to keep the departed in honourable remembrance after they had passed away from the busy scenes of life. In this universal custom there is shown an instinctive feeling of the great truth of a future existence for the body, even amongst the most debased tribes of mankind. The rough pillar-stone, the rude mound of earth, the piled up cairn, the ponderous pyramid, the rugged cromlech, and the richly-sculptured Christian monument, though widely different in age and execution, all have the same end in view, the commemoration of the dead. If we take any of the classes of sepulchral monuments here enumerated, we shall find that, although the purpose may be the same, certain peculiarities distinguish the class into subordinate sections; for example, amongst the Christian monuments of Ireland, how diverse will be found their distinguishing features; the monumental cross, the cross-inscribed slab, the effigial tomb, all have their varieties, and would amply repay investigation. It is, however, but to one variety of the latter subdivision, as confined to one locality, that I mean at present to call attention. I allude to the cross-legged effigies existing in the county of Kilkenny. Most persons are familiar with the numerous examples of this class of monument in England, and those who have visited the Temple Church in London, cannot fail to remember the mail-clad knightly figures of this kind, which form one of the greatest attractions of that beautiful building. Per-

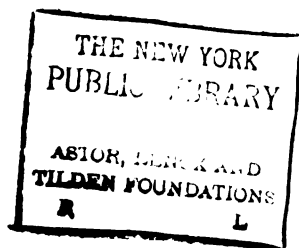
haps, indeed, from the existence of this class of monument in the famed church of the Templars, the opinion may have become prevalent, that by the crossing of the legs was indicated the fact of the individual commemorated having taken upon himself the cross, and joined in the crusades, or at least being under vow to do so at the time of his death. The discovery, at Cashel, on the site of the Franciscan abbey, of three *female* effigies of the thirteenth century, sculptured in the cross-legged position, as described and figured in the interesting memoir by Mr. Du Noyer (*Archæological Journal*, vol. ii. p. 121), appears to show the unsoundness of this assumption; and the opinion which seems least open to objection is, that the position of the limbs was a conventional mode of sculpture prevailing at the period, perhaps designed to be symbolical of the Christian faith of the deceased.

I have observed that such figures are common in England. In Ireland they are very uncommon; in a note to the paper already alluded to, Mr. Du Noyer states that, in addition to four monumental figures at Cashel, "one other effigy only has been described as existing in Ireland," namely, that on the south side of the nave in Christ Church, Dublin, supposed to represent Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke and Strigul, surnamed Strongbow. This statement is, I believe, correct. No others had up to that period been *described*; but some exist, like too many of Ireland's antiquities, unknown and undescribed. In the county of Kilkenny two examples are found, a notice of which cannot fail to be acceptable to the student of monumental antiquities.

The first of these interesting monuments, hitherto unnoticed, is a cross-legged effigy, sculptured in high relief, on a slab which has been inserted in one of the walls of the ancient abbey of Graigue-na-managh, now used as the Roman Catholic place of worship of that parish. The figure, which is very rudely executed, is larger than life, and represents a knight clad in a complete suit of mail, over which a surcoat fitting closely round the throat is worn; the right hand grasps the sword-hilt, while the scabbard is held by the left; the left leg is thrown over the right, and the entire attitude gives the idea of one starting forward prompt for action, and in the act of drawing the sword. A broad belt, attached by curiously contrived straps to the scabbard, and buckled in front over the hips, sustains the sword. A fracture extends across the waist of the figure, and from the deficiency of the lower portion of the slab towards the feet, the spurs are not visible to assist in fixing the date. The effigy has not been



Details of sword belt and scabbard. Effigy at Graigue-na-managh, county of Kilkenny.





L.C. MARTIN. S.

Engraving of one of the de Canteville family, at Kilfona, Co. Kilkenny.

represented with a shield in this instance, so that heraldry does not, any more than tradition, serve to indicate the family to which this monument belonged; but, from the character of the armour, it may be assigned to the early part or middle of the thirteenth century. It should be observed that the hood or chaperon of mail conforms to the globular shape of the head.

The wood engraving, which accompanies this paper, gives a faithful representation of another example of this class of monumental sculpture, afforded by the county of Kilkenny. The old church of Kilfane, in the barony of Gowran, appears from its existing sculptured details to have been built at the close of the thirteenth century, or commencement of the fourteenth. On the erection of the present parish church, the older structure became disused as a place of worship, and served as a school-house; and I have been informed by several individuals, who some thirty years since attended as children at this school, that this sculpture lay on the floor, and that the punishment for idle or refractory urchins was a compulsory kiss bestowed on the stony lips of the "Cantwell fadha," the "tall Cantwell," as the effigy was traditionally named in the Irish language. Subsequently, the figure was buried beneath the surface to save it from injury, and so it remained for many years. In September, 1840, I well remember working hard with spade and shovel to disinter the knight for the purpose of obtaining a drawing. When the rubbish was cleared away I saw at once that this was no common monument, and the necessity of doing something for its preservation strongly presented itself; accordingly, a subscription was entered into, and an attempt was made to remove the slab to the aisles of the cathedral of St. Canice at Kilkenny; from several causes, however, the project fortunately was not put in execution. I say fortunately, for, from the mode of transit contemplated, and the immense weight of the slab, it is extremely probable that some injury would have resulted to this valuable monument. From the period alluded to, down to the summer of 1852, matters remained as before, and the knight lay safely beneath the protecting rubbish. Several circumstances, however, combined to force on the committee of the Kilkenny Archæological Society the importance of saving the sculpture from possible destruction. It was accordingly determined to obtain a mould from the effigy itself, as the most effectual way of perpetuating its peculiar features; this has been, by the kind permission of the archdeacon of Ossory, effected; and four casts have been made therefrom, one of which was exhibited at the National Exhibition at Cork, and rests finally in the Museum of the Royal Cork Institution; a second has been transmitted to the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and has there elicited much interest; a third has been executed for the Court of Irish Art, in the Great Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853; and the fourth has been reserved for the Museum of the Kilkenny Archæological Society.

These measures have been undertaken by the committee of the Kilkenny Society as calculated not only to multiply copies of a curious, and, in Ireland, almost unique relic, but also as tending to make the Society favourably known to the Irish public, as being alive to the importance of saving the monuments of the past from demolition.¹

The Cantwell or de Canteville family was amongst the early Norman settlers in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. Thomas de Kentewall is one of the witnesses to a charter granted by Theobald Walter, first chief butler of Ireland, to his town of Gowran, in the reign of Henry II. The Cantwells early possessed large property in the county of Kilkenny, on which stood the castles of Cantwell's Court near Kilkenny, and of Stroan and Cloghscreg in the immediate neighbourhood of Kilsfane. That this monument represents a Cantwell is proved by the evidence of heraldry. The shield is charged with a bearing, which, without the tinctures, may be described as—four annulets, a canton ermine—the bearing seen on the seal of John Cantwell, attached to a deed of Walter Fitz Peter de Cantwell, and Peter Fitz Peter de Cantwell, dated 46th Edw. III., and on the seal of another John Cantwell, affixed to a deed dated 15th Henry VII.² Probably this effigy was sculptured in memory of Thomas de Cantwell, who, by a writ dated at Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny, in the year 1319, was exempted from attending at assizes, on the plea of being worn out with age (*Rot. Pat.* 13 Edw. II., No. 33). Tombs, it is well known, were occasionally erected by persons before their decease; perhaps such was the case in this instance. A suit of mail, without any portion of plate, defends the body, and the head and throat are protected by a chaperon of mail which falls over the hauberk; the chaperon is flattened at top, presenting the appearance of a slightly elevated cone. A long triangular shield, very much curved, and charged in relief with the arms before described, is supported on the left side by the shield-strap, passing over the right shoulder, and some acorns with oak leaves are carved in the stone as a support for its point. A surcoat is worn over the hauberk, confined by the sword belt at the waist, and the sword lies under the body, the end appearing between the legs; the right arm (the hand being bare, and the mailed gauntlet hanging by) is extended by the side; and the right leg crossed over the left. The feet are supported by well-carved clusters of oak leaves with acorns, and the spurs are broadly rowelled. The effigy is well sculptured, apparently in Kilkenny marble; the contour of the head and neck is fine, the legs and feet are well formed, and the folds of the surcoat are disposed with considerable elegance; but the shoulders are narrow, the chest flat, and

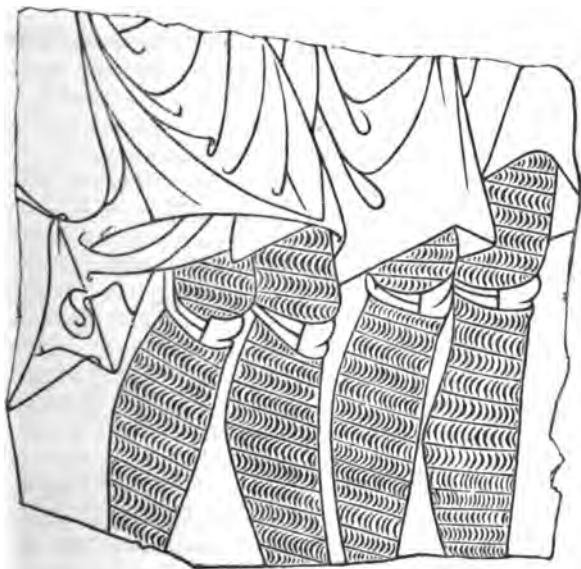
¹ A special subscription has been commenced to defray the cost incurred, which the ordinary funds of the Society are inadequate to meet.

² These documents are preserved in the

Record Room, Kilkenny Castle, amongst the Ormonde MSS. Burke gives—gules, five annulets, and a canton ermine (another, six annulets or), as the coat of Cantwell, in Ireland.—*General Armory*, &c.

the right arm badly designed. The entire absence of plate armour prevents us from assigning this effigy to the successor of Thomas de Cantwell, as the latter was not dead in 1319; but as he was an old man at that period, the broad rowelled spur forbids us to assign it to his predecessor, who must have died early in the thirteenth century, and the character of the oak leaf foliage would also point to about 1319, it being carved with the marked vigour and truth to nature, characteristic of the Decorated style of architecture which then came into vogue. It seems also probable, from the style of the building, that this Thomas de Cantwell was the founder, or at least rebuilder, of the ancient church of Kilfane.

In addition to the two remarkable relics of monumental sculpture which have been described, I am desirous to bring under the notice of the Society a fragment of a very singular example of early Irish art, likewise to be seen in the county of Kilkenny. It is a portion of an engraved slab, about two feet square, possibly sepulchral, resembling the incised stone memorials of frequent occurrence in England: it occurs at Jerpoint Abbey, where it at present serves as a head-stone to the grave of some peasant, there interred in recent times. This curious specimen of incised work exhibits, as will be seen by the accompanying representation, the lower por-



Fragment of an incised slab at Jerpoint Abbey, Co. Kilkenny.

tions of two figures, of dimensions rather below life size. They are armed in mail, represented by parallel rows of rings, according

to a conventional mode of indicating that kind of armour, as seen on effigies from the thirteenth to the early part of the sixteenth centuries. In this instance the chausses, or hose of mail, are fastened below the knee by straps of a very peculiar kind, formed with a broad piece in front, and narrow double thongs passing round the limb behind. I am not aware that any representation of such an appliance of military costume, resembling a garter, at this period, has been noticed, either in works of monumental art, or illuminated MSS. An able writer on costume, indeed, in his curious remarks on the origin of the garter, and its choice as a knightly symbol by Edward III., affirms that he had doubted whether any garters were worn by men in those days, no indication of such an article occurring upon any monument or in any illumination.¹ The feet of the figures, on the curious slab at Jerpoint Abbey, are unfortunately deficient, and the upper part of the slab has likewise been broken away. In its mutilated condition it is difficult to ascertain the precise intention of the design, and posture of the figures; but I may mention that some persons, who have examined it with care, have entertained the notion that one of the figures is represented in the cross-legged attitude, and that this slab may be added to the list of examples of that peculiar conventionality in the earlier sepulchral memorials of Ireland.²

And now, perhaps, in conclusion, it may be permitted me to atone for all this dry detail by subjoining some lines—not without beauty—which the discovery of the knightly effigy of de Canteville suggested, in years gone by, to a friend now no more:—

SONNET.

A-wandering once in boyhood's blithesome hour,
 When every thing that earth contains was fair,
 And seeking what was beautiful and rare,
 I spied, amidst a grove, an ancient tower,
 Furrowed by angry blast and beating shower.
 Yea, time, whose hand is little wont to spare,
 Was busy with it—I, with heart aware
 That things of Old possess a holy power,
 Drew near to that grey pile, and lo! I found
 'Neath it the tomb of a Crusader bold,
 Half hidden in the ruin-cumber'd ground.
 Ah me! said I, men's hearts are hard and cold,
 Else would they move the rubbish gather'd round,
 And cherish this, the Piety of old!

¹ Planché, *History of British Costume*, p. 146. In the later edition of 1847, the author observes that he had found mention of garters (cintolini) in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, written temp. Edward III.

² Since this paper was read, the slab in question has been removed from the graveyard, and built into the face of the wall, in the nave of Jerpoint Abbey, for better preservation.

OBSERVATIONS ON AN ANCIENT IRISH BOAT.

BY T. L. COOKE, ESQ.

ALONG with this paper I forwarded a drawing, with measured plans and sections, of an ancient Irish boat, at present in my possession.

I believe that this boat is in a much more perfect state than the generality of such relics are found to be in. Its principal defect consists in a split, which runs from the lower part of the starboard side, quite through the solid stern. The greatest length from stem to stern, is twenty-two feet seven inches. The greatest breadth of beam, thirty-one inches. It is all one piece of timber, formed in the solid out of a single oak tree; and, although it looks, on a superficial view, as if the tree had been hollowed by means of fire, nevertheless, a close inspection proves, by the sharpness of the internal angles and the thinness, as well as smoothness, of the bottom and sides, that some sort of edged tools were used in its formation. The bottom, which is perfectly flat and without a keel, is two inches thick. The sides, which also present plain surfaces, incline outward from the point where they rise from the bottom. This splay of the sides causes the boat to be much wider at what may be called the gunwale than it is at the flooring. The sides are an inch and a-half thick where they meet the bottom, but they gradually become more thin from thence upwards, their topmost edges not being more than half an inch in thickness. The larboard side is several inches lower than the starboard one; but this manifestly is the effect of accident since the boat was made. The sides are prevented from collapsing by two stout ridges of solid timber, one of which was left standing near either end of the vessel, thus serving the office of what ship-builders term beams. These ridges are about thirty-one inches from the extreme ends of the boat; and between them and such ends, cavities have been scooped out of the timber, apparently for the purpose of rendering the craft more buoyant. A horizontal hole, about an inch and a-half in diameter, is visible in the most forward and highest part of the stern. It seems to have been for securing a painter or foot-rope to. There is no trace of thwarts or benches: and as the sides had neither row-locks nor thole-pins for the application of oars, the boat must have been propelled by means of paddles or by sculling.

Major Richard Dunne, the gallant and worthy gentleman to whose kindness I am indebted for the possession of this interesting relic, has obligingly informed me that when he was in Greece, he used to fowl in boats cut out of the solid tree and nearly similar to the one I have described. The Greek boat (he says) was then called *μενοζολον*, probably from *οχος currus*, *vehiculum*. My worthy friend had this ancient boat sent to me from Brittas, the seat of his brother, lieutenant-colonel Dunne, M.P., situate near Clonaslea, in the Queen's

County. It was found with three or four other boats some two or three years ago, on colonel Dunne's estate, in the progress of some drainage or other operations, at Lough Annagh, a natural piece of water which separates the King's from the Queen's County. The boat sent to me was the only one of those then found which had pretensions to be reckoned at all perfect. Lough Annagh is about three quarters of a mile long, by half a mile broad. It is about a mile and a-half N.N.W. of Clonaslea village. All the boats, which were then discovered there, lay in the same part of the lough. Each of them had the same dip in the sand or mud, and lay with its bow in a north-westerly direction. Hence we may conclude that they all were contemporaneously wrecked in some common catastrophe. It is at the present day almost hopeless to inquire of the time or nature of the visitation which submerged the little fleet.

The ancient Irish had various kinds of boats, known by the appellations *crához*, *crán-rnám*, *purzan*, *bad*, *cot*, *corruac*, *rciſſa*, or *rcappa*, *rcib*, and *baic*. Of these the *bad* and *baic* seem to have been general terms by which to express any sort of boat. The *cot* was a small boat, which Ware (*Antiquities*) informs us was made of a hollow tree; and the *rcappa* and *rcib* were properly what we would call a skiff, small light boat, or cock-boat. The *purzan* was a vessel made of bark after the fashion of some foreign canoes of more modern times. The *crához* and the *crán-rnám* were made of timber. *Crához* probably comes from *crán*, a tree, and *oz*, young, little, or *oí*, entire, whole, in consequence of its having been made of small boughs, or being formed solid out of a single tree like the boat which is the subject of this paper. The term *crán-rnám* was even more expressive. It comes from *crán*, a tree, and *rnám*, or *rnámab*, swimming. The *corruac* was a boat made of wicker-work and covered with hides. Ware (*Antiquities*, c. xviii.) gives an account of the *corruac*, and Mac Geoghegan (*Hist. d'Irlande*, tom. i. fol. 89) says, on the authority of Gratianus Lucius, "dans les plus anciens tems ils se servoient de petits bateaux de bois léger, ou d'ozier, couverts de peaux de bœuf, de cheval, ou de quelque bête sauvage, et qu'ils nommoient *curraghs*."

Much information as to these curraghs is collected in the 34th chapter of the 3rd part of O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, which, amongst other interesting particulars, mentions the fact that Cæsar conveyed his troops across the rivers in Spain by means of curraghs, after he had witnessed the use of them in Britain. We know that it was in curraghs O'Sullivan Beare and his followers crossed the river Shannon, near Portumna, in the reign of Elizabeth, when retreating towards Brefney. The late Rev. Cæsar Otway (*Sketches of Ireland*) has dressed up the circumstance in his usual racy style. He calls the curragh by the name *nevoqe*, which seems to be compounded of *noí*, a ship, and *oz*, little or young. I have myself had some experience of the security with which these curraghs bear their freight over even

the angry surges of the troubled deep. It is now some fifteen or sixteen years since I was conveyed to land in one of these boats from on board a yacht, which sought refuge from a storm under the great western island of Arran. The fury of the gale had lashed up such tremendous waves, that a second cable had to be spliced and let out to ease the yacht and prevent her from straining while riding at anchor. After two days she was driven before the tempest and cast ashore some forty miles from her moorings. On another occasion I wished to visit Mutton Island, which lies off the western coast of the county of Clare, and in that part of the Atlantic ocean which is with great propriety denominated the *Malbay*. I embarked in a curragh for the purpose of my voyage. The day was fine and the breeze moderate; nevertheless, a heavy and broken sea was running upon the only beach, and that a very limited one, where a landing on the island was at all practicable. As we approached the shore a succession of huge seas, which were momentarily increased by a ground swell, were seen to follow us. Although I was then a practical seaman, and by no means a timid one, I apprehended that our little vessel would be swamped as soon as one of these angry seas should overtake us, and I expressed myself to that effect to the experienced fishermen who were rowing the curragh. They assured me that the slightest risk was not to be apprehended, but they added that it was necessary I should hold on firmly and be on my guard, so as not to be jerked over board by any sudden evolution of the vessel. I obeyed their orders. The precipitous leader of the huge waves was now foaming and towering over us within a dozen yards of our stern. I thought it must assuredly overwhelm us—but in an instant the well-trained boatmen, by a judicious use of their oars, the one backing water while the other pulled with all his strength, brought the head of the curragh round to the sea, and she gallantly breasted and rode easily over a surge that would have broken upon a less buoyant craft or a less firm or less experienced crew. In a similar manner we bounded over two other enormous seas which, as is usual on that coast, came consecutively with white crests after their leader. A fourth and smaller wave succeeded. As soon as the curragh had mounted upon this last-mentioned billow, her able pilots put her head once more towards the shore, pulled rapidly upon their oars, and in a few seconds the noble little craft was left high and dry upon the strand, while the broken water on which she had ridden receded as hastily as it had previously advanced.

The few notices I can now call to mind respecting boats formerly in use in Ireland, render futile any attempt to fix a certain era for the *cran-snav*, by which name I shall designate the valuable gift of major Dunne to me. The *cran-snav* must have been used by a people of very remote time indeed. There is a very worn and imperfect specimen of this sort of boat in the British Museum. A descriptive catalogue of the contents of that depository, entitled, "A Visit to the

British Museum," says, in reference to that boat, "the barbarians who constructed this canoe, as you call them, were most probably countrymen of ours; and its great age and consequent decay render it curious and interesting. This boat may have been used by the Britons who lived before the Roman invasion." According to such hypothesis the specimen at the British Museum may be now more than 1900 years old, for Julius Cæsar invaded Britain fifty-five years before the Christian era. In the first volume of *Old England*, woodcut No. 57 represents a boat somewhat resembling the Annagh Lough one, and the letterpress of the same volume, page 22, informs us that it was found in 1834, in a creek of the river Arun, in the village of North Stoke, Sussex.

Ware (*Antiquities*, Lond. 1705) concludes the 18th chapter, which treats of the ships or boats of the ancient Irish that were covered with skins, in the words following:—"It is not beside the purpose to observe here also, that the antient Irish had in use another sort of Boat made of a Hollow Tree, which they used only upon Loughs or Rivers, and is still in use, called by the Irish *Cotti*, by the English a *Cott*." Sir James Ware is an accurate writer; and, if he be correct in the passage just extracted, the cran-snav construction of boat was in use so late as A.D. 1654, the year when his book, *De Hibernia, et Antiquitatibus ejus Disquisitiones*, was first published. In reference to this point I may here notice a tradition which Lewis (*Topograph. Dict.*, title Kilmanman) relates to have been handed down in the parish of Clonaslea, wherein our cran-snav was found. It runs to the effect that, "in the middle of Lough Annagh, where it is most shallow, certain oak framing is yet (1837) visible, and there is a traditional report that in the war of 1641 a party of insurgents had a wooden house erected on this platform, whence they went out at night in a boat and plundered the surrounding country."

In a folio book, now before me, printed (1643) in the Latin language, and entitled "*Orbis Maritimi, sive Rerum in Mari et Littoribus Gestarum Generalis Historia: auctore Claudio Barthol.: Morisoto*, p. 4," I read on the subject of early boats, "*Nilus olim ex papiro, scirpo, et arundine naves habuit*." Such boats of the Nile were, therefore, somewhat like the Irish ruscane or curragh; and we readily recognise the similitude of the cran-snav, if not its prototype, in the following words extracted from the same page of the last quoted authority, viz., "*Eusebius, Usonem, ait, arboribus amputatis ambustisque primum mare ingressum*." Thus the boats of Uson were formed by hollowing the trunk of a tree by means of fire.

Small boats were in use with the Irish at a very early age indeed. Accordingly, we find that Eochaidh (the son of Luighdhioch Jardhonn, and an ancestor of the O'Carrolls of Ely), who ascended the throne A.M. 3394, was known as Eochaidh Fuarceas, or *Uairceas*, in consequence of his having invented skiffs, or small boats, *uairceas* being the Irish for a cock-boat. The meaning of the name Eo-

chaidh (*Anglice* Achy) is explained by that learned Irish scholar, John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., who has written, in a note to the *Leabhar-na-g-Ceart*, "this name is Irish, and denotes *eques*, horseman." Hence, we see that the expression *horse-marine* was not in its inception, as it is now supposed to be, a modern Irish bull. It was nearly the English for *Eochaidh-uairceas*, the very appropriate name of an Irish king, about 2462 years ago.

THE ANCIENT FABRIC, PLATE, AND FURNITURE

OF THE

CATHEDRAL OF CHRIST CHURCH, WATERFORD;

ILLUSTRATED BY ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS SUPPLIED BY THE VERY REV. EDWARD NEWENHAM HOARE, D.D., DEAN OF WATERFORD.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B.

A GLANCE at the plan and elevations of the cathedral of Waterford, as we find them given in Harris' edition of Ware's "Bishops," and an inspection of the ancient and highly curious oil painting of the interior of the same structure, still preserved as an heir-loom of the see, in the episcopal palace of Waterford, prove incontestably that the "*urbs intacta*" possessed a cathedral surpassing in size, picturesqueness of outline, and richness of style any structure of the kind in Ireland.

The plan of this noble Gothic church was irregular, and it had received in the course of time many additions. The original structure seems to have consisted of an Early English nave and choir (with side-aisles to both) and a lofty tower built about mid-way on the northern side, and spanning the north aisle; the nave was forty-five, the choir sixty-six feet in length, with clere-stories to both. Eastward of the choir projected the parish church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, exhibiting a fine Decorated window at its eastern end. Two Decorated chapels, St. Saviour's and another, adjoined the west end of the nave, running parallel beside, and opening into the side-aisles by a series of arches, thus giving the nave at its western extremity a width of sixty-six feet, and affording a noble perspective of columns and arcades. Two small chapels to the south of the Trinity or parish church appear to have been Early English in character; whilst Rice's chapel and the chapter-house to the north were in the Perpendicular style.

The corporation of Waterford seem, from an early age, to have been mixed up in a very curious way with the property of the chapter.¹ They were bound to contribute towards the sustentation of the

¹ Ryland's *History of Waterford*, pp. 131-4.

structure, and whilst the civic body was accountable to the dean and chapter for certain rents, they seem also to have had some control over the property of the cathedral, as we find them, in the year 1535, giving permission to the dean and chapter to grant leases for a term of sixty years. Shortly after this period the connexion between the two bodies corporate was still further complicated: the chapter finding the rich store of crosses, chalices, monstrances, and other plate, which their church had possessed from olden time, to be superfluous after the time of the Reformation, made them over to the corporation, under certain conditions, which not having been fulfilled by the latter, a law suit was the consequence. In the following document, transcribed from the original in the dean of Waterford's possession, the case is fully stated, and a curious list of the cathedral plate is also given. This interesting record runs as follows:—

25 May, 1637.

By the Lord Deputie and Councill.

RICHARD JONES, late Deane
of Waterford,

Plt.;

The MAYOR, SHERIFFES and
CITIZENS of Waterford,

Defendts.

WENTWORTH.

Upon full hearing of this cause, in the p'sence of the councill of both sides, there was produced to this Board a coppie of a writeing, dated the 10th of June, 1577, by wh^{ch} writeing the Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of the Holy Trinity, of the Cittie of Waterford, did, among other things, give, grant, bargain, sell and confirme to the Mayor, Sheriffes and Citizens of the County of the Cittie of Waterford, and to theire successors, the parcells following, viz'. :—Two candlesticks of silver guilt, weighing foure score ounces; more, two candlesticks of silver parcel guilt, weighing one hundred and five ounces; more, a standing cupp of silver double guilt, weighing twenty-eight ounces; more, a crosse of silver double guilt, weighing one hundred and twenty-six ounces; more, five cencers of silver, whereof two are parcel guilt, weighing two hundred and eleaven ounces; more, a monstrant with two angells of silver guilt, weighing forty-nine ounces; more, a portorall of silver guilt, weighing sixteene ounces; more, seven chalices of silver guilt, weighing one hundred and eight ounces; more, two crewetts of silver, weighing twelve ounces, the whole sune amounting to seaven hundred foure-score and foure ounces, after the rate of five shillings the ounce. Which coppie was attested by John Lee and Peter Strange, towne clerkes of Waterford, and affidavit made at this board that it was a true coppie of the originall remaineing wth the defend^{ts}, and it further appeared by an obligation sealed with the common seale of the said Cittie, and bearing date the twelfth of June, 1577, that the Mayor, Sheriffes and Citizens of Waterford, and theire successors, were bound vnto the said Deane and Chapter, and theire successors, in the sune of foure hundred pounds ster. The condicon of wh^{ch} obligation was, that if the said Mayor, Sheriffes and Citizens of Waterford, and theire successors, when soever the said Deane and Chapter, or theire successors, should bee impleaded for the Churches right, or lands, should, notwithstanding, give them from tyme to tyme soe much of the value of the said Jewells as should maintaine theire pleas by Law in defence of theire said right, just title and interest, and also if the said Deane and Chapter should afterwards labour or purchase any Liveings for the vse and maintenance of the said church, that then the said Mayor, Sheriffes and Citizens should give them of the value of the said Jewells soe remaining in theire hands vndisbursed for the uses aforesaid, when they should bee by them required, soe much as they must lay out and disburse for the said purchase, and also (if it should so come to passe) that ever afterwards either the Queenes

Ma'tie that then was, or her highness' most noble heirs or successors should at any tyme afterward allow of any the like Jewells to bee vsed and occupied in the Church, if then the said Mayor, Sherifpes and Citizens, and their successors, should buy for y^e vse of the said church soe many and such Jewells and ornaments as the said Deane and Chapter and their successors should require them to the value remaining in their custodie, vndisbursed and layd out as before, of the said Jewells, that then the obligation to bee voyd and of none effect, otherwise to stand in full force and vigour in Law. The Jewells aforesaid, weighed, did amount to seaven hundred foure score and foure ounces, and alsoe the price agreed vpon, at five shillings sterling le ounce, amounted to the sume of one hundred foure score and eightene pounds ster. And for that it appears not that y^e Defend^{ts} have disbursed any parte of the value of the said plate and Jewells according to y^e condicions of the said bond or obligation; It is, therefore, ordered, adjudged, and decreed that the Defend^{ts} shall forthwith, at their owne proper costs and charges, provide for the vse of the said Church and God's Service therein, seaven hundred foure score and foure ounces of silver plate, London touch, of such forme and fashion as by the Reverend father in God, the Lord Bpp. of Waterford and Lismore, and the Deane and Chapter of the said Church (whom wee pray and require to take speciall care thereof) shall bee thought fitt and the same soe provided to deliver to the Deane and Chapter of the said Church for the vse aforesaid. And for as much as the Plt. hath to his great cost and charges for almost dureing a yeare of his Incumbency there, for more than three yeares since hee left to bee Deane of the said church, prosecuted this Suite, only for y^e common good of the said church without having any contribution from any of the said church; It is, therefore, ordered that hee shall recover against the Defend^{ts} the sume of fifty pounds, which the Defend^{ts} are to pay to y^e Plt. or his assignees vpon sight of this our order. Lastly, whereas it was alleged that Richard Butler, Esq., now Mayor of the said Cittie, hath in his custodie certain Copes and Vestments belonging to the said Church, It is ordered that hee shall forthwith deliver the same vnto the said Lord Bpp., Deane and Chapter, or some of them, or els vpon sight or notice hereof to appeare before vs to shew cause to the contrary.

JA. ARMACHANUS; R. CORKE;
R. DILLON; GERRARD LOWTHER;
GEO. RADCLIFFE.

A true coppie.

MA. BARRY.

The restoration by the mayor of the copes and vestments enjoined by the peremptory Strafforde, and no doubt carried into effect, is an interesting fact. Of the seven hundred and eighty-four ounces of plate which the corporation was compelled to purchase for the cathedral on this occasion, the chapter was subsequently allowed to sell part for the purpose of purchasing thirty pounds per annum in tithes for the repair of the choir; and in the November of the same year (1637) the corporation bound themselves to repair the cathedral in consideration of free burial being secured to the citizens within the walls of the building.¹

During this period, and, indeed, we may say, to the day when Waterford fell before one officer, a sergeant, and thirty men of Ireton's forces,² the cathedral had retained all its ancient ecclesiastical furniture, tombs, sepulchral brasses, organs and bells. The documents which I am now able to lay before the Society give ample

¹ Ryland's *History of Waterford*, p. 136.

² The name of the officer and sergeant is preserved in Orrery's "Memoirs." It was Croker. They were brothers, and having been sent, with thirty musketeers, to burn the suburbs, they took advantage of the

panic produced amongst the townsmen by the volumes of smoke rolled into the city by a south-west wind, scaled the walls and seized the main guard. In this daring action the officer in command was slain, but his brother, the sergeant, kept his men toge-

proof of this, and at the same time afford us a glimpse of the splendour of this fine old pile ere it was desecrated and despoiled by fanatical cupidity. Who but must regret the loss of its "great eagle of massy brasse;" of its brazen "great standing pelican to support the Bibles;" of its "two great standing candlesticks of about a man's height of massy brasse," besides its "branched" ones of the same costly metal; of its "fonte" supported on a "pedestal and pillors," and "to be ascended vnto by three degrees or staires," together with its "cover of massy brasse;" of the numerous "brasses, eschocheons, and atchements" torn from "the ancient tombes, many of which were almost covered with brasse;" of its "brazen grate" for charcoal, sculptured with the "Lumbardes armes," altogether amounting to the enormous weight of sixty tons, not to speak of "y^e greate paire of organs," whose broken pipes Andrew Rickards saw amongst the plunder at the custom house. Shame on the Kilkenny man, Nicholas Phary, of Carrickganarrake, by name, who with his wife betrayed the secret "vault under ground in Christ's Church" where they were hidden! The "steeple house" itself, too, had a narrow escape from the calculating rapacity of one Samuel Wade, who told the commissioners that "they might have seven hundred pounds for its materials."

After the Restoration an endeavour was made to compel the Cromwellians to disgorge their ill-gotten plunder; the nature of these proceedings will be understood from the subjoined petition of the dean and chapter, and from the depositions taken by a commission issued thereupon by the Irish house of lords. The documents are transcribed from a contemporary copy of the petition and from the original parchment roll of the depositions, both in the keeping of the dean of Waterford:—

To the most Hon^{ble} the Lords Spirituall and Temporall now assembled by his Maties Comand in the High Court of Parliament of Ireland.

The most humble Petition of the Deane and Chapter of Waterford,

Sheweth that the Cathedrall Church of Waterford had beyond the memory of man left in it one great Eagle of Massy Brasse, one Pellican of Massy Brasse to support the Bibles in the said Church, two great standing Candlesticks, about man's height, of Massy Brasse; one fonte to be ascended vnto by three degrees or staires of Massy Brasse, the pedestal and pillors vpon w^{ch} the fonte did stand of Massy Brasse; the cover to the said fonte being of Massy Brasse, being the goodly monuments of the devotion of our pious ancesto^{rs}.

That when the Citty of Waterford was taken by Vsurped Pow^r in the yeare 1651, the said vtensils were sacralegiously seized vpon by Collonell Thomas Sadler and publicly sold and shipped away beyond the seas, with all the Eschocheons and Atchements of the ancient Tombes, many of which were almost covered with brass.

Your petition^{rs} humbly pray that the said Collonell Thomas Sadler may be called to answere to the sd. sacralegious actes, and vpon due profe of the sd. accions be compelled by this most hono^{ble} Court to make restitution of the said Church vtensils and

ther, and opening the west gate, marched out, brandished his sword about his head, and called for the whole army to march in; "for," said he, "the town is our own."

The citadel held out for some days longer, but was surrendered to Ireton on the 10th of August, 1650.—Smith's *History of Waterford*, second edition, p. 147.

ornaments according to his Majesty's will and pleasure in his late gracious declaration, and be farther ord^d according as this most hono^{ble} court shall thinke convenient to the present state and condition of affaires.

And your Pet^{rs} shall alwayes pray, &c.

JO. KEATING,
Dep. Cler. Parl.

Depositions¹ taken at Dublin the twenty-fifth day of J[.] sixty and one, before Standish Hartstonge and Jo[.] to vs and others directed, returneable into the [.] and Temporall in this p^{re}sent Parliament assembled [.].

Minard Christian, of Waterford, gent., aged fifty-five years or [.] deposeth as followeth, That at the surrender of the City of Waterford to [.] store of Brass was put into the Store by Coll. Sadler's ord^r, whoe was then Governor [.] which Brass was taken out of the church from of the Tombs, Graves-stones and [.] best remembrance the two brazen Candlesticks were there. And further deposeth [.] tyme of his, this deponents being there, there was the great standing Pellican and the brazen [.] and the great Brass Font wth its Cover and the pedestal thereof found in a vault under g[round] And was sold by Major Andrew Rickards (whoe was the towne Major vnd^r Coll. Sadler) to M^r Lap. and Ffrancis Sampson; he further sayeth that in the tyme of this deponent's being in Waterford there were severall Priests taken in their Mass houses, and in Irish-men's houses [.] thereabout, was with great store of plate, viz^t Chalices, Sawcers, and Ritch Coape, as rich as ever he saw in Spain, wth silver Lamps, and silver Chaines, with gold Rings and other Plate to the value of one hundred and fifty pounds ster. or more, all sold and disposed of by Coll. Sadler, Coll. Lawrence, Coll. Lee, Capt^l. Wade, and in the tymes of their being Governo^{rs} and [Deputy] Governo^{rs} there, and that in Coll. Lee's tyme of government there were great store [.] taken out of the churches, and layed vpon the key to mend it therwith, and some to p[.].

MINARD CHRISTIAN.

Capt. coram nobis die et loco p^{re}dict.

STANDISH HARTSTONGE.

(
L.S.

J. EYRE.

(
L.S.

Depositions taken at the City of Waterford the first day of August, one thousand six hundred and sixty and one, before William Bolton, Robert Taylor, and Standish Hartstonge, Esqrs., by virtue of his Majesty's commission returneable vnto the most hono^{ble} house of Lords in Parliam^t assembled, to vs and others directed as followeth:—

William Powell, aged two and thirty yeares, or thereabouts, duly sworne and examined, deposeth as followeth:—

Imprimis.—This Deponent sayth that in October following the surrender of this City [.] Thomas Goose of this City asked this Deponent whether he would buy any Brass [.] answered vnto him that he would if it were for his turne, wherevpon the said Goose [brought] this Deponent vnto a celler neare the key of the City, and there shewed this dep^onent and profered to him to sale a cover of a font of Massy Brass about three foot in diameter [.] which this Deponent he knew it to be the cover of the font of Christ's Church, and alsoe [.] other peeces of Brass, which he this Deponent p^{er}ceived to be taken of the Tombstones by the [.] on the back side thereof, which this Deponent sayd were not for his turne, and refused [.] them and further deposeth not.

WILL. [POWELL].

¹ These depositions are copied from the skins of parchment. The upper part of the original roll under seal, written on three this roll is much eaten away by mice,

John Lapp of the City of Waterford, Esqr., aged forty-two years, or thereabouts, [. . .] examined, deposeth as followeth :—

That about nine yeares since he this Deponent having a ship freighted [as well as] this Deponent remembereth to Marseilles there was a Publique canting of [. . .] Brass, to which this Deponent repaired, where were put to sale these p'cells following. Two Eagles of Massy Brass, a front of Copper or Brass, one branched candel-sticke of Brass, w^{ch}, as this Deponent remembereth, at nine pence farthing φ pound, came vnto the sume of betweene fifty and sixty pounds ster. which was bought by the ord^r. of this Deponent, for that he was vnwilling they should be broke in pieces and sold by the then p'tended Commiss^{rs}, whose names this Deponent as he remembereth to be, were Coll. Richard Laurence, Edward Roberts, late Audito^r; Capt^a. Samuel Wade, Mr. Robert Ffawcett, and Capt^a. William Holsy, and further deposeth not.

JOHN LAPP.

William Summers of Passage, aged fifty-seven years, or thereabouts, sworne and examined, deposeth as followeth :—

That there was a p'cell of Brass, wherein there was an Eagle and other things brought unto the Store when Coll. Laurence was governor, and that the said Brass was in weight, as this Deponent remembereth, one thousand two hundred weight, he, this Deponent, being clerke und^r John Bryant keeper of the Store, and sayth it was put to sale at a publique canting, and bought by Francis Sampson, and Mr. John Lapp at nine pence farthing φ pound.

WILL. SUMMERS.

Nicholas Phary, Wheelright, of Carrickganarrake, in the county of Kilkenny, aged [. . .] six years or thereabouts, sworne and examined, deposeth as followeth :—

That this Deponent about nine yeares since, found out by the information of an Irish Woeman that great quantity of Brass were hid up in a vault under ground in Christ's Church which this Deponent informed Coll. Laurence, then Governor, whose beleevd not this Deponent, but Mr. Roberts, Mr. Robert Ffawcett, and Capt^a. William Holsy being commiss^{rs} then did seize of it and caused it to be delivered into the Store, and then exposed it to sale at nine pence farthing φ pound, and this Deponent remembereth that there was one thousand and two hundred weight thereof, he, this Deponent, being then messenger to the said commiss^{rs}. The severall p'cells as this Deponent remembereth were three holy water pots of Brass, an Eagle, a Pelican, severall Standing Candlesticks, one Branched Candlestick, a Censer and other things, the names he cannot now remember, there were also severall Bells and the Brass front and Cover in the said Store under the keeping of John Bryant and William Summers, being then Store-keepers to the said commiss^{rs}, and Mr. John Houghton was then clerke to the said commiss^{rs}, and further deposeth not, only Mr. John Houghton found out some store of plate belonging to Christ's Church, at Kilmaden, within fower miles of Waterford, but what became of it this Deponent knoweth not.

NICO. PHARY.

Anne Phary, the wife of Nicholas Phary, of Carrickganarragh, aged forty-four yeares, or thereabouts, saith :—

That y^e great paire of Organs in Christ's Church in Waterford, were pulled downe in the tyme while Coll. Sadler was Governor, and she have heard by his ord^r, but never did see it, and that Major Andrew Rickards was Towne Major: at that tyme he tooke the whole account of all the goods, both Church goods and others, that were to be disposed of in the T[. . .]. And she heard that the said Major Rickards tooke p'ticular account of the Organs. For the tyme she remembreth it to be about eleven yeares since.

AN. PHARY, her A mth.

Capt. coram nobis die et loco p'dict.

WM. BOLTON.

(
L.S.
)

STANDISH HARTSTONGE.

(
L.S.
)

ROBERT TAYLOR.

(
L.S.
)

Depositions taken at the City of Waterford, the tenth day of August, one thousand six hundred sixty and one, before William Bolton and Robert Taylor, Esq^{rs}., by vertue of her Maties commission retournable unto the moste honorable House of Lords in Parliament assembled, to us and others directed as followeth :—

Andrew Rickards, of the City of Waterford, Esq^r., aged thirty-nine yeares, or thereabouts, being duly sworne and examined, saith :—

That about the year 'fifty, he, this deponent being Towne Major of this City, did see two Eagles of Brass, two Candle-stikes of Brass, sould by the authority of Collonell Saddler, Capt. Wade, Capt. Halsey, and some others who were then commiss^{rs}, and further saith, that aboute the same time hee saw amonge some other Brass sould at the Custom House, or at the House where the Brass Eagles were sould, some broken pieces of the Organ pipes which weare alsoe sould by the authority aforesaid, and farther saith not.

ANDREW RICKARDS.

John Houghton, of the City of Waterford, Esq^r., aged thirty-nine yeares, or thereabouts, being duly sworne and examined, saith :—

That about the years 'fifty-one or 'fifty-two, hee saw in the custody of one William Summers, in the publique Store House, severall peeeces of Twoone Brass, an Eagle of Brass, and some small brass bells belonging to the Churches and Hospitals of this City, which were sould by the then p'sent power, and further saith not.

JOHN HOUGHTON.

Richard Meyler, of the City of Waterford, Apothecary, aged sixty-four yeares, or thereabouts, being duly sworne and examined, saith :—

That the City of Waterford was delivered to Henry Ireton, the tenth of August, one thousand six hundred and fifty, and that Collonell Saddler was by him appointed Governor of the same, and that att that time the Cathedrall Church was in very good repaire, having in it severall rich Ornaments and Utenselles, viz^t. an Eagle of massy Brass, a Pelican of Massy Brass, two greate standing candle-stikes, a lardge vessell of Massy Brass, with the Lumberts armes on it, wherein charcole usually was kept, a ffontt of Massy Brass and the covers of many monuments of Massy Brass, and two settts of Organs, all wch were sacriligious taken away and sould by the then Authority. And further saith that he, this Deponent, was afterwards present in the tyme of Coll. Leigh's being Governor of this City, when a Commission was read in the Commission^{rs} chamber for the leavying or laying out of the sum of four hundred pounds for the repaire of the Cathedrall Church, when Samuel Wade, one of the Commission^{rs}, said that it was better for them to pull down the said Cathedrall, for that they might have seaven hundred pounds for the materialls of it, rather then to goe to repaire such a steeple house, and that the Blackffryers was sufficiently bigg enough to receave theire congregation, and that one Mr. Watts, another of the said com^{rs}, declared that though theire congregation was then but small, yet it might hereafter be larger and require a bigger meeting-place; whereupon that motion of Wade's ceased. And further saith that he hath seen some of the Church ornaments in Collonell Sadler's house; and further saith not.

RICHARD MEYLER.

Ffradcham Lond of the City of Waterford, Water Bayliffe, aged sixty-one yeares, or thereabouts, being duly sworne and examined, saith :—

That that yeare in wch the City was taken there was tenn or eleven hundred weight of the Toome Brass, beclonging to the Cathedrall Church, brought into this Deponents custody, he being then store-keeper, by order of the then commiss^{rs}, who were Coll. Saddler, Capt. Wade, Lieut. Collonell Wheeler, and some others whose names he does not well remember. And saith that the said Brass was taken away from this Deponent by the said commiss^{rs}. order, and accordingly disposed of. And farther saith that the Organs of the said Cathedrall were also disposed of by y^e said commiss^{rs}. And further saith not.

FFRADCHAM LOND.

Thomas Goose, of the City of Waterford, Broker, aged sixty yeares, or thereabouts, being duly sworne and examined, saith :—

That he cannot declare anything of his owne knowledge concerning the sacralligious taking away of the Vtensells and Ornaments of the Cathedrall Church of this Citty. And further saith not.

THOMAS GOOSE.

Capt. coram nobis die et loco p'dict.

WILLIAM BOLTON.

(
L.S.
)

ROBERT TAYLOR.

(
L.S.
)

That a portion of the £400, proposed to be levied for repairing the cathedral, during Col. Leigh's governorship, was duly expended thereon, appears from the original account existing amongst the chapter records, and headed as follows:—

A note of what moneyes hath been disbursed by Thomas Watts, Esq^r., for y^e repairing of y^e Public Meeting place in Waterford. By vertue of a commission from y^e com^{rs} of state to William Leigh, Capt. William Halsie, Samuell Wade, and Francis Vaghan, Esqrs., as followeth.

The account is too long to insert at full length, but I have extracted some of the items as under:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid to Henry Outlaw for twenty thousand of slats att 9s. per thousand y ^e 10th of May	09	00	00
Paid John German for mending the gutters, May y ^e 30th, '56	00	09	05
Paid Walter Cranfield and labourer to cleane y ^e meeting-place, y ^e 30th of May, '56	01	19	11
Paid to Henry Outlaw for ten thousand of slatts, y ^e 25th of June, '56	04	10	00
Paid to Richard Fairewether for two thousand of slats, y ^e 25th of June, '56	00	18	00
Paid to William Price and Devorix Poell, slatters, 24th of July, '56	24	00	00
Paid John German for mending y ^e gutters of y ^e Church Battlements, y ^e 2nd of August, '56	00	08	06
Paid to William Price for whitening the Church y ^e 29th of May, '56	03	00	00
Paid Mr. William Cooper for four dozen and a-half of Ridge tiles	02	04	09

The "summa totalis" of the account, from which the above extracts are taken, amounts to £214 1s. 0d. The carpentry comes to £50, William Holes was thirty-six days overseeing the work, and the wages of masons and labourers forms a large sum.

Although thus stripped of its ancient monuments and furniture, the fabric of the cathedral of Christ Church appears to have remained intact, except so far as the course of time laid its heavy hand thereon, until the year 1773, when it suffered the fate which Samuel Wade had designed for it more than an hundred years before, there being then no one, as honest Mr. Watts did on the former occasion, to plead for a reprieve. It is said, indeed, on the authority of local tradition that the bishop of the diocess long refused to sign the death warrant of the noble old pile, paying little attention to the frequent hints he received of the insecurity of the fabric. At last, however, the demolitionists hit on a lucky thought. As the bishop was coming out of the cathedral one Sunday morning, a person, mounted on the roof for that purpose, let fall a shower of rubbish close to his lordship, whilst others of the conspirators, *accidentally* present, took care so to *improve* on this text, that the bishop's fears got the better of his good taste, and accordingly, "at a meeting of a committee appointed by

the council of the corporation, held on the 14th of July, 1773, and assisted by the Bishop of Waterford, and the Dean and Chapter, it was resolved, that the old Cathedral Church should be taken down and a new one built in its place."¹

"It is a matter of sincere regret to many who recollect the ancient edifice," continues the writer already quoted, "that the profane hands of the last generation should have violated this beautiful remnant of antiquity. It was stated, as a plea for destroying the old building, that it was become so much decayed, as to be judged unsafe for the purposes of public worship; but there is some reason to doubt the correctness of this opinion, not only from the acknowledged strength of all the ancient churches, but also from the extreme difficulty which the workmen experienced in effecting its demolition."² No one can concur more heartily in the laudable sentiments of the Rev. Mr. Ryland than the present dean, whose anxious care is exercised to preserve every relic of antiquity connected with the cathedral which has escaped the ruthless hands of the destroyer. To his kindness the Society is indebted for the use of the ancient manuscripts which give to this brief memoir any interest it may possess; and it may not be amiss to state, that in his keeping the cathedral records are preserved with that intelligent care and solicitude which such invaluable documents always deserve, but, I grieve to say, seldom receive.

THE LOCAL ANTIQUITIES OF BUTTEVANT.

BY RICHARD R. BRASH, ESQ.

IN the following paper I propose calling attention to the local antiquities of the town and neighbourhood of Buttevant, which contain many objects of archæological interest. I have endeavoured to collect the historical notices connected with these localities, and to arrange them in connexion with the objects I propose to describe. These notices I confess are scant and meagre for a place of so much historical and antiquarian importance, but I trust the effect of this and all similar papers will be, to stimulate the zealous inquiry of those who have access to manuscripts and rare documents, that they may effectively follow up those investigations which others may have but commenced.

Buttevant, a post and market town in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, and county of Cork, is situated in a beautiful and fertile country at the foot of the Ballyhowra mountains, and on the banks of the Awbeg (little river). These mountains are celebrated by the

¹ Ryland's *History of Waterford*, p. 145.

² *Id. Ibid.*

quaint and inimitable Spencer as "the mountains of Mole," and the river under the name of "Mulla," a poeticising of "Mullagh," one of the higher elevations of the chain, Mullagh signifying the height or summit.

The ancient name of Buttevant was Kilnamullagh, the derivation of which is obvious, being the *kill* or church near the height; it is so styled in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1251, and Spencer thus alludes to it:—

Mulla, the daughter of old Mole so hight,
The Nymph, which of that water course has charge,
That, springing out of Mole, doth run downe right
To Buttevant, where, spreading forth at large,
It giveth name unto that ancient Citty,
Which Kilnemullah cleped is of old.

In many ancient documents it is called "Bothon," from whence some derive Buttevant. An ancient black letter inscription in the Franciscan abbey, styles it "Bothonia."

That fanciful and enthusiastic antiquary, Vallancey, deduces the etymology of Buttevant from the Indo-Scythian.¹ He derives it from Buite-fane, the fane or temple of Buite or Budh; but the more probable derivation of the name is given by Smith, in his "History of Cork," from the exclamation *Boutez en evant*, said to have been used by David de Barry, in an encounter with the M'Carthy's, and which was adopted by the Barrymore family, as their motto, who derived a title from this place.²

On the 26th September, 1234, a grant was made by Henry III. to David de Barry, of a market on Sunday, and a fair on the vigil and day of St. Luke the Evangelist, and six following days, at Buttevant. According to the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1251, "a monastery was erected at Kilnamullagh, in the diocese of Cork, by *the Barry*; and it was afterwards selected as the burying-place of the Barrys."

In the 11th of Edward II., 1317, a grant of release of £105, required of the commonalty and town of Buttevant by the exchequer, to be applied to enclosing it with walls, was made at the request of John Fitz David de Barry, to whom the town belonged; and he was required to see that the money was duly employed in the same.

In the 49th of Edward III., another grant was made, dated August 6th, to the provost and commonalty ratifying a former grant of part of the waste of the town, with the north gate and customs there.

32nd of Edward III., the king grants to Robert Tanner, of Botavaunt, the custody of one messuage, 103 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow, in Rathclare (which were of Elie, son of Matthew, deceased, which were held by Edmund of Hereford, and Elie de David Fitz David Barry, lately under age, and in the custody of the king, by military service), in the hands of the king "*rone min' etat*."

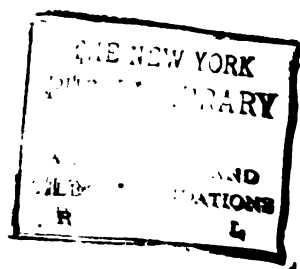
¹ *Collect.*, vol. vi. p. 156.

² *Smith's Hist. of Cork*, vol. i. p. 314. Ed. 1815.



Moore Lith. Cork

Buttevant Abbey. Co. Cork.
No. 1.



In 1461, Murrough O'Brien rebelled and overran Munster, ruining many castles and walled towns, among which Buttevant suffered severely; during the sanguinary wars of the Roses the town was fearfully devastated, and, in 1568, the castle was taken and occupied by the lord deputy Sidney.

In 1641, the army of the Confederation was assembled at Buttevant under lord Mountgarret; and in the spring of the year 1643, lord Inchiquin collected his forces here, consisting of 4000 foot and 400 horse.

The living is a perpetual curacy in the diocese of Cloyne, episcopally united, at a period prior to any existing record, to the vicarages of Bregogue and Kilbroney, and to the perpetual curacy of Cahirduggan, together forming the union of Buttevant and Cahirduggan, formerly called the union of Bregogue, in the patronage of the bishop. The rectory is inappropriate in Charles S. Oliver, Esq.; the tithes amounted to £926 10s.; the tithes of the benefice amounted to £139 4s.

Buttevant, though now almost dwindled to a village, was, as we have seen, formerly a walled and corporate town; and, from its present remains, must have been of considerable importance; it was a manor of the Barrys, and one of their most favoured seats. They ruled here in almost regal splendour, and certainly with royal power. Here they founded religious houses, and here was the last resting place of many a chief of that once powerful house. Smith, in his "History of Cork," says, "this whole town formerly seems to have been an assemblage of churches, and religious houses;"¹ Borlace, in his usual rude style, terms Buttevant "an old nest of abbots and friars," clearly showing that even in his time it was a place of much ecclesiastical importance. And Spencer terms it, "that Auncient Cittie."

Before entering upon the details of its ancient remains, I think it of importance to give a few concise notices of the Barry family, whose name is so intimately connected not only with Buttevant, but a great portion of the south and east of the county of Cork. They were the founders and endowers of many monastic houses, erected a vast number of castles and strongholds, and their zeal for the English interest was proverbial, at a time when the Anglo-Normans became more Irish than the Irish themselves.

According to Camden,² the Barrys derive their name from an island belonging to Wales, called Barre, on the coast of Glamorganshire; that island was so named from St. Baruch, who lived and died there in the odour of sanctity. Others state that the name of this family is to be found in the roll of Battle Abbey, amongst those who assisted duke William in his conquest of England; however this be, William de Barry was the common ancestor of the family in Ireland; he married Angereth, daughter of Nesta and sister of Robert Fitzstephen, and had by her four sons, Robert, Philip, Walter, and Gerald, surnamed

¹ Smith's *Hist. of Cork*, vol. i. p. 315.

² Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. i. p. 285.

of its foundation. These statements of Ware and Smith are corroborated by the following notice preserved by Archdall ("Monasticon Hib.") :—"A.D. 1273, William de Barry granted the whole of the church of Cathirduggan to the prior of Buttevant." The date here ascribed perfectly agrees with the architectural features of the original portions of the building which at present remain, and which, indeed, would be a complete puzzle to the architectural antiquary, were it possible to establish a later date for its erection.

It would certainly appear that a very short period of time must have elapsed between the erection of this house and the neighbouring abbey of Ballybeg. Indeed, I have no doubt that the same mind planned and directed the execution of both. They were built in the same style, Early English, the lancet windows are exactly of the same form and proportion, and the sculptured foliage of the caps and moulded bases of the banded shafts of the couplet window in the west end of Ballybeg abbey, are identical with similar details in the friary of Buttevant; and as it is a settled point that Ballybeg abbey was erected A.D. 1237, by Philip de Barry, the statement of the Four Masters respecting the foundation of this house in 1251, only fourteen years after, is fully borne out by the silent but conclusive evidence which the present remains of both buildings present.

Be it also remembered, that the above assigned date was the period at which one of the most potent and influential chiefs of that family held sway; David de Barry, who enlarged the revenues of Ballybeg, and who, in 1267, was made lord justice of Ireland, who, according to Dr. Meredith Hanmer, performed signal services to the English crown, and who is emphatically styled by the Four Masters, *the Barry*.

The portions which now remain of this once extensive foundation consist of the friary church, and a tower to the north, which is now incorporated with the new Roman Catholic chapel.

The friary church consists of a nave and chancel, with formerly a central tower, a south transept, and a small chantry at the east side of the transept; the cloisters and domestic buildings were on the north side, no traces of which are now visible, the area being used as a burying-ground.

The cloisters must have been remarkably well finished, as the accompanying drawing (see figure 3, plate 3) evidences. It exhibits one of the cloister piers, consisting of two twisted columns connected together with caps and bases elaborately moulded, well finished, and clearly executed.

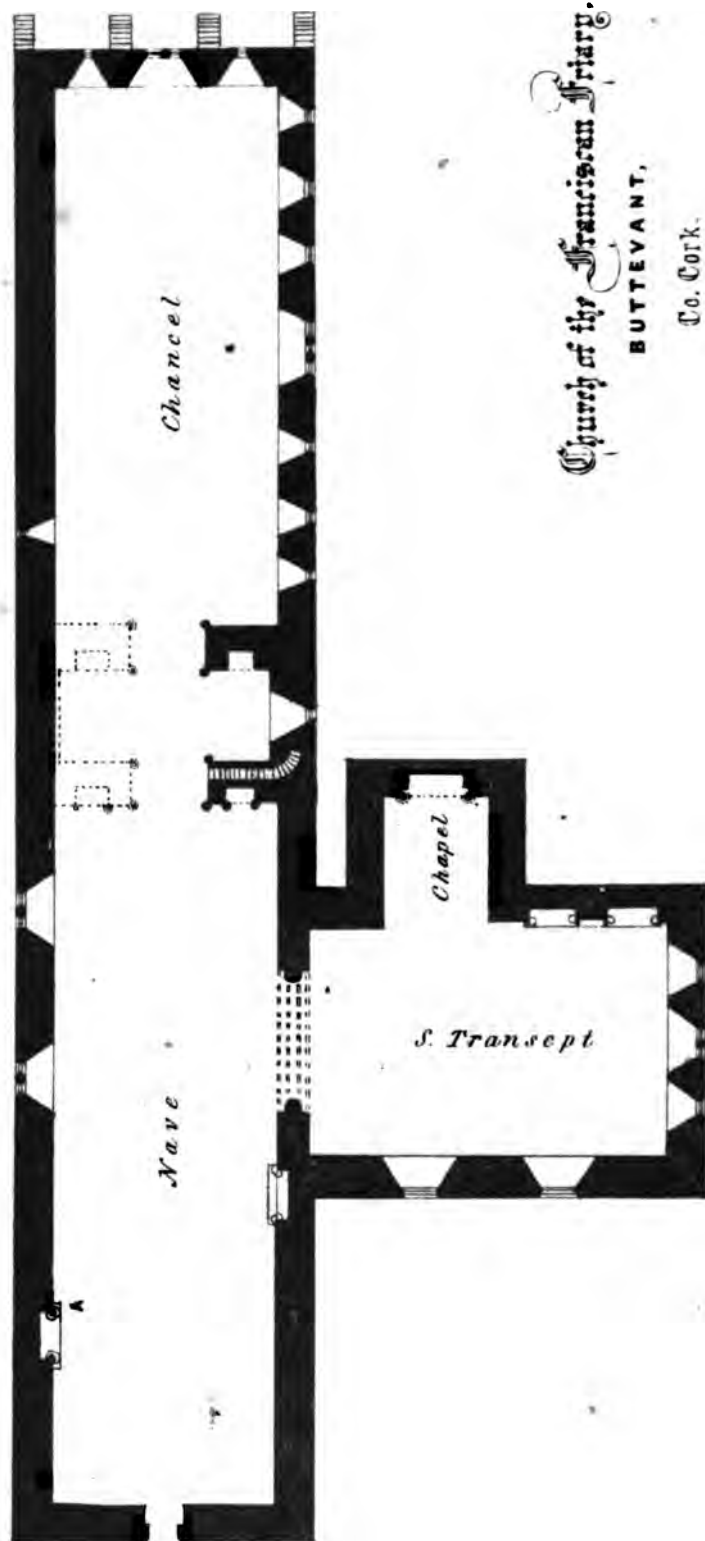
It is to be remarked that the same arrangements, as regards plan, are observable in nearly all the remains of Franciscan houses in Ireland. The nave and chancel, the central tower, the south transept, the conventual buildings to the north, form invariably the general plan of these buildings, as at Kilcrea, in the county of Cork; Adare, in the county of Limerick; Dromahaire, in Leitrim; Roserick, in Mayo; Sligo abbey, Sligo; and Kilconnell abbey, county of Galway.

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Church of the Franciscan Friary.

BUTTEVANT,

Co. Cork.

No. 2

GROUND PLAN.



Scale of Feet.

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Purshant Abbey
Co. Cork.

No. 3.

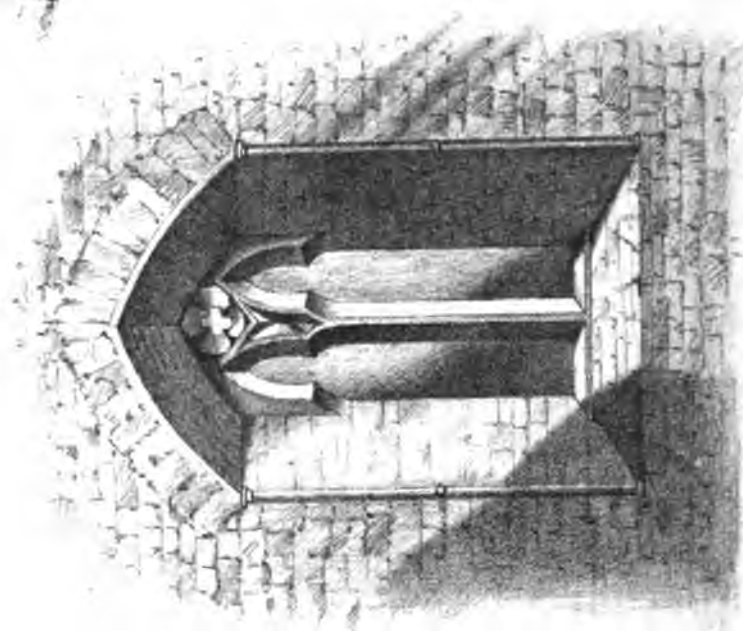


Fig. 1



Fig. 3.

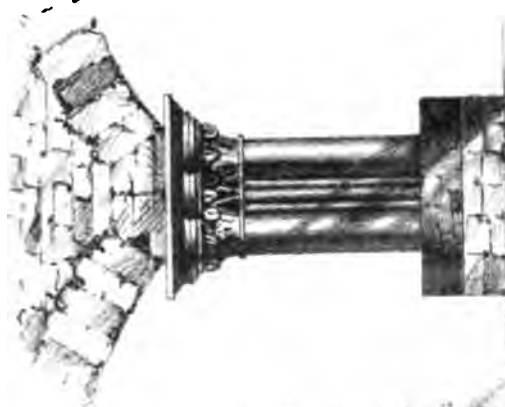
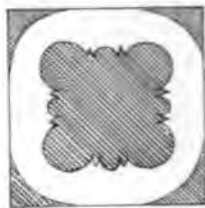


Fig. 2



At Roserick, the transept is connected with the nave by a single pointed arch, as at Buttevant. At Dromahaire, they are connected by two arches resting on a central pillar; at Kilcrea and Sligo, there is a small aisle at the south side of the nave having arches resting on piers, and opening also into the transept; and at Kilconnell, there is an aisle both to nave and transept, connected with both by arches and clustered piers.

I would here remark that the varieties of plan and arrangement adopted by the various monastic orders in this country; and the styles of architecture and modes of decoration, as well as the choice of sites peculiar to each, are interesting subjects for investigation, and which I hope to bring before the Society when I have completed my collection of examples.

The walls of this edifice are built of rubble lime-stone masonry, the quoins, dressings of doors and windows, and the ornamental portions are generally of dressed lime-stone, with which this part of the country abounds; but it would appear, that most of the dressings and decorative parts of the original church were executed in red sand-stone brought from the Ballyhowra mountains. These features will be alluded to in their appropriate places.

The whole of the interior is encumbered with graves and tomb-stones; until lately the ruins of the tower, which fell in 1819, blocked up the centre.

The nave is 74 feet 4 inches in length, by 24 feet 7 inches in breadth; the tower occupied nearly the breadth of the church, and was 18 feet from out to out of walls; the other way, that is from east to west, the chancel is 57 feet 6 inches in length. The entire length of the church from west to east is 149 feet 10 inches. It will be seen that the site of the tower divided the length unequally. The transept is 38 feet from N. to S. and 25 feet 4 inches from E. to W. The small chapel of the transept is 13 feet 6 inches from E. to W. and 11 feet from N. to S. The walls, as at present remaining, range from 20 to 24 feet in height, and portions of the exterior exhibit plain unornamented gurgioles. Their general thickness is 3 feet 9 inches.

The entrance is by a pointed door-way in the west gable, with moulded jambs and label, over which, resting on a string now almost worn away, are two lancet windows of Early English character, portions of the dressings of which are of red sand-stone; these lancets have been partially built up, and a plain narrow-mullioned window inserted in each; the latter are of debased Tudor character.

On the left, as you enter, is an altar-tomb inserted in the north wall of the nave (see plate 4), which I consider to be of the Early Decorated period; it exhibits a foiled and moulded arch, having a label decorated with the tooth ornament; the jambs have clustered shafts, with plainly sculptured caps and moulded bases; the label was terminated by carved heads, very beautifully executed, one of which

has been abstracted by an officer of the Buttevant garrison, as I was informed. The slab has a plain chamfer, with the following inscription:—

“Hic jacet Edmondus Maghery et Joana Ny Murughue et Heredes Eorum, Anno Dni. 1625.”

This was not the original slab of the tomb, it having been substituted from some other part of the church. The back of this tomb exhibits a portion of a rudely painted crucifixion which has no pretension to art. This, and some other traces of colour on the back of another tomb, led O'Halloran and others to speak so floridly of the remains of frescoes at Buttevant. These were in all probability executed by some of the brotherhood in the commencement of the last century, when a few of them had possession of the place.

To the right, near the arch of transept, is a similar tomb, which in form, dimensions, and mouldings is identical with the former, with the exception of the caps, which have no foliage; and the bases of the shafts exhibit the nail-headed ornament; there are no ornamental terminations to the label; the slab projects a foot from the wall, and has no inscription.

At each side of the tower, and inserted in the tower piers facing the entrance, were very elaborate altar-tombs, as appears by a drawing of Grogan's, in the possession of Dr. Denny, of Cork; and on clearing away the rubbish of the tower, we found the slabs of two of these tombs in their original position; they were about six inches thick, and had a roll and chamfer moulding on their edges; the bases of the jamb-shafts were worked on the corners of the slab.

On the right hand side, close to where stood the tower, is a small piscina with a cinque-foiled basin; it was originally ornamented with slender jamb-shafts and mouldings, the bases of which alone remain, showing their Early English character; about two yards from the left of the transept arch was a small side-door leading into the transept.

The nave was lighted by the Early English couplet before mentioned, and two Early Decorated windows, each of two lights, with quatre-foils in the heads; they were considerably splayed internally, and enriched with banded jamb-shafts, having moulded caps and bases. One of these windows alone remains. A stone, bearing the following inscription, in raised black letter character, was inserted in the bottom of the nave wall at the north side:—

“Hic jacet Johes. O'Dulying carpentarius frim. mior. Bothois. cu. sua progenie et Donaldus O'Bryn cu sua semine.”

“Here lies John O'Doolan, the carpenter of the friars minors of Buttevant, with his progeny, and Donald O'Brien with his descendants.”

I exhibit a rubbing of this stone. Near the above was another, cut into very graceful tracery, and bearing also an inscription in black letter, but much injured; these stones being from their former position difficult of access, were removed and built into a portion of the new

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Buttevant Abbey.
Co. Cork
N^o 4.



ALTAR TOMB.



ELEVATION



PLAN



Scale of Feet

work hereafter mentioned, where they are now accessible for the inspection of the curious. The east window, the form of which can be easily traced, was an Early English triplet, lofty and of graceful proportions; the jambs and piers of which were of red sand-stone. These lancets have also been partially built up and windows of a late date inserted; the centre one is occupied by a two-light window of barbarous and nondescript tracery. Close to the east end is a double piscina in the south wall; it is divided by a central shaft with moulded caps and bases; the stoups are foiled and ribbed, and have orifices and drains. Double piscinas are not usual in abbey churches.

Adjoining the piscina is a semicircular arched tomb inserted in the wall, and apparently an erection of the 17th century; it evidently occupies the position of the more ancient sedilia, which either fell to ruin, or was removed to please the vanity of some opulent benefactor; in many monastic churches I have remarked this to be the case, as at Bridgetown, where the sedilia was removed, and a tomb of late date inserted, which bears the arms of the Roches; the slab of the above tomb bears the following inscription:—

“Nicholas Jaco. Lombard et Eliza Barry ei' uxor me fieri fecerunt, 1 Marcyi, 1619.”

“Nicholas James Lombard and Eliza Barry his wife caused me to be made, 1st March, 1619.”

— The chancel was lit by the east window and a number of lancets in the south wall, which are now so altered, mingled, and built up, that it is difficult to discover their original arrangement; however, upon a minute inspection it would appear, that the south wall was occupied by a range of Early English lancets, eight in number, the dressings of which are of red sand-stone; three of these remain perfect, one is much injured, two are built up, and two cut away to insert a three-light window with flowing tracery of the latter end of the fourteenth century, and of rude execution. The following very curious inscription is on a slab in the chancel near the above window:—

“Redmond Barry cu. Matre et conuge struxere hunc tumulum Patri Quem Dea Parca Tulit Redmundus Johannis Barry de Lisgriffin et Kathlina Barry uxor ejus me fieri fecerunt, 3rd May, 1612.”

The remains of the transept show it to have been the best finished portion of the edifice. It was lighted by a lofty Early English triplet in the south gable, in the centre light of which has been inserted a two-light window, of similar character to those in the east and west gables. In the west wall were two interesting examples of Early Decorated windows; they were of two lights. The mullions are gone, and the lower portions built up, but the remains of the tracery connected with the arch stones indicate their configuration; externally they had labels with sculptured terminations, internally they were considerably splayed, the jambs had banded shafts with moulded bases, the caps of one of them are beautifully carved (see A, B, plate 4), the caps of the other were moulded without foliage.

A moulded string runs underneath the windows at the west side and south end of the transept, internally, and the east and west sides have a boldly chamfered cornice, from which the roof or vaulting sprang; on this cornice, on the west side, is carved a shield bearing a wolf courant (see plate 5). There were formerly two tombs inserted in the east wall of the transept, one of which has been taken out, and erected in another portion of the building, the other has disappeared.

Off the east side of the chantry is a small chapel. It opens into the above by a high pointed arch its full width; this arch is ornamented with shafts having moulded caps and bases. The east end of the chapel was occupied by a window nearly the full width, the mullions and tracery of which are gone, the jambs alone remaining, and exhibiting banded shafts with carved capitals (see C, D, plate 4) and moulded bases. This window has been built up, and a tomb, forcibly taken from its position in the transept, has been here inserted between the window jambs. This was similar in character to those in the nave, but it is patched up with details not belonging to it. At the back of this tomb is inserted in the wall a small slab, bearing a rude sculpture of the crucifixion, but seemingly of considerable antiquity, from the character of its ornamentation, and which was evidently abstracted from some other portion of the building.

On a slab here is the following inscription:—

“Hic jacet Johannes Garet Barry De Kilmihil, et uxor ei’ et phil Johanis Barry et Ellis Lombard Hoc fecerunt. A.D. 1603.”

On a small slab inserted in the wall is:—

“Hic jacet Eugeni’ O’Doling et Kathelina Dod Hoc Fecerunt, 1615.”

On a slab in the south gable of the transept is the following:—

“Pray for the souls of Maurice Fitzgerald, Esq., of Castleishen, of the House of Desmond, who died the 16th day of September, in the year 1726, and Dame Helena Butler his wife, of the House of Ormond, who died in the year 1721, whose bodies are deposited in this vault along with their ancestors, until the resurrection of the dead with Christ our Lord.”

This family are descended from Gerald Fitzgerald, surnamed M’Carrell, from whom also are the extinct house of Desmond.

Sir Edmond Fitzgerald, knight, of Clonglish, was created a baronet of Ireland, February 8th, 1644. Sir Edmond, during the revolutionary war of the Commonwealth, burnt his castle of Clonglish, to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels: after the Restoration he presented a petition to Charles II., praying to be reinstated in the property of which Cromwell had deprived him; but the Act of Settlement having passed, his petition was disregarded.

In consequence of the destruction of Clonglish, the baronet established himself at Castleishen, within three miles of Buttevant, which with considerable estates in that county, as well as Kerry and Tip-

perary, are still in the possession of the present baronet. Sir Maurice, who succeeded him in the fourth generation, and who, as well as his predecessors, refused to assume the title, married Helen, daughter of Walter, son of Richard Butler, of Kilcash, who are the parties referred to in the above inscription. Sir Richard resumed the family dignity and had his right acknowledged and confirmed by the college of arms in Ireland, November 18th, 1780. The present baronet is Sir James G. Fitzgerald, who succeeded his father, Sir James, who died September 25th, 1839.

Arms—ermine, a saltier, gules. Crest—a boar, passant, gules, bristled and armed, or. Motto—Shannet a boo.¹

In the chancel is the tomb of Mr. Richard Morgan, who died October 15th, 1748, in the 107th year of his age. Of him, Smith states, that he lived for seventy years at Castlepooky, near Doneraile, that he had been clerk of the crown and peace for the county of Cork, in king James' time, that he never eat salt with his meat, and died without any other complaint than the mere effect of old age.²

There are now no ancient tombs to the Magners, Prendergasts, O'Callaghans, Donegans, Meads, and Healys, or to the Nagles and Supples, as mentioned by Smith: if they existed in his time they have disappeared.³ Neither are there any traces of the Irish and Hebrew inscriptions mentioned by O'Halloran.

The crypts, under a portion of the chancel, seem to have been erected more from necessity than choice, on account of the shelving nature of the ground towards the river. The principal crypt is entered from a cellar which was under a part of the conventual buildings; it is 24 feet 6 inches by 25 feet; the walls are 4 feet 9 inches thick, the ceiling is vaulted in two compartments.

A low, massive clustered pier, standing on a plinth of masonry, having columns with sculptured caps of Early English character, supports the springing of two arches, from whence again spring the vault arches (see figure 2, plate 3). The crypt is lighted by two trefoil-headed lancet windows, with large inward splays; the height to the top of the vaulting is 10 feet. Here is an immense collection of bones and skulls, which were formerly in heaps at the west entrance until removed to the crypt by the present parish priest, the Rev. C. Buckley. Smith states that these bones were the remains of those who fell in the sanguinary battle fought at Knockninos, near Liscarrol, on the 13th of November, 1647, between the parliament forces under lord Inchiquin, and the Irish under lord Taafé;⁴ it is, however, improbable that so many tons of the relics of mortality were conveyed from the battle field to this place, a distance of about six miles, where several ancient burying-grounds were in the immediate neighbourhood. I have reason to believe that these bones

¹ Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, p. 386. Ed. 1837.

² Smith's *History of Cork*, vol. i. p. 313.

³ *Id.* Ibid.

⁴ *Id.* p. 314.

were deposited here in the beginning of the last century, and that they were brought from the ancient abbey of Ballybeg, a distance of about half a mile, by a farmer who took the ground upon which the abbey is situated, and who collected them in the course of his agricultural operations, and who thus removed them to consecrated ground: it was thus stated to me at Ballybeg, where at present there is no trace of interments. There is a second or sub-crypt under the above; it is of smaller dimensions, and is entered by a rectangular opening in the floor of the upper crypt; it is lighted by two very narrow lancets in the east gable, and presents no feature worthy of remark.

The east gable has a very handsome and imposing appearance from the river side; it has four massive buttresses against the face of the wall, which run up, and are tabled off under the sill of the chancel window.

I give a representation of some of the sculptured stones which were scattered about the church in great profusion, and which appeared to me to have belonged to some richly decorated tombs which existed here, and were very likely crushed in the fall of the tower; Wadding and Smith speak of the existence of a splendid tomb of the founder, which was placed opposite the choir (by which they meant the chancel). Some of these fragments have portions of black letter inscriptions, now much defaced; on the same sheet are also some incised sepulchral slabs.

While on this subject, I will give the following extract from Wadding:—"Buttefania or Buttevania, by Pisanus it is called (corruptly) Bachonia, and by Rodulphus, Bathonia. The town was formerly large and frequented, now it is reduced and poor. Two illustrious families, the Barrys and Lombards, had their residence there. Some say that the convent was founded by the Barrys, others by the Prendergasts; but I think by the Barrys, whose magnificent tomb was erected in the middle of the choir, and whose whole family always evinced their piety towards the brotherhood (fraternity). In the church are many sepulchres of nobles. It is wonderful with what care the friars have repaired some of the ruins of this house."

In addition, I have collected from Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum" the following notices in connexion with this abbey:—

A.D. 1306, David was prior.

— 1311, John Fitz Richard was prior.

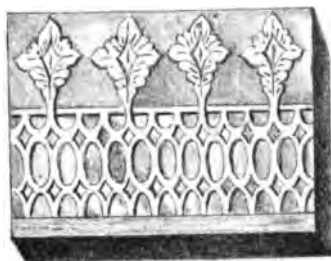
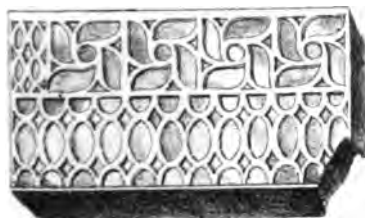
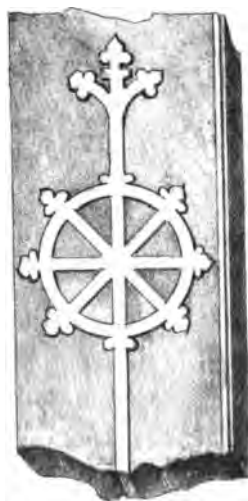
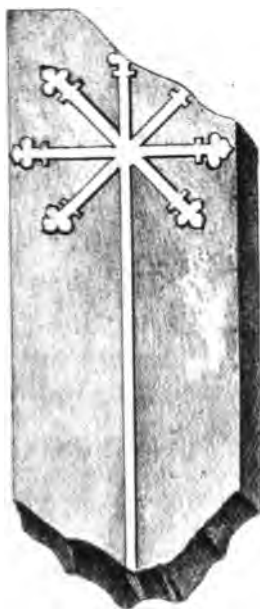
— 1318, Thomas was prior.

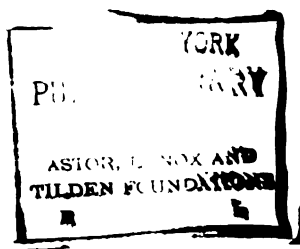
— 1330, William Ketche was warden.

— 1342, John Fitz Richard the prior was indicted, with some of his brethren, for assaulting John Reynolds in the city of Dublin, and imprisoning the said Reynolds. The sheriff was ordered to take Fitz Richard into custody, to answer the said offence. In the same term, Reynolds sued the said prior for a debt of 100 shillings, for which he was also attached.

The first wife of the great earl of Cork was buried here, in 1599,

Buttvant Abbey,
Co. Cork.
N. 5.





having died in travail of her first child ; as is stated by the earl in his own account of his life.—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 152.

A.D. 1604, according to Cox, this house was repaired by the fraternity. Their work is quite visible in various portions of the edifice, which they inhabited nearly to the middle of the last century.

To the north-west of the friary, and about thirty yards from it, stands a square tower ; it is described by Smith as being called Cullin, and as having been built by an earl of Desmond who retired there. By the peasantry it is called Caislane Caoimhin, but it appears to me to have been a portion of the conventual buildings. Its position shows it to have occupied the external angle of the square plan on which all the Franciscan houses are constructed ; one or more towers are generally found connected with monastic edifices in this country, as at Ballybeg and at Bridgetown, both in this neighbourhood ; at O'Dorney, in Kerry, where the entrance to the conventual buildings was through a gate tower ; in fact, many of our ecclesiastical buildings were strongly fortified, of which Cashel is an illustration—a precaution rendered necessary by the troubled state of the country, during the middle ages. This tower is now built into and connected with a new Roman Catholic chapel, lately erected from the designs of Charles Cotterel, Esq., of Cork ; it is Gothic, of the Perpendicular period ; and, when fully completed, will become one of the handsomest places of worship in the south of Ireland.

Before I conclude this portion of my subject, I would wish to make a short statement relative to a late attempt made to arrest the destruction of the friary. In 1851, Mr. Windele, of Cork, and I visited Buttevant ; we found the remains of this ancient building in a very dangerous and ruinous state. A large portion of the north wall of the nave had fallen, there was a fearful breach in the north wall of the chancel, which hourly threatened a fall, and which in all likelihood would have broken through the arching of the crypt, destroying that interesting feature, and have left the east gable in a very precarious condition ; the walls were full of breaches, and the tombs and windows in a state of dilapidation, added to which the rubbish of the fallen tower and walls encumbered the nave and chancel to the height of several feet, and the whole place was open to every sort of outrage and desecration. Mr. Windele immediately suggested the raising of a small fund by subscription, to be expended in such repairs as would arrest the hand of destruction, and at least perpetuate a little longer so interesting a monument. He immediately set to work with his usual zeal and energy, and, by the liberality of a few individuals, some of whom are, I believe, connected with this Society, we were enabled to command a sum which, economically applied, effected the following objects :—

The clearing out several hundred tons of loose stone and rubbish, and levelling the interior ; the rebuilding the fallen portion of the nave to a sufficient height to prevent trespassers ; the building up

the breach in the north wall of the chancel; the filling up a number of breaches internally and externally in various parts of the building; the pinning and securing several of the window arches; the securing permanently the arching of a portion of the crypt, and the placing doors on the crypt and nave to prevent indiscriminate intrusion.

A great number of fragments of broken columns, sculptured stones, capitals, bases, pieces of mouldings, &c., having been collected during the repairs, for their future preservation and for the convenience of examination, I had them built into portions of the new work, where they form a sort of mediæval museum for the curious.

I mention these matters, not only for the satisfaction of those who have contributed to the work, but also to stimulate the zeal of others in entering on works of similar character, it being a melancholy fact, that most of our national monuments are falling to ruin, and in a few years little will remain to us of the past, unless this and similar societies stimulate and excite national feeling for their preservation.

We were materially assisted in these repairs by the exertion and liberality of the Rev. C. Buckley, parish priest of Buttevant, who contributed the necessary materials; the subscriptions being expended in paying for labour alone.

NUNNERY OF ST. JOHN.—Smith states that a short distance from the friary are the remains of another ruin, supposed to be a portion of a nunnery dedicated to St. John, or Owen, but of which we have no particulars.¹ The only corroboration I can find of this statement, is in a portion of an ancient wall opposite the entrance gate to Buttevant castle, which exhibits a small trefoil-headed two-light window, and built into the wall is a long stone, apparently the upper portion of the jamb of a deeply recessed door-way, which must have been enriched with shafts, as the moulded caps are worked on the stone, being very clearly and sharply cut; this wall is over three feet in thickness.

LOMBARD'S CASTLE.—The building described as Lombard's castle, by Smith and various tourists and writers, is situated at the west side of the main street, near the market place: it appears to me to have been more the substantial mansion of some wealthy burgher than a purely defensive structure. Its principal remaining features are a square tower of small dimensions and inconsiderable height that juts into the street, and a portion of the front wall containing remains of square-headed mullioned windows and pointed doors. The masonry of the remaining portions of the building is of excellent character; it is said to have been built by a Galway man who found a treasure in it.

The Lombard family were formerly of considerable importance in this part of the country; the tomb of Nicholas Lombard I have shown as being in the chancel. Lodge states that Gregory Lombard, gent., had the wardship of David, viscount Buttevant, who was created first earl of Barrymore.²

¹ Smith's *History of Cork*, vol. i. p. 314.

² Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 295.

FOLK-LORE.

No. II.

BY MR. PATRICK CODY.

As the mountain, the well, the river, and the lake are alike hallowed by the association of some popular legend bearing on the superstitions of the early inhabitants of this country; and as these legends tend in some degree to elucidate ancient beliefs and customs, I venture to submit to the Society some traditional relations connected with the baronies of Ida and Iverk, in the county of Kilkenny. The first legend which I shall give is one connected with the traditional history of Holly Lake, called in Irish, Loch Cuillinn, in the parish of Gaulskill, and barony of Ida.¹ It is an article of popular belief that Tory hill, which rises over Loch Cuillinn, was formerly the theatre of Pagan worship for the people of the surrounding country. On one of these solemn occasions, the worship being ended, athletic games and feats of activity were commenced, the people being all assembled on the *faiste*, or plain, now the townland of Fahee, so called in contradistinction to the part intermediate to that and Tory hill, which was then embosomed in the shade of a thick and lofty wood, and called in the language of the people of that day *Coill-níóir*, but now known by the name of Big-wood, though not a shrub remains. The game of *camán*, or hurling, being a favourite amusement with the people, it formed on this occasion the leading feature in their sports. The opposing parties were distinguished by the peculiarity of their hurls or battens, composed of *cuillinn*, holly, or *coll*, *hazel*: *ṛṛṛṛṛ camán cuillinn*, *ṛṛṛṛṛ camán coll*; six score of the most active youths were chosen and matched against each other—sixty on a side. The preliminaries being gone over, and a lot cast for the wind, the ball was flung aloft in the air, and the eager parties rushed forward to the contest. The struggle for victory was long and ardent, and as one party neared the goal they were again repulsed by the dexterity of their antagonists. At length, from excessive exercise, one man became exhausted with thirst, and directing his way to the nearest group of spectators, he entreated them for some drink. An old woman in the crowd, who was not known to any of the party, directed him to a tuft of rushes growing on the plain, telling him to pull up one of the rushes, and that a most refreshing water would follow it, with which he might allay his thirst, giving him, at the same time, a positive injunction to put the rush back again in its place when he should have drunk sufficiently. He went as directed, drew forth the rush, and drank to his satisfaction of the most exquisite water, which soon restored him to his wonted vigour. It happened

¹ This tradition has been already, but more briefly, narrated by Dr. O'Donovan, in his valuable paper on the Traditions of

the County of Kilkenny, printed in the Society's *Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 362-72.—
Eps.

at this moment that the ball was driven towards him with the velocity of an arrow: the opportunity was irresistible; forgetful of the old woman's command, he dropped the rush and sprang forward, seized the ball, and hurried with it, despite all opposition, to the eagerly sought for goal, and thus gained the victory. The shouts of his companions and of the applauding spectators were now raised in approbation, but scarcely had these shouts reached the neighbouring hills, when the whole party was overwhelmed by the waters which rushed with ungovernable fury from the place from which the rush had been drawn. The astonished spectators made a speedy departure from the scene of such a terrific disaster, the old woman disappeared from the crowd, for she was a *fairy*, or an *enchantress*, and the voice of fame has recorded the catastrophe of the party in the following Irish words, of which I give a translation:—

Trí fíccíob camán cuillinn, aḡur camán coll,
A baḡaḡ an loḡ Cuillinn aḡḡmeall.

Ah! sad their fate, six score young heroes brave
In Cuillinn's depths have found a watery grave.

Thus, tradition assigns the origin of the Loch Cuillinn to this circumstance; the *holly tree*, from which the hurls of the winning or victorious party were made, being named *cuillinn* in the Celtic language. It is further related, that for many succeeding ages, it frequently happened, that when the full moon had silvered over the calm bosom of the lake, the *camán* players were again seen contending on its surface, and, after a protracted and violent struggle, one party eventually gained the goal; unearthly shouts seemed to arise, which floated in wild reverberations round the distant hills; the lake became unusually agitated, the hurlers seemed to be again engulfed in its waters, and the last expiring echo died away in the bottom of the lake. The old woman was then heard on the *Faithche* (Fahee) exulting in fiendish cachinnations over this phantom of destruction, and crying out in a loud voice, “an luāḡair! an luāḡair!”—“the rushes! the rushes!”

There is another tradition connected with the name of this lake and hill, which forms one of the Fenian metrical romances, still orally preserved amongst the Irish-speaking people of the district. It relates that as Fionn Mac Cumhaill was one day looking out of a window in the royal palace of Cruaghan, he saw a hare pass by, one side of whose head shone with a resplendent golden hue, and the other side was of a dazzling silvery white. Fionn was astonished at such an appearance, and eagerly desired to give her chase, but his favourite hound, Bran, was not at hand. The next morning the Fenian general stood looking out of the same window, Bran lay at his feet; the hare passed by again, and he instantly roused the hound to the chase. Away fly hare and hound over the dewy lawn. The welkin rings as Bran

snuffs the tainted gale, while woods and rocky caverns repeat in triple echo the joyful cries. Fionn rushes forward to the chase; more fleet than the mountain roe he flies over the verdant plain; hill and dale, mountain and morass are passed with the rapidity of the wind, yet no prancing courser bears forth the man of battles. For many days he incessantly continued the chase, till, at length, the hare approached the border of Loch Cuillinn, while the faithful Bran hung close on her rear, and Fionn himself advanced at no considerable distance behind. But, ere he reached the lake, he met Bran returning from the chase; so changed in appearance, however, that he did not know her, until the animal, jumping on him, licked his hand; for the dog's hair, instead of lying in the natural order in which it grew, had its grain turned the contrary way, and seemed to have grown from the tail towards the head, instead of from the head towards the tail. Fionn was much troubled at the strange alteration in the appearance of his dog, a transformation different from anything he ever witnessed; he immediately concluded that some person had practised *draoidheacht* (druidism) on her, and he determined to find out the cause, if possible. Bran then conducted him to the edge of the lake, where he found a female in tears, and, apparently, overwhelmed with grief, seated on the bank. Fionn, urged by a spirit of gallantry—it being, moreover, a characteristic quality in the Fianna Eirionn to relieve distressed females—inquired of the woman the cause of her sorrow, and whether he could afford her any assistance. She thanked him for his kindness, telling him at the same time that she feared his inability to relieve her, as she had dropped a golden ring, of great value, into the lake, without which she could not be consoled. On hearing this the gallant Fionn immediately plunged into the lake, but, after a long and fruitless search, he came out without the ring. The woman's grief seemed to be increased by his disappointment, which urged him to try a second time. The second attempt was equally unsuccessful as the first; but, resolving that no effort of his should be left untried, he made a third attempt, and succeeded in finding the ring, which, with indescribable joy, he presented to the woman. The woman, in taking the ring, caught hold of Fionn's hand, and he immediately found himself metamorphosed into the shape and appearance of an old man of miserable mien, with long white hair and silvery beard, instead of that youthful and warlike appearance which he wore only a moment before. "Now," said she, "you will have to suffer for your temerity;" and then, springing aloft into the air, she passed, as quick as light, to the summit of Tory hill, which rises near the lake.

Fionn, confounded and astonished at the female's sudden and extraordinary departure, and at his own altered and miserable condition, remained for a long time motionless, looking, in silent and perplexed amazement, in the direction in which the woman took her flight. In this forlorn condition, he passed many weeks on the borders of the lake; sometimes he would shelter himself from the scorching

rays of the sun in the dense and lofty coverts of Coill-mor; here, also, he frequently passed the nights. Again, he would frequently beguile the dull hours of his weary and irksome sojourn in exploring the wild and intricate mazes of Carraig-a-chait (the cat's rock) and listening to the heath-cock's note on his brown declivities; but most delightful of all were to him the sunny slopes of Rath-na-smolach, where, in the soft shades of the evening, he would sit whole hours listening in ecstasy to the joyful notes of the tuneful thrush, his faithful Bran being all the time his only companion.

At length, the principal officers of the Fenians felt greatly alarmed at the absence of the general, and agreed to go in search of him; and Bran returning home in the meantime greatly increased their alarm by her strange appearance. She pointed out to them, by the most instinctive means, the course they should take to find Fionn. They at length understood her, and set out in the search. After a toilsome journey they arrived in the vicinity of the lake, where they found their general, but so altered as not to be recognised by them. He, too, in his humbled condition, wished to remain unknown; but Bran coming up to him, wagging her tail, licked her master's hand, and discovered him to the whole party. He satisfied their curiosity by reciting for them in detail what had befallen him, and pointed out at the same time the retreat of the woman, or as it was named by him in his descriptive language, *neada nae*—that is, “the asylum or concealment of the woman”—and by this name is that part of the hill known at this day to the people in its vicinity. The officers brought Fionn to the place which he pointed out, but no sign of the woman could be found: for by her art she concealed herself from their sight. They explored every part of the hill most minutely, but in vain; and being exasperated at the disappointment, they determined to have revenge for the indignity offered their general, so they declared aloud, that if the woman would not at once come forth and dissolve the spells with which she had so transformed their general and his dog, they never would return till they had first thrown Tory hill, piecemeal, into Loch Cuillinn.

They had already commenced the work of demolishing the hill, and would in a short time have succeeded in filling up the lake, when, at length, the enchantress dispelled the shade which concealed her, and stood at a short distance from them, telling them to spare the hill and that she was ready to restore them their general and his dog. By the talismanic power of her touch she immediately restored Fionn to his former appearance, and caused the hair of Bran to lie in its natural direction, at which the whole party were in an ecstasy of delight.

They then entreated the mystic female to tell them her name, that they might hand down to posterity the incidents of so strange an occurrence. “My name,” said she, “is Grinn, this hill is my habitation, and Loch Cuillinn is my power.” “Well, then,” said Fionn,

"we shall always know you by the name of *Cuillinn Grian*, and this hill shall be known both by the name of *Sliabh Grian*, and of *Sliabh Cuillinn*, to the end of days." The observation of the hero has been fulfilled to this day.

In the foregoing relation I have adhered as closely as possible to the original Irish, of which this is a translation.

The Rev. Philip Moore, in his paper on Giants' Graves, in the *Society's Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 11-14, refers to a monument reported to him as existing at Lickerstown, in the barony of Iverk, not many miles from the scene of the traditions already given. I lately visited and explored the site of this ancient remain, which is situated about two hundred perches from the river Suir. The dimensions which I received from report differ from those given by the Rev. Mr. Moore's informant, as the monument was described to me as consisting of a cist or cavity about eight feet long, three feet deep, and three feet wide. A pile of stones now occupies the "narrow bed" of the hero, which bears about one point north-east, and from the position of four upright stones still remaining, it appears to have been surrounded by a row of such stones disposed in circular order, and enclosing an area of about twelve feet in diameter.

I also inquired for the tradition given by the Rev. Mr. Moore, which I was not able to obtain, but found prevailing in the locality a legend which states the cist to be the grave of a foreign hero, named *Ceadach Mor* (in Irish, *leaba an Céadaic Mhóir*), who pursued to the Fenian camp a lady who had refused the offer of his hand, and to whom Fionn promised protection. The hero arrived before the Fenian hosts, demanded the maiden, and, on being refused, challenged to single combat the stoutest of their warriors. Terrified by his formidable appearance, each feared to accept the challenge. With fierce looks and menacing attitude, he walked in proud defiance round the borders of the camp, and seizing a stone of huge dimensions, he hurled it aloft in the air, and with a single fling cast it over to the opposite side of the river. It now stands, a *pillar-stone*, on the verge of Mount Congreve demesne. At length, the youthful and valorous Oscar entered the lists, and the champions engaged in terrible and deadly combat. They contended a whole day, neither claiming advantage. Fionn, fearful of the event, *chewed his thumb*, a mode of divining with which he was gifted, and thus discovered that if the stranger were allowed sleep he would be invincible. He, therefore, to prevent him from enjoying repose, entertained him at night with the relation of his military exploits; and, after three days' hard fighting, the stranger was slain by the superior prowess of the redoubtable Oscar.¹

¹ Mr. Cody's version of this tradition is corroborated by a communication on the traditions of Iverk, forwarded to us by Mr. James Fogarty, of Tibroughny. According to the latter, the real name of the hero

was *Conan*, who, from the numbers slain by him, was named *Conan a mhádhc na céadta*, i.e. Conan the slayer of hundreds; whilst Oscar's victory is not attributed so much to his prowess as to Fionn's policy in

Tradition says they buried him on the spot, and raised a *liag*, or flag, over his *leaba*, or grave. It is plain that the district in which this monument stands got its name from *liag Cheadaich*, with the adjunct, *town*, which has been corrupted into Lickerstown, or Licketstown. As this story seems to be one of the many versions of the poem, entitled *Laidh Thailc Mhic Tíreoin*, printed, with a translation, in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society*, pp. 199-211, I forbear any further detail.

Immediately beside this grave, and in a north-west direction, there stood a number of upright stones (I could not learn how many), in the memory of persons still living in the neighbourhood. These stones have been all removed, but the place in which they stood is known by the name of the *burying-ground*; yet the people tell you they never discovered human bones or any other traces of sepulture than the "*head-stones*," the term by which they designate the pillar-stones. I could not learn in what order these stones stood with respect to each other; the country people are not curious with regard to these things, but they have no tradition of a Christian place of worship having ever been connected with these "*head-stones*;" which, considered together with the absence of human remains, amounts to some degree of evidence that the stones were raised for some other purpose, probably connected with ancient Pagan rites of worship.

SOME NOTICE OF

THE FAMILY OF COWLEY OF KILKENNY.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

AN attempt to trace the family history of the Cowleys of Kilkenny would, at any time, suitably occupy the attention of this Society, but owing to the circumstance that of that family the great duke of Wellington, so lately deceased, and for whose obsequies, whilst I write, the British nation makes such splendid preparation,¹ was a lineal descendant and the most distinguished representative, perhaps a more general interest may be expected for the subject at the present moment.

keeping his opponent awake, by his powers of conversation, for three nights. On the third night, in the midst of their merriment, Ceadach is said to have cried out with his habitual oath, "bár pánuis tá Orcair na cóbla agur m'ire am úirreacht," i.e. "by [St.] Patrick, Oscar sleeps while I am awake." Mr. Fogarty's measurements make the grave fifteen feet long by six feet wide,

thus disagreeing with both the Rev. Mr. Moore and Mr. Cody in this particular. Fogarty states, that when he visited the place, in August, 1851, there were three upright stones remaining, each three and a-half feet high.—Eds.

¹ This paper was read at the November meeting of the Society, whilst the duke's remains were still lying in state.

In Archdall's edition of Lodge's "Peerage," published in 1789, when the duke of Wellington was twenty years of age, the pedigree of his father, the earl of Mornington, commences with this statement :—

The family of Cowley, Cooley, or, as it is now written, Colley, derives its origin from the county of Rutland, whence they removed into Ireland in the Reign of King Henry VIII., in whose 22nd year his Majesty granted to Walter and Robert Cowley, of Kilkenny, gentlemen, during their respective lives, the office of Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.

This assertion is altogether incorrect; the date of the grant of the clerkship of the crown, instead of the 22nd, should be given as the 26th year of Henry VIII.,¹ and not only do we find some of the members of the government in the reign of Henry VIII. writing of Walter Cowley as an Irishman, and a worthy example to the other natives, but we have evidence that the family was in Ireland, and it would seem that the name occurs in Kilkenny also, at least a century before the alleged period of their removal from Rutlandshire. A list of the corporate officers of Kilkenny contained in a book formerly preserved amongst its municipal archives, but now in the possession of Sir William Betham, Ulster king at arms, states that Walter Cowley was one of the two portrieves (an office resembling that of the more modern sheriffs) of Kilkenny, in the year 1407. The record referred to was compiled from the documents in the possession of the corporation by alderman Richard Connell in the year 1693, and it is proper I should state that, having consulted the "*Liber Primus*," or most early of the city books now in the custody of the town clerk, I find the following entry under the date of 9th Henry IV. (1407), from which the accuracy of Connell's list may be questioned :—"Walterus Cowylfy fuit prepositus infra muros Kilkennie tempore estatis." The name, Walter, it will be found, occurs frequently amongst the Cowleys of Kilkenny, but whether the portrieve of 1407 was one of that family, notwithstanding the statement of alderman Connell, who seems to have been an antiquary and herald of no mean abilities or research, cannot, I think, be positively asserted. However, as Henry VIII. did not ascend the throne till 1509, sufficient evidence can be adduced to show that during the previous century the Cowleys were in this country. In 1425, John Cowley was appointed, by an order dated at Drogheda on the 11th May, a commissioner to take up provisions for the use of James Butler earl of Ormonde and his army (*Rot. Pat.* 3 Henry IV. m. 114). In 1496, John Cowley was granted the office of gauger of Ireland, during the royal pleasure² (*Rot. Pat.* 11 Henry VII. m. 2). In 1505, Robert Cowley was appointed customer of the port of Dublin (*Rot. Mem.* 20 Henry VII.); and as it appears he still filled that office in 1520

¹ The "*Liber Munerum*" quotes the patent as being dated January 11th, 1535.

² The family seems to have been connected with the excise from a very early

period. On the 5th of July, 1331, the king granted to Thomas Colley the office of gauger of wines in England, Ireland, and Wales.—*Rot. Pat.* 20 Edward III. m. 83.

(*Rot. Mem.* 11, 12 Henry VIII. m. 6) this would appear to be the same Robert Cowley, of Kilkenny, who was appointed one of the clerks of the crown in chancery, as referred to by Lodge, and who was the first member of his family that made a figure in the politics of the times, and rose to any station of importance in the state.

From the statement of Lodge, that this family was descended from "Walter and Robert Cowley, of Kilkenny, gentlemen," the natural inference would be, that Walter, as being first named, was the elder of the two; but such was not the case. Robert was his father, and he is given the prior place in the grants of the various public offices which they held conjointly.¹ This Robert Cowley, being a lawyer of much professional skill and ability, resident in Kilkenny, was selected by Piers earl of Ormonde as his legal adviser and agent, and having brought up his son Walter to the law also, they both enjoyed the confidence and profited by the weighty political influence of the Ormonde family, through means of whom they were gradually advanced from minor situations to important public offices. On the 11th January, 1535, they were created joint clerks of the crown in chancery, as already mentioned. In 1535, they were also conjointly appointed customers, collectors and receivers of the customs of the city and port of Dublin, for their lives, at a fee of £10 per annum. The same year Walter was granted the same office for the port of Drogheda, at a like fee. In 1537, September 7th, Walter² was elevated to the dignity of principal solicitor, or, as it is now termed, solicitor-general, of Ireland, with a fee of £10 Irish. On the 10th January, 1538, Robert was created master of the rolls; on the 7th May, 1540, he was made a commissioner for selling the lands of the dissolved abbeys, and, on the 30th September in that year, one of the keepers of the peace within the county of Meath, with power to enforce the observation of the statutes of Dublin and Kilkenny.

From the State Papers, containing the Irish correspondence during the reign of king Henry VIII., published by the English record commission, we are enabled to glean information sufficient to show that the legal and political abilities of Robert and Walter Cowley were largely employed by the Irish government and the principal

¹ Amongst the published State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII. (vol. ii. part iii. p. 311) a letter is given from Walter to Robert Cowley, which concludes as follows:—

"Shew this letter to my said Maister, Maister Secretary, for the maters therein comprisid so requirith; and with the moost humble hart that any pore man can, I beseeche you to have me remembred to his maystership, whome Almighty God preserve in long honourable lif and good helthe. Written at Waterford, bound streight to Dublin, this 29 day of April. Your awne

moost humble Son,

(superscribed)

"Waltier Cowley.

"To my good Father, Maister Robert Cowley, with all diligens."

² Perhaps he was the "Walter Colley" who, in the year 1544, was charged with an intrusion into the rectories of St. Michael, near Wexford, and of St. Michael, near Ballybreannan (*Rot. Mem.* 36 Hen. VIII. m. 16). I am indebted for this, and many other valuable references to the Cowley family, to the excellent custodian of the exchequer records, James F. Ferguson, Esq.

English statesmen of the period. In 1520, we have the first notice of Robert being in England, on the business of the state, and the lord deputy Surrey, in writing to cardinal Wolsey, on the 6th September in that year, to inform him that the earl of Kildare, then in London under arrest for high treason, had sent over the abbot of Monaster Evyn and William Delahide as emissaries to stir the O'Carrolls to revolt, mentions—"and the said abbot and Delahide came both to gethers out of England, and my servaunt Cowley, in oon ship, 16 days afore Ester."¹ In 1524, we have Robert Cowley again in London aiding the lord James Butler in the carrying out of some delicate political manoeuvres for the earl of Ormonde, whose enemies, the Geraldines, the lord deputy was then inclined to favour; and the earl writes to his son informing him of the various representations which he wishes to be made to the king and Wolsey, which "my trusty servaunt, Robert Couly, shall penn and endite. . . . In any wise, slepe not on this matier, and if ye do, the most losses and trouble willbe yours, in tyme commyng. Immediat upon the receipt hereof, sende for Robert Couly, and cause hym to seche (seek) remedies for the same."² The Cowleys were, as in duty bound, staunch adherents of their patrons the Ormonde family in all the vicissitudes of their feud, then at its height, with the house of Kildare. In a long list of charges which the earl of Kildare preferred through lord Leonard Grey, to the king, against the earl of Ormonde, in 1525, one is—"Item, he hath used to sende over see, unto oon Robert Couly, by whome diverse untrothes have been proved, to indite complaintes, at his owne pleasure or discrecion, against the said Erle of Kildare; having with hym a signet of the said Erle of Ormondes, to seal the same."³ In 1528 we have Robert Cowley corresponding with cardinal Wolsey, giving him private information as to the doings of the various Irish government officers; he is very free in offering suggestions as to the arrangements of the lord deputy and his adherents, which he considers ought to be interfered with, but his partizanship for the Ormonde family is evident throughout, and he loses no opportunity of putting in such recommendations for his patrons as the following:—"Pleas it Your Grace to be advertised, that where my Lord of Ossory, and his son, according to theire bounden duetis, attende your gracious pleasure and deliberacion concernyng the affayres of Ireland, others ryne in at the wyndow the next wey, making immediat pursuytis to the Kinges Highnes, where they obteyne all theire desiris without any stopp or stay, by means of Anthony Knevet, and others; whereof wol ensue the destruction of Irland, without your gracious speddy redress."⁴ After the disgrace and downfall of Wolsey, both Robert and Walter Cowley kept up a constant correspondence with Cromwell, the chief minister

¹ *State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 44.

² *State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 123.

³ *Id.*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 119.

⁴ *Id.*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 140.

of the crown, and Sir Thomas Wrythesley, the king's secretary, reporting upon the condition of Ireland, and the measures of the government, but always having a favourable word to say for the earl of Ormonde. We have frequent propositions sent over under the title of "Devices of Robert Cowley, for the furtherance of the Kinges Majesties affayres in His Graces land of Irland." He enters with alacrity into the views of Cromwell respecting the suppression of monastic houses, and seeks to hasten in every way the issuing of the order for dissolving the Irish abbeys, a matter in which he was largely interested not alone as having been appointed a commissioner for setting the lands of the religious houses to tenants under the crown, but inasmuch as he had procured the farming of the manor of Holmpatrick for himself, which he held at £12 5s. 4d. per annum.¹ He subscribes his letter—"Your Lordships moost bounden Bedisman, Robert Cowley." The superscription is—"To my Lord Pryves Seales Honourable Lordship." On the 10th August, 1538, Thomas Allen writes to Cowley informing him of the death of "the Lord of Trymlettiston, late the Kingis Chancelour," mentioning that his own brother, John Allen, then master of the rolls, expects to succeed to the office, adding—"Master Cowley, if the Kingis plesur shalbe to assigne and make him Chauncelour, I know right well ye shalbe Master of the Rolles, being worthiest thereof in this land. Both he and I, onsfaynedlie, shallbe as glad of your preferrement thereto, as any too lyving." The letter is addressed—"To my wurshipful friende and good Master, Master Robert Cowley." We have seen already that Allen's anticipations were fulfilled; and soon after we have Robert Cowley signing his name to the correspondence of the Irish government, as one of the privy council.

In the mean time, Walter Cowley was pushing himself forward in Ireland, although his attachment to the Ormonde interest caused him to be no favourite with the lord deputy, Leonard Grey, who, on the 31st of October, 1536, in writing to Cromwell, complains of him, amongst others, as sowing dissensions amongst the officers of the crown; and, again, on the 24th of November in the same year, denounces "Young Cowley, Cusake, and others, which conferth togethers, and wolde raile and jest at their pleasures, divising how to put men in displeasures: and, as for me, yea, openly dayly at Maister

¹ Cowley, however, appears to have been a more conscientious courtier than most of those who farmed the abbey lands from the crown; having divided some of the spoil, he was willing to bear his share in the charges of the state. We find him writing thus to Cromwell, on Lady Day, 1539:—

"Sir, we bee so covetous insaciably to have so many farmes, every of us, for our singular profittes, that we have extirped and put awaye the men of warre that shuld defend the countrey: and all is like to go

wrack, except an order be takyn the rather as to have a survey, whate I and every other have in fees and fermes, and every oon that have such fees and fermes to be taxed to fynde a certaine nombre of hable men; to serve the King, and to defend the countrey, uppon great payns. . . .

Lett every of us beare his burden of sowerne with swetenes, and not to cast all the burden in the Kinges charge, to enryche our silvia."—*State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 149.

² *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 67.

Treasurers borde, I was made theire gesting stocke."¹ However, in 1539, three members of the privy council specially recommend Walter Cowley to Cromwell's notice, in a report which they made to him, upon returning from a tour on which they had proceeded through "the four shires above the Barrow" for the purpose of holding sessions, collecting first-fruits, and enforcing the religious changes introduced by the king. They state that:—

Walter Cowley, the Kingis Solicitor, attending upon us this jorney, hath for his parte, right well and diligentlie set furthe the Kingis causes; so as, every of ther demeanors waid by us, we have thought we could no les do, than to commend the same to your good Lordship: for ther been so many evill in theis partis, or at least few or non given to seke knowledge and civillitie, that we be gladd to see oon of the contrary sorte, and be no les redy to incorage and set furthe soche oon in his good doingis².

He was also, on more than one occasion, despatched to England to transact weighty affairs for the Irish government, and was intrusted with the charge of treasure to be conveyed back for the king's service in Ireland. In December, 1638, the treasure given into his care was conveyed in two hampers on horses from London to Holyhead, and thence shipped to Dalkey; the expenses of the journey being £71 15s.; and, again, on the 5th of February, 1640, he left London, having with him a sum of £2,256 for the Irish government, and accomplished a journey which now takes scarcely a day in exactly one month, arriving at Dublin on the 5th of March with his charge! During this period frequent letters were forwarded by the earl of Ormonde and his son, lord James, to the Cowleys, when in London, directing them as to representations to be made to the king and Cromwell against the Geraldines and their abettors. The earl always addressed his letters—"To my trusty servaunt, Robert Cowley, at London," or, "To my trusty servaunt, Waltier Cowley," except in one instance, when in addressing an epistle to them both, on the 16th July, 1538, he directs it—"To my right lovyng Counsailours, Robert Cowley and Walter Cowley, lying at Mr. Jenynges, besid the Crossid Freres, at London." Lord James Butler, however, appears to have admitted them to greater familiarity, as he addresses his letters—"To my assurid friende, Robert Cowley, at London;" and, after his father's death, when he himself became earl of Ormonde, in writing to the king's secretary on the 21st Oct., 1539, he speaks of "my friende, Waltier Cowley." Their devotion to the interests of the Butler family, however, was ultimately the cause of a temporary but serious reverse of fortune to the Cowleys. Earl James, though he wedded the daughter of the earl of Desmond, was as implacable an enemy of the Geraldines as was his father, earl Pierce, who had married the sister of the earl of Kildare; and Sir Anthony St. Leger, who succeeded to the government of Ireland after the disgrace and execution of lord Leonard Grey, having pursued the policy of his predecessor

¹ *State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 399.

² *Id.*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 116.

with respect to patronising the earl of Desmond, Robert Cowley so warmly joined the earl of Ormonde in opposing the views of the lord deputy and thwarting his plans, that an open rupture ensued. Cowley, without asking for licence to absent himself from his official duties in Ireland, repaired clandestinely to London, with the view of prejudicing the court against St. Leger, by his report of transactions in Dublin, and he wrote a letter to the king in which, amongst other matters, he charged the lord deputy with having said that Henry VII., at his first entering into England, had but a very slender title to the crown till he married queen Elizabeth. The members of the Irish privy council, however, sent over a counter-report, in which the blame was thrown on Cowley himself, and the result was that on the 6th October, 1542, the council of England committed him to the Fleet prison, having previously dismissed him from his office; and we have the king thus addressing a letter on the subject to the lord deputy and council of Ireland:—

And whereas it appeareth unto Us, that Robert Cowley, laite Maister of the Rolles there, at his late repayr hither, departed out of that our Realm without the lycence of you, our Deputye, having no cause or matyr to enforce the same, but such as he might have comytted to writing, and signified at leisure, for that it plainly appeareth the same was voyd of all malice, and of no suche importance as his malicious appetite desired; albeit it shalbe well doon for all men, and especially for them whiche be in auctoritie, to frame their communications upon suche matyer, as minstre noon occasion to captious persons to judge otherwise in them then theye meane, entende, and purpose; and also it appereth that the said Cowley is a man seditious, and full of contention and disobedience, which is to be abhorred in any man, but chiefly in a Counsaillor: We have, therefore, discharged him of his rome and office of Maister of the Rolles there, and we conferre and yeve the same to you, Sir Thomas Cusake, not doubting, but you woul, both therein, and in all other our affayres there, serve Us according to your deuty, and our expectation.¹

The answer of St. Leger to the above royal dispatch is curious, not only as showing the nature of the quarrel with Cowley, but as giving us a glimpse of the policy upon which the government of Ireland was conducted at the time, being still upon the principle of *divide et impera*:—

It may also please your Majestie, that there hathe bene to me reported that the saide Mr. Cowley, late Maister of your Rolles here, shoulde article ageinste me, that I wente aboute to erecte a new Geraldine bande, menyng the same by the Erle of Desmonde; the trouthe is, I laboured mooste effectuallie to bring him to your parfaict obedience, to my grete parill and charge; and this, gracious Lord, was the onlie cause. I sawe that, nowe the Erle of Kildare was gone, ther was no subjecte of your Majesties here mete nor hable to way with the Erle of Ormonde; who hathe, of Your Majesties gifte, and of his owne inherytance and rule, gevin him by Your Majestie, not onlie 50 or 60 myles in lengthe, but also meny of the chiefe holdes of the frontiers of Irishmen: so that if he, or any of his heires, shoulde swarve from ther dewtie of allegiaunce (whiche I thinke verilie that he will never do), it wolde be more harde to dante him, or them, then it was the saide Erle of Kildare, who had alwayes the saide Erle of Ormonde in his toppes, when he wolde or was like to attempte any such thinge. Therefore, I thought it good to have a Rowlande for an Olyver; for having the said Erle of Desmonde your Highness assured subjecte, it will kepe them both in staye . . . This, as my bounden dewtie, which is to allure al men to your Majesties obedience, was the cause, why I labored the saide Erle to the

¹ *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 369.

same, and no zeale that I have either to Geraldynne or Butler, otherwise than may sarve to the sarvice of Your Majestie, in which I love them bothe; for assuredlie I thinke Your Majestie hathe them bothe your trew and faithfull subjectes, and I never yet harde that the Butlers offended Your Majestie, or your noble progenytors, in no poynte of rebellion, whiche is muche to their prayse. And where, also, it hathe bene reported here, that such articles, as I, with other your Counsell, sente over ageyn the said Cowley, late Maister of Your Rolles here should be conceived ageinste him more of mallice, then of matier of trouthe; upon the faithe and alleigance I here to your Majestie, for my parte having the examination thereof in prence of Your Counsell, I examyned the same as indifferentlie as I would have done if the same Cowley had bene my father; and onlie certified the trouthe, as the witnesses deposed upon their othes.¹

Robert Cowley was detained in the Fleet prison, on the charge of treasonable practices, till the 21st of July in the following year, when he was liberated on giving security not to go to Ireland without leave. From this period we have no mention of his name in any public document, and as he must have been a very old man at the time, it may be safely presumed that he did not long outlive his imprisonment and disgrace. Three years later, however, we have the old quarrel waged more fiercely than ever between the earl of Ormonde and the lord deputy; and we find Walter Cowley, who still remained solicitor-general and clerk of the crown in chancery, taking a prominent part in the embroilment, as a partisan of the earl. The lord chancellor Allen was also at variance with St. Leger, and appears, according to the view of the editors of the "State Papers," to have used Cowley as a tool to give him annoyance.² In February, 1546, Robert St. Leger, the deputy's brother, intercepted and opened certain letters written by the earl of Ormonde to the king, and the earl having indignantly denounced this act, St. Leger required the council to investigate the case, and allow him to defend himself. Lord Ormonde and Walter Cowley appeared before the council, but refused to allege anything there to St. Leger's charge, on the ground that, he being the lord deputy's brother, the council was not indifferent; and the consequence was that the matter was laid before the English council. The Irish council brought strong charges against the earl of Ormonde. The archbishop of Dublin, in writing to the king, observes, "so it is, most gracious Lorde, that here is contraversie rysyn betwene the right honorable my Lorde Deputy and my Lorde Ormonde, which if spedy remedy be not had, is like to torne to great hurte; ye, to the totall distruction of this your Majesties realme, and in especially your mere English subjectes." And he denounces the earl as a dangerous person, "more like a prince than a subject; more like a governor than an obedient servant."³ Whilst the deputy himself begs of the English council to free him from the troubles of his unpleasant office,

¹ *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 379.

² Allen was unscrupulous enough to attempt to make a stalking horse of Cowley, and escape censure by throwing all the blame on him. In his defence against St. Leger's charges he says—"As for Cowley's

bokke [book, or schedule of charges], I take God to recorde, I was never of counsell wyth article of it. God is my judge, I wolde be ashamed to be named to be privy to the pennynge of so lewde a bokke."

³ *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 557.

"discharge me," he prays, "of this tedious paine, wherunto I have not bene accustomed, and I humbly beseeche youe all, to be the means to the Kinges Majestie to ryd me from this hell, wherin I have remayned this 6 years; and that some other may there serve His Majestie, as long as I have doon, and I to serve His Highnes elsewhere, where he shall commande me. Tho the same were in Turkay, I will not refuse ytt." The various parties were ultimately called to London to have the case investigated; and the intrigues of the earl of Ormonde's enemies, it is generally supposed, went to the length of procuring his murder there. Poison was introduced into some of the dishes at an entertainment which he gave to thirty-five of his followers and attendants at Ely House, Holborn, and the earl and eighteen of his servants died. His faithful ally, Walter Cowley, had also the misfortune of being condemned by the council, on St. Leger's charges, and he was committed to the Tower of London. His incarceration was, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance for him, as it probably prevented his being poisoned at the Ely House banquet. From his prison we have the poor captive writing to the council after this most humble and contrite fashion, "I, Waltier Cowley, with as sorrowful a hart as ever any pore man can have that my Soveraine Lord shold conceiv evell demeanure in me, do, in most humble wise, beseeche His Highness, according to his Majesties accustomed clemencie, that this my plain confession and declaration may move His Excellencie, replete with pitie and mercy, to accept me to grace." He then proceeds to an explanation of the reasons which induced him to consider the lord deputy's policy unsound and dangerous, declaring his belief that if the earl of Ormonde's power to serve the king as a faithful nobleman, were subverted, there would be "a great daunger to all us there that have little land and honure, that we shold be then undone by Irish dissobeissants in every side;" and he subscribes himself "your honourable Lordship's pore wredche in misery, Waltier Cowley."¹ This submission by no means mollified the king and council, for they soon after issued an order for the dismissal of Cowley from his office, and appointed John Bath to be solicitor-general in his room.

At this point the record commissioners' publication of the invaluable documents contained in the State Paper office breaks off, and I have no means of ascertaining the length of Walter Cowley's incarceration in the tower, or how his discharge was procured; but there is reason to suppose that his release came with the decease of the tyrant, Henry VIII., in January, 1547 (old style), and that the new government disapproved of the severity used towards him and wished to compensate him for it; for, in a few months after Edward VI. ascended the throne, we have (according to the "*Liber Munerum*") Edward, duke of Somerset, lord protector of the kingdom, writing from Windsor, under the date 13th September, 1548, signifying to

¹ *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 578.

the lord deputy Bellyngham and the council of Ireland "that Walter Cowley is recommended to them as a worthy and necessary officer for the surveying, appraising, and extending the king's possessions and revenues in Ireland;" and a second letter on the 21st of the same month, specially directing that the salary attaching to the office should be £100 per annum—a large sum in those days. Cowley had continued to hold the appointment of clerk of the crown in chancery, to which he was originally appointed, but he now resigned that situation upon receiving the patent for the office of surveyor-general of Ireland, which he was the first to fill, and held till his death in 1551.

Robert Cowley, beside Walter, had two sons, Robert and Nicholas.¹ The former was a justice of the peace in the King's County, under the title of "Robert Colley, Esq.," having, on the 3rd February, 1562, received a grant from queen Elizabeth of lands in that county called Castletown, otherwise Young Cowleystown; but he was slain by the rebels on the 10th July, 1572,² without leaving male issue, and the property reverted to the crown. Nicholas appears to have been a merchant of Kilkenny, and he filled the office of sovereign of that municipality in the years 1540 and 1551. This Nicholas was probably the progenitor of the subsequent Cowleys of Kilkenny. Walter, the surveyor-general, was, no doubt, the head of the family, and he (according to Lodge) had two children, Henry and Walter. The first was a captain in queen Elizabeth's army, was knighted, and received a grant of Castlecarbery, in the county of Meath. From him sprang the Morington family. Walter, the younger, was customer and collector of the port of Drogheda, but I find no further mention of him.³ The junior branch of the family which remained in Kilkenny were chiefly wealthy traders in the city, and also owned property in the county;⁴ some of them were brought up to the legal profession, and it appears from the exchequer order-book that in 1610 "Mr. Cowlie, learned in the law," was counsel for the corporation of Kilkenny, in a suit in the court of exchequer. In 1611, Mr. Rothe

¹ Patrick Colley was, in the year 1537, one of the soldiers of Dublin Castle, at a fee of 8d. per day during his life (*Rot. Mem.* 29 Hen. VIII. m. 30), and towards the end of the same century Silvester Cooley, gentleman, was, according to the "Liber Munerum," constable of Dublin Castle. These were, doubtless, members of the Cowley family of Kilkenny.

² This fact escaped Lodge and Archdall. It is here given on the authority of an exchequer Inquisition, King's County, *temp.* Elizabeth, No. 12.

³ I am inclined to think that Lodge makes a mistake in giving a son Walter to Walter the surveyor-general. We have already seen that the latter was created customs collector and receiver of the port of

Drogheda, in the year 1535, and it is probable that Lodge conceived that this was a second person of the same name. However, as this is mere conjecture on my part, I have deemed it right to give Lodge's statement, as above.

⁴ Amongst the disarranged pleadings of chancery are the records of a suit, of which the date is either 1544 or 1574, from which it appears that James Cooley, of Rodestown, county of Kilkenny, was seized of "half Donamagan, in the Rabia." This, however, is denied in the deposition of James Brannagh, who says the Butlers were seized thereof. Cooley, in his replication, declares, that James Butler conveyed said lands to Sir Thomas Lawles and Edward Eustas, to the use of Walter Cowley.

was their counsel, and Robert Bysee their attorney, but subsequently in the same year "Mr. Cowlie, the lawyer," appeared to represent the body. In 1609, when Kilkenny received the great charter of James I., raising it to the dignity of a city, Michael Cowley was specially named in that document as one of the first aldermen. He filled the office of mayor in 1626, and must have been a man of wealth, if we may judge from the costly monument erected to him in the abbey of St. John, which bears the following inscription:—

D. Michael Cowley.

Irenarcha et Jurisconsultus, &c., et uxor ejus D. Honoria Roth hic requiescunt in æternam, ut speramus, hinc requiem transferendi ubi quod corruptibile est incorruptionem induet; uterque mortis subditit legi; uterque mortuus commune solvit debitum naturæ. Hæc vivere orbi desitit anno [] die mensis [] cælo ille cæpit vivere anno [].

EPITAPHIUM.

Hic virtute animi et generoso stemmate clarus,
 Couleum tristis quæ capit urna tegit.
 Fallor, cœlestes melior pars incolit arces,
 Hoc tantum cineres flebile marmor habet.
 Hic potuit juris discordes solvere nodos,
 Sed nequit duræ solvere jura necis.
 O homo vive Deo cœloque operare, sepultus,
 Sola manet virtus cætera mortis erunt.
 Quod alii, lector, tibi mortuo obsequium,
 Rependent nobis, impende æternam
 Requiem precare et vale.

The monument having been erected during his life time, leaves a blank for the date of his decease, but he was living in the year 1645, as his name is given in a list of the gentlemen of the county of Kilkenny, under the date 21st Charles I., preserved amongst the MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin (F. 3. 15).

James Cowley was mayor of Kilkenny in 1636. In 1641, Andrew Cowley, of Kilkenny, appears on the roll of representatives who sat in the supreme council of the Confederate Catholics, and he was sheriff of the city in 1642. A fragment of a monument lying at the south side of St. John's Abbey, sculptured with the Cowley arms, impaling those of Shee, and bearing in addition the initials A. C. and R. S., probably belonged to the tomb of this gentleman. At this eventful period of Irish history Luke Cowley was Roman Catholic archdeacon of Ossory, and prothonotary apostolic, and as such his name appears signed to the answers to the famous queries propounded by the supreme council to the bishop of Ossory and other divines, as to the lawfulness of the cessation of hostilities with lord Inchiquin in 1648. When the all-conquering arms of Cromwell were found irresistible by the garrison of Kilkenny in 1650, after a gallant defence they sued for and received honourable terms, sending out four gentlemen to negotiate the matter with the parliamentary general, and the first of these who signed the articles of capitulation was Ed-

ward Cowley. The family has since altogether disappeared from the county and city of Kilkenny, the last of the name whom I have been enabled to trace in the locality being James Cowley, whose will, bearing date 22nd December, 1720, is preserved in the Ossory diocesan registrar's office. He bequeaths, in the usual form, his soul to God, his body to be buried with his ancestors in the abbey of St. John, and his interest in the farms of Rathardmore and Killamory, held by him by lease from Denny Cuffe, Esq., to be sold, and the proceeds equally divided between his wife and three children, whose names are not mentioned.

In the mean time, the elder branch of the family was rising to high honours and distinctions in other counties. Henry Colley, the eldest son of Walter, the surveyor-general, though his official appointments as governor of Philipstown and a commissioner for the execution of martial law were in the King's County, Kildare, and Meath, kept up his connexion with Kilkenny, as he represented the borough of Thomastown in parliament. He was knighted and made a privy councillor by the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, and for his services, military and civil, received the special commendation of several of the chief ministers of the day. He died in 1584, and the property of his eldest son, Sir George Colley of Edenderry, passed out of the family from the failure of heirs male in the next generation; but his second son, Sir Henry of Castlearbery, had a numerous posterity: he was succeeded by his son Henry, who was succeeded by his son Dudley, whose successor was Henry, who in his turn was succeeded by another Henry, the father of Richard Colley, baron of Mornington, the father of Garret earl of Mornington, whose fifth son, born the 1st May, 1769, was the duke of Wellington. Richard Colley, the first of the family raised to the peerage, succeeded to the property of the Wesley or Wellealey family, on the death of his cousin Garret Wesley in 1728, that gentleman having made him his heir on condition of his assuming the surname and using the coat of arms of Wesley. The arms since borne by the family, in consequence, are—quarterly, first and fourth *gules*, a cross *argent*, between four saltiers of plates, for Wesley: the second and third *or*, a lion rampant *gules*, gorged with a ducal coronet proper, for Colley. Crest, on a wreath, an armed arm in pale, couped below the elbow, the hand proper, the wrist encircled with a ducal coronet *or*, holding a spear in bend, with the banner of St. George appendant, in allusion to the Wesleys having been anciently hereditary standard bearers of Ireland. The lion rampant, here used for Colley, was no part of the arms of the old Cowleys of Kilkenny; but I am informed by Sir William Betham—to whom I am indebted for much valuable information on the subject of this paper—that this bearing was specially granted to Richard Colley, from the English herald's college, upon his assumption of the name and cognizance of Wesley. The arms given for Cowley, in a heraldic manuscript in the possession of the Rev. James Graves, which seems to

have been compiled in the beginning of the last century by some native of Kilkenny, are—"gules, a chevron (by others a fess) argent, between three esquires' helmets." The armorial bearings on the monuments of Michael and Andrew Cowley, in the abbey of St. John, display a fess between three esquires' helmets, with the crest, a hand couped at the wrist, embowed to the dexter side. The fess, on both the shields, is charged with a crescent, as a mark of cadency, showing that the Cowleys of Kilkenny acknowledged the Colleys of Castlecarbery to be the elder branch of their house. The family motto, as given on the monuments, was "*nil arma sine consilio*."

Before concluding, it may, perhaps, not be considered out of place here to bring under the notice of the Society a letter which I had the honour to receive from the late duke of Wellington a short time since, in consequence of having, as one of the Honorary Secretaries, forwarded to him a prospectus of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, at the same time taking the liberty of suggesting the connexion of his ancestors with the locality as a reason for presuming he might not be indisposed to become a member and a supporter of the institution. The document, which is very characteristic of the illustrious writer, establishes two facts, which may be considered interesting by the members—first, that the duke was unaware of his descent from the Cowleys of Kilkenny, and secondly, that in his early military career he was quartered for some time in this city:—

London, June 12, 1830.

F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Prim. He has received his letter of the 8th inst.

The Duke resides in this Country, and his public duties require his constant presence. It is not probable that he should be required to go to Ireland.

He has no knowledge of his having any relation with the City or County of Kilkenny, excepting that he resided for a short time at Kilkenny in his youth in the performance of his duty.

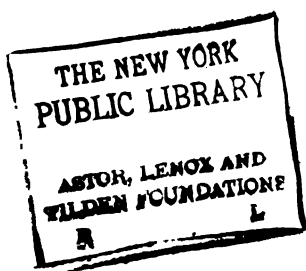
He feels, however, a great respect for the gentlemen of the County of Kilkenny, and it is with feelings of respect that he begs leave to decline to become a Member of their Society, which he sees no prospect that he would be able to attend.

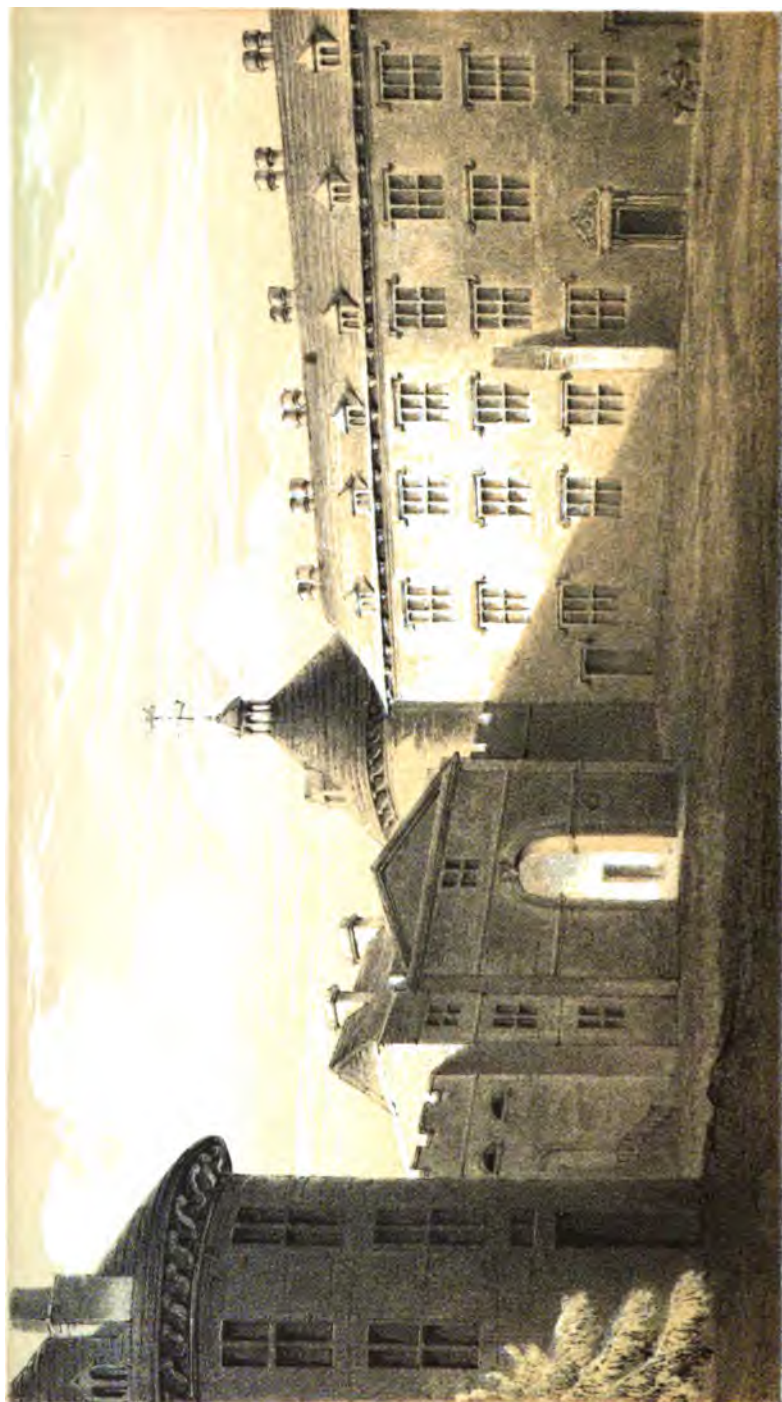
John G. A. Prim, Esq.

It is a curious circumstance that the old infantry barracks of Kilkenny, in which the duke must have had his quarters, was erected on the site of the greater portion of the abbey of St. John, and he must have frequently trodden upon the graves of his ancestors without being aware of the interesting associations connected with the spot.¹

¹ The marquis of Ormonde, who filled the chair at the meeting of the Society at which this paper was read, stated, that from a conversation which he had had with the duke of Wellington a short time before his death, he was under the impression that the late commander-in-chief of the forces when in Kilkenny had held a staff situation, in which case he would not have been quartered at the barracks; however, his official

duties would render his frequent attendance there necessary. The duke had retained a vivid recollection of Kilkenny, and of the society of the day in the "*faire cattie*;" and he mentioned that it was the custom for the local gentry to assemble every evening for supper at a celebrated hotel or tavern then situated in a lane off High-street, and known as "*the Hole in the Wall*." "*But*," said the duke, "*no dissipation! no dissipation!*"





Standard Arms, corner of St. Michael's St., Boston.

St. Michael's Church, Boston, Mass.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES ON KILKENNY CASTLE.

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES G. ROBERTSON, ESQ., ARCHITECT.

ANY record of the plan and appearance of Kilkenny Castle, as it existed before the late alterations, being likely to prove of interest to the members of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, I shall make no apology for laying before them some notes made during the progress of the demolition and re-edification of the structure, by the architect, the late William Robertson, Esq., of Rose Hill, and which are illustrated by lithographs of some of the pen-and-ink sketches accompanying my late relative's manuscript. The tinted lithograph of the courtyard of the castle as it appeared before the year 1825 (which accompanies this paper) is copied from a drawing made for the late Mr. Robertson, in order to illustrate his intended work on the antiquities of Kilkenny, and completes a series of four views of the castle taken for that purpose. The other three had been engraved by that gentleman, and they have been lately published by me, from the plates left by him.¹ The following are the notes above alluded to:—

“In March, 1825, on accidentally viewing the castle with the countess of Ormonde, I observed that the massive buttress which had been applied to the centre of the then court front was very considerably protruded from the inclined line of direction which its summit had. The singularity of the circumstance attracted my attention, and on examination I found the wall to which it was applied in a loose and bad state, the buttress itself consisting of a mere shell of cut stone, the core principally of dry rubble. On applying plumb lines to the front wall, I found the summit overhanging about fourteen inches, particularly adjoining the buttress, diminishing as you receded to the right and left of it. The interior also exhibited marked proofs of derangement.

“Lord Ormonde's friends having suggested to him the propriety of getting other opinions besides mine, Mr. Semple, architect, of Dublin, was called in by his lordship, and after examination he not only fully concurred in my opinions, but went considerably farther. Shortly after this, I was directed to take measures to watch the state of the building, and to report if I should observe any farther tendency to dilapidation. The fissures were immediately filled by my orders, and wooden wedges inserted loosely in several of the open joints, so that if there should be any farther increase of these, the wedges would fall out. In the course of about a month, it was apparent to the eye that the progress of dilapidation was proceeding, and in another month it appeared to increase so rapidly, that on a representation of these circumstances, orders were given to take down the roof, walls, &c., of

¹ *Antiquities and Scenery of the County of Kilkenny*, edited and published by James George Robertson. Kilkenny, 1851; oblong folio.

the centre buildings. Amongst the many circumstances discovered in taking down the old works the following deserve notice:—

“On relieving the internal front wall from the weight of the roof and heavy slates which had accelerated the dilapidation, it was found that the *massive* buttress was only so in appearance; the casing of cut stone being only filled with dry rubble, and totally incompetent to afford any resistance to the falling wall.

“On removing the old oak stairs, we found under them a portion of the masonry of the original castle, of singular solidity and massiveness, the mortar so indurated and attached to the stones embedded in it, that they were as one substance, and could not be separated without breaking the mass into pieces; and it is very remarkable that this mortar retained quite sharply the traces of tools employed in cutting it, as if it had been stone.

“The break in which the butler’s room formerly was, and in which the principal stairs now are, was found to be in a most dilapidated and very dangerous state, the traces of many and injudicious changes were very apparent, and this entire angular break was ascertained to have been but a comparatively modern addition, probably of the period of the repairs in 1682, for on taking it down, the inclined foundation of the straight curtain wall, which, certainly, has connected the west and east towers, was found on the level of the hall, and this break was projected beyond the line of this foundation; it was also found that where this break ‘headed’ against the east tower, its masonry was not united with that of the tower, but merely built up against it, for the circular work of the tower returned beyond the junction internally, as at A (figure 1, plate of details), the dotted line marks the direction of the old curtain wall. At the point B there was an arched porch, which we took down; it had a roof of stone and stone door jambs with strong iron hooks inserted in them to take the hinges of the door, which had certainly been an *external* one, from the great strength of the door jambs; and from its height above the level of the ground it must have been approached by stone steps. At C were the old foundations (under the stairs) of some former building, the masonry of extreme solidity, extending in length about twenty feet, in breadth nearly the same, and connected with the tower.

“The different floors in the break (A, figure 1) were sustained by very strong beams laid on corbels in the ancient manner, a mode well calculated to preserve the timber (figure 2).

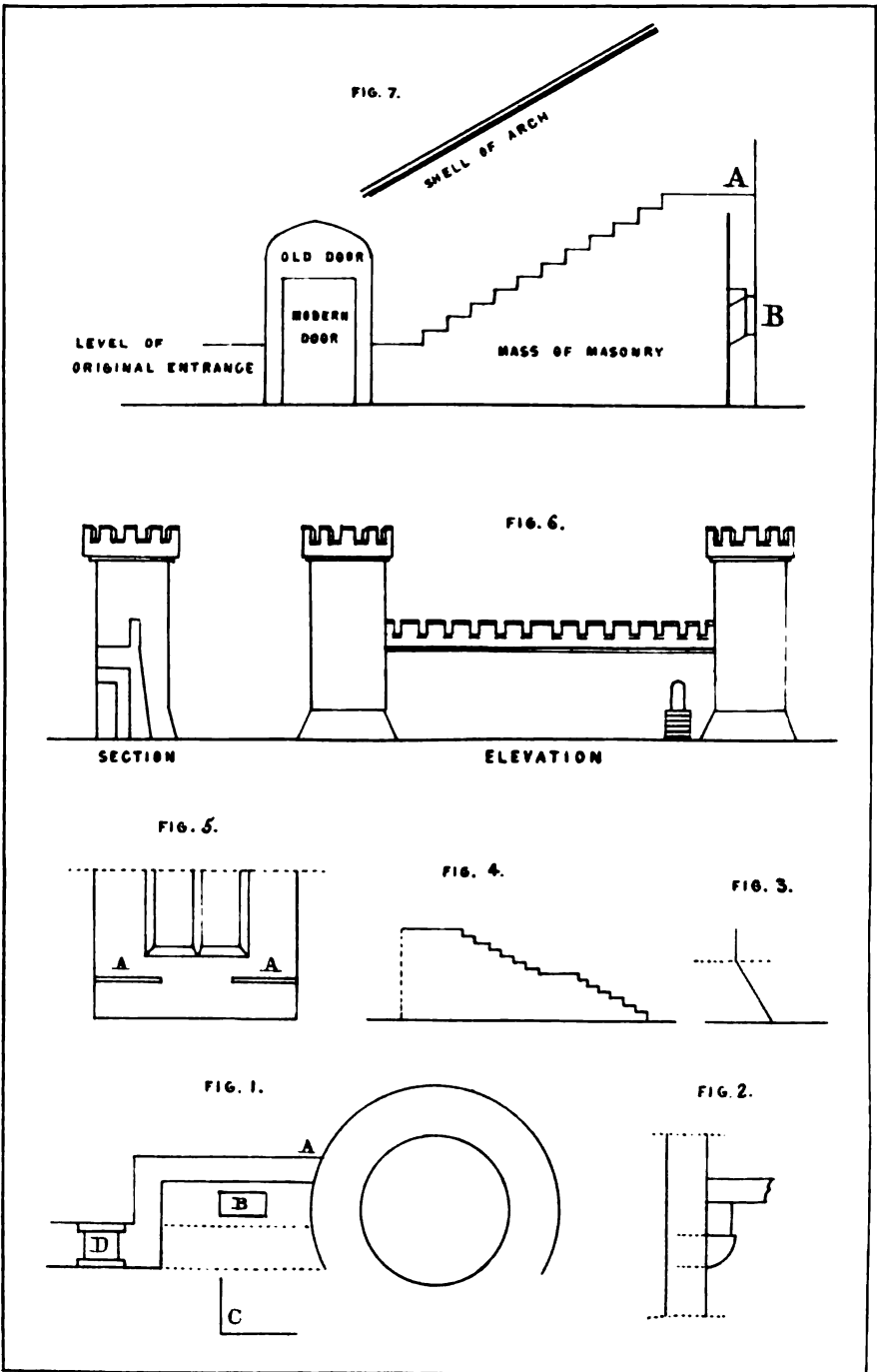
“Under the old back door (marked D in figure 1) was found a wide flue or passage descending to the vaults under the castle, to the level of the river. It was four feet in height by two feet in width, and built with stone; it passed obliquely outward under the steps. I arched in the mouth of it. The inclined foundation of the curtain wall descends, I suppose, to the level of the back lawn, or deeper; under the terraces I followed it about seven feet (figure 3).

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A

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J.G. ROBERTSON, DELT.

KILKENNY CASTLE - DETAILS.

"Under the window of lord Ormonde's room,¹ at the back lawn side, was found a postern entrance connected with a gallery which runs under the court-yard in the direction of the south tower, between which and the present gateway buildings, about midway, it descends by steps and passes out under the wall towards the stables. The steps were of lime-stone and very much worn, about sixteen in number, forming two flights (see figure 4), with a stone door frame both at the foot and at the top of the landings, with holes in the jambs for bolts that gave them great security; all the jambs both of doors and windows were of a soft brown grit, of which we have now no quarry. There are more of those steps under the window of lord Ormonde's room, which were not disturbed; they led to the passage, or gallery and ditch at the town side. The bones of a human skeleton, with two or three copper coins, were found in this passage.

"Adjoining the gate buildings, the parapets of the old curtain wall were discovered, with its embrasures, spike-holes, and platform; a flight of steps ascended from the banquet or platform to the west tower, in which was the record room. We also found remains of the curtain wall in the rere front at the same level, and the old parapets of the west tower were under the stairs which led to the roof, so that it would appear that the form of this castle at a very early period was somewhat as shown in figure 6.

"In taking down the walls of the west tower, it was discovered that they had contained recesses and galleries. Of the last, we found the broken remains of the covering arch and steps, which led from it to the parapet, two feet four inches long; the north window of lady Ormonde's room was cut as if the gallery had passed through it. One of the recesses contained a window two feet six inches wide, with cut stone frame, and at each side of it was a seat formed of a flag stone; the space between the seats (AA, figure 5) was so narrow as scarcely to admit persons to sit opposite to one another with ease. The entire thickness of the walls was six feet six inches; of this the front wall was but two feet four inches, and well built; the remaining thickness was but loosely built and filled in.

"In preparing to erect the staircase and water closets in the east part of the building, adjoining the tower which overhangs the river, we had to regulate the surface of the wall connected with that tower, which, in consequence of whatever buildings had originally been connected with it having been carelessly removed, was very irregular. In removing the broken offsets as they had stood for many years, several circumstances came to light worthy of preserving the recollection of.

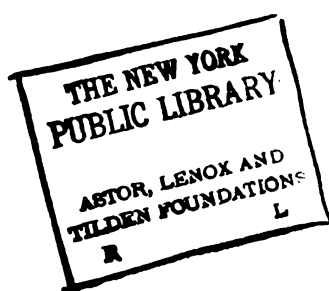
"At the back of the fire-place of the apartment which has latterly been used as a kitchen we found the remains of a stone stairs, which, from being four feet six inches wide, must have been an important

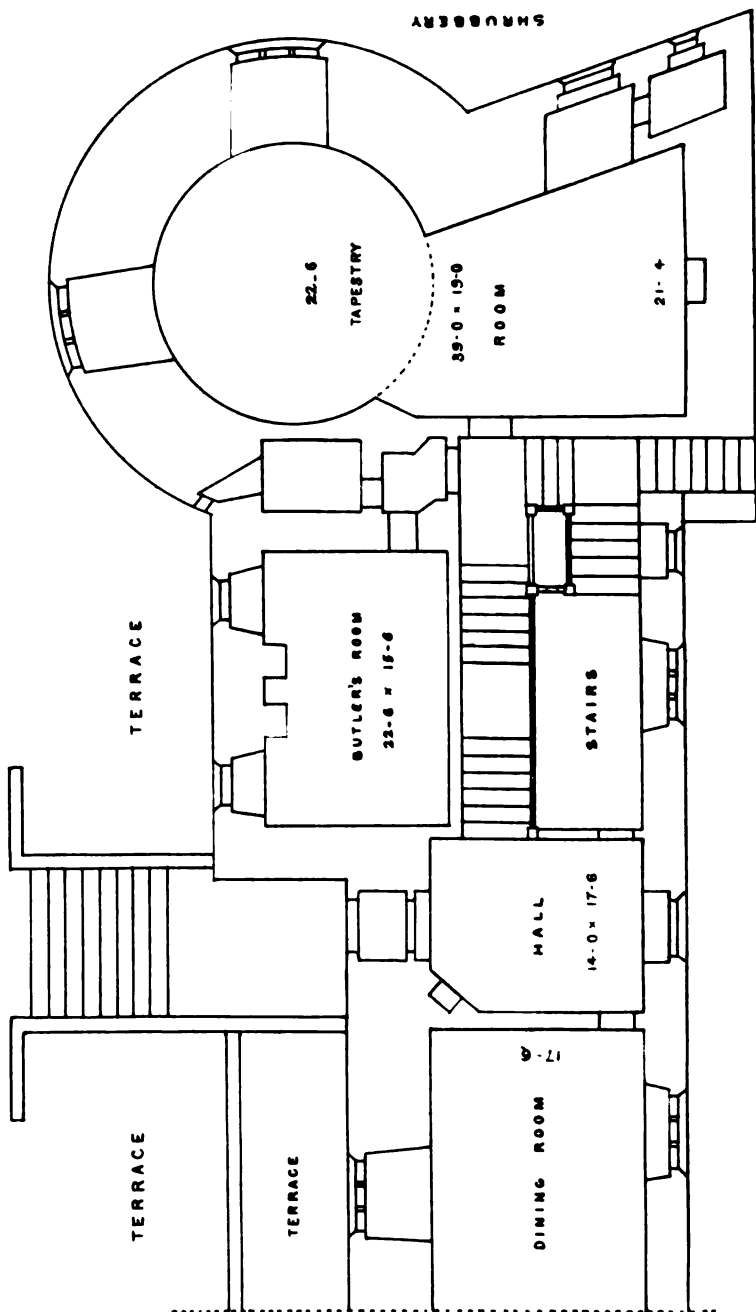
¹ This room was on the ground floor adjoining the western tower; it is now used as a dining-room, under the window of which the postern above mentioned was situated.

one, and probably the principal stairs of the castle. It landed in the small closet adjoining the tapestry room, and was only discovered by the removal of the floor, preparatory to the erection of the new additions. It was seated on a solid mass of masonry twelve feet thick, and descended to the level of the hall or room above described as a kitchen; about seven steps were found perfect and connected; they were of lime-stone in one piece each; the frame of the door at the foot of this stairs was formed of brown grit, and consisted of many small stones—the head a flat pointed arch, rudely formed. At the springing we found inserted a very strong iron hook on which the door had been hung; the iron was two and a-half inches thick, and from the working of the door the back of it was much worn; and from what we know of the wearing of iron, it must have been in its place for many years. Lower down we found the grooves in which the fastenings for security ran, and in one of them the wooden bolt remained, but as might be expected, perfectly rotten. Another singular circumstance respecting this door was, that although the entrance to the hall or kitchen was between the same jambs, the level of the modern door was four feet below the level of the ancient one, for at that level the brown grit ceased, and lime-stone was used in the four feet; this gave the old door a most disproportioned appearance until the hacking off of the old plaster explained the cause, for the entire mass of masonry forming the original floor appeared to have been cut down to the lower level, as represented in figure 7.

“Another curious circumstance we discovered, was a spike-hole (B, figure 7) in a wall of two feet thick, which formed part of the mass of masonry on which the steps were seated; at the thickness of two feet the back of this wall had the old plastering on it; the arch of the spike-hole and its stone jambs were perfect. It is obvious that the building of the mass of masonry and the seating of the steps were subsequent to the building of the thin wall which contained the spike-hole, and which appears to me to have been part of a wall enclosing some small court looking down upon the river. This circumstance carries the mind very far back into the history of this castle; for the stairs were very rude, and the immense mass of masonry on which the steps were seated was all grouted work, and yet the spike-hole and thin wall formed parts of an earlier building. The stone used in the door case and frame of the spike-hole was also different from that used in the more modern works. I am of opinion that the room at present called the ‘tapestry room’ was originally divided into two apartments, for the above stairs led to one of them, which was *square*; and another stairs at the other side communicated with the other, which was *circular*, and in the tower, which latter stairs also communicated with the platform on the curtain wall.

“The hill under the new flag tower, now in progress, was found, whilst regulating the sewers, to be strengthened or fortified with walls of masonry, running down the hill at regular intervals, and at right angles to this front of the building.”





As an addendum to the above, I give a diagram (see plate on opposite page) showing the plan of the eastern tower, the "break" alluded to in Mr. William Robertson's Report, and the original hall and stair-case of the castle, as they existed before the alterations were commenced. Several small rooms and passages in the thickness of the ancient wall are also laid down on the plan, which is copied from an old drawing now in the possession of the marquis of Ormonde.

NOTES ON THE
EXCAVATION OF A RATH AT DUNBEL, COUNTY OF
KILKENNY.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

HAVING ascertained that a rath, or ancient Celtic fort, was being levelled and trenched on the lands of Dunbel, in the county of Kilkenny, by Mr. Michael White, the tenant of the farm, the Rev. James Graves and I considered it our duty, as Secretaries to this Society, to make a personal inspection of the operations there carried on, and ascertain whether any, and what remains of ancient art, domestic utensils, weapons, or ornaments had been discovered in the course of the work. We, accordingly, lost no time in proceeding to the spot, and saw sufficient to interest us so far as to induce us to repeat our visits frequently, and carefully superintend the operations. The result of our observations on those occasions I now beg leave to report to the Society.

The townland of Dunbel—which name the people of the locality translate "the fort of Baal," or, according to some, "of fire," taking the emblem by which the Pagan deity was represented as expressed by the name of the deity himself¹—is thickly studded over with the intrenched habitations of the aboriginal inhabitants of this country; but in the neighbourhood of the Nore, along the elevated ground above the eastern bank of the river, these remains are particularly numerous, every second or third field usually containing one or two raths, located in close contiguity, and showing that this portion of the country was densely populated in the primæval period. On the farm of Mr. White, where it is intersected by the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway, within half a mile of Bennetts-bridge, there is, or rather was, a very remarkable group of circular raths. The principal one is con-

¹ I do not mean to vouch for the correctness of this derivation, which smacks very strongly of the Vallancey school, and

perhaps was picked up by the people from some visitor imbued with the etymological *mania* of the worthy general.

structed on so large a scale, and possesses its rampart and double fosse in such excellent preservation, as to be a prominent and most remarkable object in the landscape for miles around, and cannot have failed to attract the attention of all passengers by the railway, who are in the slightest degree imbued with an antiquarian taste. This was probably the residence and fortress of the chieftain of the district, whilst those surrounding it were occupied by men of subordinate rank in the territory. At a distance of two or three fields from the great rath, there were three other circular earth-works, situated each about four hundred feet from the other, having concentric ramparts and fosses, but by no means planned on such a scale of magnitude, or so well contrived for defensive purposes. One of these enclosures was levelled and tilled, without being trenched, a considerable time since. A second was partially trenched in the month of May, 1842, for the purpose of spreading out on the surrounding land, as a manure, the material of which it was composed, a rich black clay largely impregnated with organic remains. The third rath has now been subjected to the same process for a similar purpose, and thus each of these three forts is now nearly obliterated.

In the course of trenching the last mentioned rath many objects of great antiquarian interest were turned up, and the Museum of the Society has been much enriched by the discoveries made. It is, however, to be regretted, that owing to the ignorance of the labourers as to their value, several curious articles, found before our first visit to the locality, were either lost or wantonly destroyed. An enormous quantity of bones of animals was everywhere met with. These chiefly consist of remains of deer, oxen, horses, swine, the calf and domestic fowl, the two first being the most numerous. The deer were not those of the extinct gigantic tribe, but consisted of the red and fallow species, though apparently larger than the common deer of those kinds at the present day. The oxen were the ancient extinct species, termed *bos longifrons*, and there did not appear to be any remains of black cattle, except those of the short-horned kind, but, from the size of the bones, evidently belonging to a very small breed. Several perfect skulls, both of the deer and oxen, with antlers or horns attached, were turned up, but at the period of our first visit they had been all broken into fragments, and the greater proportion of them were already disposed of to the dealers in such commodities. In fact, such a vast mine of animal bones was here opened, that two men contracted with Mr. White to perform the greater portion of the work of trenching the rath, having only the bones therein contained for their remuneration; and he informed us that these two labourers had been enabled, for a considerable period, to earn from two to three shillings a day by the sale of the bones at eight pence per stone. It is right to state that no human bones were found, but the remains generally were evidently those of the cattle, which had been slaughtered, for centuries, by the inhabitants of the rath for their daily food. The largest quantity of

bones was found in the inner fosse, having, apparently, been cast there from time to time, when the feast was concluded, in order readily to put them out of the way. However, bones were found in thick layers all through the central mound of the rath to the depth of a couple of feet from the surface.

The cooking places, in which the flesh of these animals was dressed for use, were also found. They consisted of eight or ten small pits, circular in form, and not of greater diameter than a foot and a-half, or depth than two feet. Each was quite full of charcoal, burned stones, and charred bones. Some of the deposits of ashes were as white as turf ashes, whilst there were also remains of wood not entirely consumed. Fragments of a substance, resembling slag or clinkers, were also found in some of these pits, which appeared to have been used as furnaces wherein were forged the rude iron implements of which specimens turned up. These cooking pits and furnaces were not faced with stones, but were simply dug in the floor of the rath.

The ancient Irish mode of cooking flesh in those pits, as described by our annalists and historians, has often been brought under the notice of this Society,¹ and it differs little from the way in which many barbarous people, at the present day, prepare their food. Mr. MacGillivray, in his "Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Rattlesnake," thus describes the manner in which he saw the natives of Australia perform the operation in the neighbourhood of Rockingham bay:—"In the centre of the camp were four large ovens, for cooking their food. These ovens were constructed by digging a hole in the ground, about three feet in diameter, and two feet deep. The hole is then filled to within six inches of the top with smooth, hard, loose, stones, on which a fire is kindled, and kept burning till the stones are well heated. Their food, consisting principally of shell and other fish, is then placed on the stones and baked."²

It was evident, however, that the ancient occupants of the Dunbel rath did not entirely subsist on animal food. Their granivorous propensities were sufficiently testified by the discovery of a number of querns, or ancient hand-mills for grinding corn, of various sizes, and which were generally found in a broken state. A considerable quantity of other rude domestic utensils, calculated to be useful in preparing, cooking, or partaking of their meals, was also brought to light in the course of the excavations—but it may be well to arrange the various implements and ornaments discovered in separate classes, and I shall, therefore, enumerate them according to the material of which each was composed.

STONE ARTICLES.—1. Portions of nine querns, of which we took possession of three of the upper stones for the Museum, one being selected from the circumstance of some rude attempt at ornamentation,

¹ See *Transactions*, vol. i. p. 216.

² Vol. ii. p. 139.

consisting of concentric mouldings, being apparent on its surface, and another from its singular smallness, it being not more than a foot in diameter. The first stone, which seems of the average size, is one foot eight inches in diameter, and appears to have had two handles, which I believe was very unusual. The smaller stone exhibits the mark of the millrind, showing that there was an advance in the art of quern-making at the time it was made.

2. A large quantity of hones and sharpening stones, eight of which are now deposited in the Museum. They are composed, apparently, of the slate of the coal measures of the neighbouring Johnswell hills, and several of them have been much worn by the operation of sharpening tools or weapons.

3. Some piles of round pebbles, evidently intended to be used as sling-stones; they varied from the size of a hen's egg to that of a pigeon's egg, but were more globular. Some specimens have been retained for the Museum.

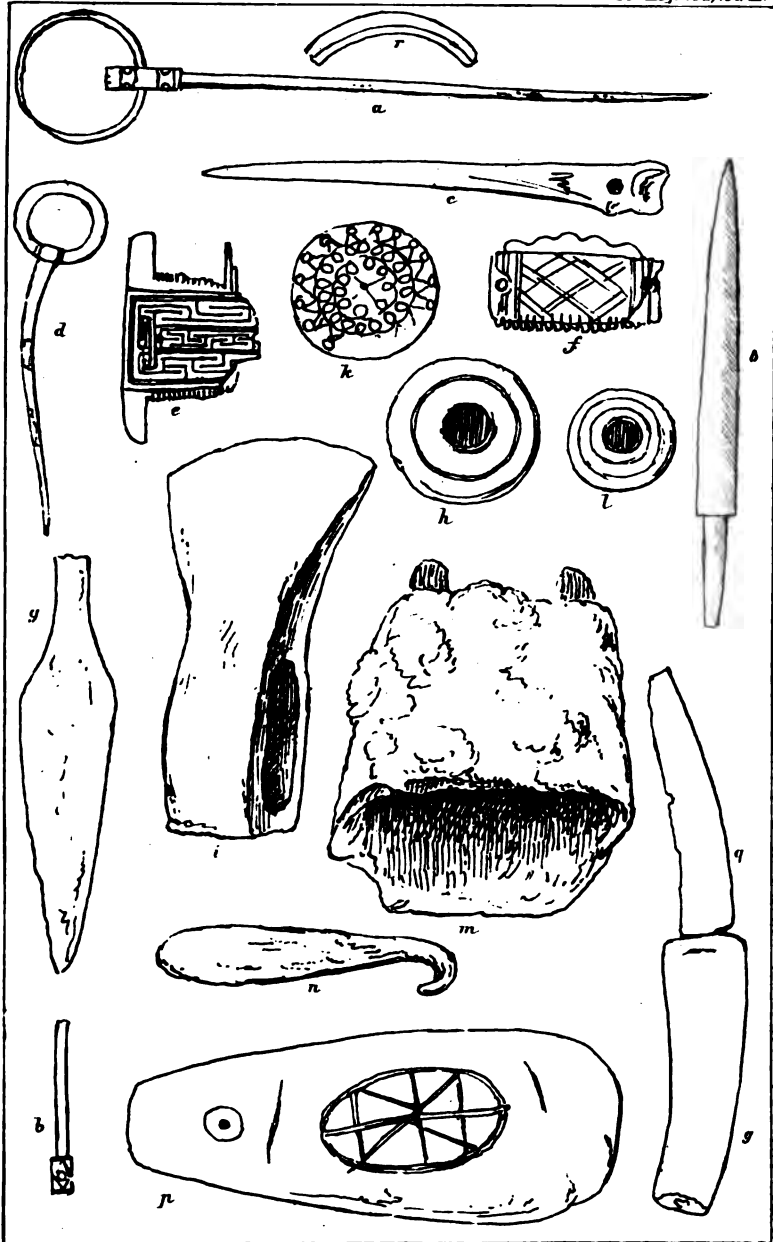
4. Several small, flat, rounded stones, pierced in the centre, of the class which are by some supposed to have been amulets, and by others declared to have been weights for the distaff, but are better known by the term applied to them by the peasantry—"fairy mill-stones." Many of these had been taken for playthings by the neighbouring children, but we secured a few for the Museum.

5. A quantity of small, flat stones, varying from four inches to two and a-half inches in diameter, and less than half an inch thick; some left in their natural state, others having a small hole drilled through the centre. It is difficult to divine their use, unless it may be suggested that those in the pierced state were in process of being formed into "fairy mill-stones," and that all were intended for that purpose.

6. An oblong stone, about five inches in length, and two inches in width, narrowing to an inch at the upper and thinner end, and rounded at bottom; the shape partly artificial and partly natural. On one side a rudely formed indented elliptical ornament. A hole drilled through the upper end, apparently, with the view of introducing a string to suspend it round a person's neck. It was, probably, a child's toy (plate, figure *p*).

7. Some fragments of circlets of black slate and jet. These exactly correspond with the circlets frequently discovered in England, and there known as Kimmeridge coal-money, and attributed to the Roman period. We have secured three fragments for the Society's Museum, which, when perfect, formed circles, respectively, three and a-half, three, and two and a-half inches in diameter. Two of these are composed of black slate and the third of jet (figure *r*).

8. A stone button, round, and in the shape of a flattened cone, measuring an inch and a-half in diameter, rudely ornamented with concentric circles of incised chevrons and wavy lines. There is evidence of a shank having been inserted, but it was broken away.



ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN THE DUNBEL RATHS

Scale

m. n. full size; i. one-third; the rest one-half original size.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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This button appears much more modern than all the other stone articles found. The material is blue slate. It is placed in the Museum (figure *h*).

BONE ARTICLES.—1. A very large number of bone pins, of which seven are now in the Museum. They were evidently intended for fastening the hair or dress, and measure from three and a-half to two and a-half inches in length. All have flat heads, some of which are pierced through.¹ They may have been all intended to be thus perforated, but some have remained unfinished (figure *c*).

2. An instrument of bone, polished and brought to a sharp point at one end, at the other shaped so as to be received into a handle of wood. It is five inches long, and may have been used as a kind of awl to make holes for stitching hides together. It is lodged in the Museum (figure *o*).

3. Three or four flatted beads of bone, two of which are in the Museum, respectively measuring an inch, and an inch and a-half, in diameter, showing concentric ornaments, and evidently turned in a lathe.² They are pierced in the centre, as if for the purpose of being strung together, and bear a strong resemblance to the “fairy mill-stones.” The first of these which was turned up was taken by the finder for nothing less than a *gold watch*, and a woman present was so angry at being thus disappointed, that she broke it to atoms, by hurling a large stone upon it (figures *h* and *l*).

4. A comb, formed of several pieces of bone, each about an inch and a-half long, fastened together by being rivetted between two half rounded strips of the same material, rudely ornamented with cross and transverse incised lines. The portion of the back projecting above the strips was regularly scalloped; the teeth appeared to have been cut with a fine saw after the whole had been rivetted together, and were about the eighth of an inch asunder. The rivets were of iron. This interesting relic, which was quite perfect when found (and which bore a strong resemblance to the ancient combs belonging to Mr. W.

¹ The use of the hole in the head appears to have been the insertion of a wire ring. In the excavation at Barrow Furlong, in Northamptonshire, bone and brass pins of this type were found, both of which had rings of brass wire inserted in the perforated heads.—See *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 332.

² Amongst the many interesting articles found in the Barrow Furlong excavation, before referred to, was a bone bead of the same size, shape, and style of ornament as the larger of those found in the Dunbel rath, and now in the Kilkenny Museum. Sir Henry Dryden, in his report to the Society of Antiquaries, on the Barrow Furlong discoveries, says of the bead referred to, that it “appears to have been cut

from a large bone. It was found by the arm of a skeleton, about the neck of which there were other beads [of glass]. In the Chinese collection now in London (184), there is a Chinaman with an ivory ring, somewhat resembling this, used to fasten his cloak at the left breast, by the rings being hooked to one part of the cloak; and one of two strings fastened at the other corner of the cloak, being passed through the ring and tied to the other string. It appears very probable that this bone-bead may have been used instead of a brooch, no brooch having been found with this skeleton.” Brooches of the usual Anglo-Saxon type were found with several other skeletons at the spot.—See *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 331.

F. Wakeman, discovered in digging in Fishamble-street, Dublin, and exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1853), was unfortunately broken by the finders before we visited the scene of operations, but a fragment (figure *f*) was procured for us by Mr. White, and is now in the Museum. Subsequently, there were some fragments of a comb turned up, having a double row of teeth, like the modern small tooth comb (figure *e*). It, also, was formed of several pieces joined by connecting strips, and rivetted as in the former case. A portion of one of the strips of bone, used in joining some of these combs (figure *e*), was obtained for the Museum, bearing an elegantly incised pattern of that form termed by architects the "fret," and of which we have an example amongst the sculptures that ornament the door-way of the ancient church of Freshford.¹

5. A number of knife-handles (figure *g*), rudely formed from the tines of deers' horns. There were also several fragments of antlers cut up, apparently with the object of being manufactured into such handles. Two specimens are in the Museum.

BRONZE ARTICLES.—1. A bronze pin, described to have been about three inches and a-half long, with a solid knob as a head, ornamented with a zig-zag pattern. This pin was given, before our arrival, to a member of Mr. White's family, and unfortunately lost. That gentleman made every effort to recover it for our Museum, but without success.

2. Two bronze fibulæ, with moveable rings inserted in the heads. The pin of one of them is six inches and a quarter long, and very slender; the ring, one inch four-tenths in diameter, inserted in a square head rudely ornamented (figure *a*). The pin of the other is three inches long, and also very slender, but having a much smaller and more massive ring, nine-tenths of an inch in diameter, fastened by the head of the pin being beaten out thin, and looped round an indentation made in the ring for the purpose (figure *d*). Both of these interesting articles have been secured to the Museum.

3. A piece of bronze, which has partially undergone the process of being shaped into a pin.

4. A fragment of a bronze pin, one and three-fourth inches long, the head shaped into a rude dodecahedron, and pierced; by some conjectured to have been a harp-pin (figure *b*). It is in the Museum.

IRON ARTICLES.—1. A small square bell, being a fac-simile of the ancient Irish religious hand-bells, of which so many exist; but it is

¹ In the discovery of Saxon remains at Barrow Furlong, a double comb of bone, such as that above described, composed of small pieces fastened together by iron rivets passing through bone slips at either side, ornamented with small incised roundels, was found amongst burned human bones in a baked clay urn. The teeth of this comb were very imperfect, and Sir Henry

Dryden says—"the bones were carefully washed and sifted, but no more teeth than those could be found, and therefore it is probable that it [the comb] was in that state when put into the urn. We may suppose it was the most precious article of a lady's toilet whose bones are contained in the urn."—Report of Sir Henry Dryden, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 332.

much smaller than any which I have ever seen. Its height is one and a-half inches; at the mouth it measures one and a-half by one and a quarter inches, and it tapers upwards to the top, like the roof of a house, the ridge being half an inch wide, and retaining the fragments of a handle, partially broken away before the discovery (figure *m*). The tongue was found with the bell, but detached from it, and is one and a-half inches long (figure *n*). This extremely interesting relic, which was, apparently, a small bell used for religious purposes by the inhabitants of the rath, has been secured for the Society's Museum.

2. An iron fibula, much resembling the smaller of those of bronze (figure *d*), except that the ring is not so massive. It is four and a-half inches long. There were also several other iron pins, or fibulae, all imperfect and much corroded. They are placed in the Museum.

3. An iron javelin-head, well formed, measuring four inches in the length of the blade, by one and a quarter inches at the widest part (figure *g*).

4. A massive axe-head, measuring six inches from the edge to the back, and three and a-half inches broad in the blade. The haft-hole is two and a-half inches long, by one and a-half inches wide. This, when found, must have been a good specimen of the Irish battle-axe, of which, according to Giraldus, they made such destructive use; but, I regret to say, before we succeeded in securing it for the Museum, it had suffered somewhat by having been put to use in chopping timber by the finders (figure *i*).

5. A number of knife-blades, measuring from three and a-half to two and a-half inches in length, irrespective of the spike which ran into the haft (figure *q*). Amongst twelve specimens which have been obtained for the Museum, there is one which had been in process of formation, showing that they were forged on the spot. These knife-blades, to which the bone hafts before noticed belong, fully resemble those described as having been found in the curious artificial islands discovered in the drainage works in Roscommon, and at Lough Gur, county of Limerick, as well as at Dunshaughlin, county of Meath, in papers recently read by Dr. Wilde and Mr. Kelly before the Royal Irish Academy.

6. An iron goad, apparently intended to be fastened on the end of a staff, for the purpose of driving cattle.

7. A chisel, six inches long, rounded, but brought to a square edge.

8. A fragment of a small iron reaping-hook, of the antique shape and character.

9. A light horse-shoe, which evidently had been worn for some time.

10. Some nondescript pieces of wrought iron, of various shapes and sizes, of which there are eleven different specimens in the Museum.

Besides the foregoing, there were a few fragments of a very coarse

baked and glazed pottery ware found, which had evidently formed portions of the household utensils of the ancient inhabitants. There were also turned up some rather modern matters, which must have been dropped on the spot at a comparatively recent period. These consisted of a copper half-penny of William and Mary, with the date 1692; a soldier's button, of brass, apparently of the same period; a Kilkenny tradesman's token, being that struck by John Beavor in the latter end of the seventeenth century, and an ear-ring of brass, which had been gilded, of a pattern which does not seem to have been more ancient than about a century. With respect to the coin of William and Mary, I may mention that it was found about a foot beneath the surface; but in the neighbouring rath, when it was being trenched in 1842, a half-penny of the reign of Charles II., bearing date 1683, was turned up at a depth of seven feet, showing that either the fort had been previously disturbed in the seventeenth century, or that the coin, having been dropped accidentally on the surface, had sunk from its own weight to an extraordinary depth.

The result of our investigation with reference to this rath-opening has thus served to supply us with a not uninteresting glimpse of the *vie privé* of the ancient inhabitants of this country, at least so far as their domestic economy is concerned. Barbarous enough must we esteem their condition, notwithstanding that the ornamental work of their combs, fibulæ, and other articles prove them not to have been without a considerable acquaintance with the arts, and possessed of what may be termed ornamental luxuries; still their provision for domestic comfort, and their ideas as to sanitary arrangements must have been limited in the extreme; seeing that it was evidently their habit to squat round their rude hearths, upon the soft earth, which must have been in so slimy a state as that their personal ornaments, household implements, or warlike weapons, when dropped upon the ground, sank beneath its surface; and when their meals were concluded they carelessly flung away the bones of the animals from which they had gnawed the flesh, suffering them to lie on or sink into the floor in every direction, or to accumulate in heaps in the fosse, which surrounded the habitation, decomposing and emitting the most noxious effluvia. The finding here of articles of stone, bone, bronze, and iron, promiscuously scattered about, may, perhaps, be taken as another proof of the incorrectness of the classification made by some antiquaries, who consider that the use of these different materials in their utensils, weapons, and ornaments must be taken as marking different stages of progression in civilization. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted as very obvious, from the different matters found in the "diggings," that the rath was used as a place of habitation, not only in primæval times, but also within the mediæval period. The bone and bronze pins, the "fairy mill-stones," the bone beads, &c., clearly pertain to the primæval period; the iron knife-blades and other implements evidently are early mediæval; and the querns may belong

to either or both periods. The copper coins, and the soldier's brass button, are of a time when the raths must have long previously been discontinued to be used as dwelling places, and they were, no doubt, casually dropped there—perhaps at the time when the great encampments of the royal armies were held at Bennetts-bridge by king William III. in person, and in the reign of queen Anne, under general de Jean. That these raths were taken advantage of as affording good intrenched positions for out-posts on those occasions may be fairly surmised, not only from the commanding position which they occupy, but also from the fact that the inner rampart or bulwark of the great fort at Dunbel, which I have before supposed to have been the habitation of the aboriginal chieftain of the district, was undoubtedly embrasured for the use of cannon, which was, of course, no part of the original design or work of the fortification.

GLEANINGS FROM COUNTRY CHURCH-YARDS.

BY RICHARD HITCHCOCK.

Beneath those rugged elms, that yew-tree's shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a mould'ring heap,
Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.—*Gray's Elegy.*

DURING a tour in quest of Ogham inscriptions, in the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, I have had opportunities of visiting many of the church-yards in the south of Ireland. In these sacred places I found numerous remarkable monumental inscriptions, a few of which I have copied; and from these examples I have selected the following, which I now beg leave to present to the Kilkenny Archæological Society. I do this, not from any confidence in the worth of the communication, but in the hope that it may induce other and more competent members of the Society, who may have copies of curious monumental inscriptions, or who may be in the way of obtaining them, to send them to the Secretaries, if for no other purpose than deposit in our Library. I believe that many persons possess copies of inscriptions, the originals of which do not now exist, or, if they do, which may soon give way to modern "improvement." Indeed, the subject of a MONUMENTARIUM of even the county of Kilkenny alone, which I believe is rich enough in inscriptions for such a work, appears to me to be one well worth the attention of the Society. Independently of their great historical value, many of the church-yard inscriptions are exceedingly curious; but—and is it not a sad fact?—even these hallowed remains are every year

yielding to the destroyer! Much on the importance of a record of existing monuments will be found in the third volume of that most useful publication, "Notes and Queries." Number 12, amongst the following inscriptions, is from the county of Kilkenny; and it will be seen that No. 10, although in the county of Kerry, is connected with the county of Tipperary, a portion of the ancient Ormond. All the other inscriptions relate to the county of Kerry.

The first inscription which I shall lay before the Society can scarcely be called a monumental one; but, nevertheless, I consider it worthy of preservation. It occurs on one of the pillars of the ancient abbey of Ardfert, and is, I regret to say, much obliterated, particularly the second line:—

Donaldus Digen ohen . . . r

Dor . . . r fec . . ho . o . u .

ora . . p . . o : a : d : m : cccc : llii

Lewis, in his "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," article Ardfert, mentions this inscription. He says:—"A stone in the buttress of the arch nearest the tower bears a rude inscription, which, from the difficulty of decyphering it, has given rise to various opinions, but, on lately removing the moss and dirt, proves to be in Latin, and purports that Donald Fitz Bohén, who sleeps here, caused this work (probably the chapel) to be done in 1453." This statement is incorrect as to the name, which appears to be Donaldus Digen.

No. 2 is on a loose stone in Dunkerron castle, near Kenmare, and, like the last, though not of the church-yard class, is still curious, and very liable to be lost, as will be seen by a reference to Mr. Windele's valuable *Historical and Descriptive Notices of the City of Cork and its Vicinity*, new edition, p. 332, where a copy of the inscription is given. There is a slight difference between the spelling of some of the words in Mr. Windele's copy and mine, which is as follows:—I H S : MARIA DEO : GRACIAS †. THIS WORK WAS MADE THE XX OF APRIEL 1596 : BY OWEN OSVLIVAN MORE & SILY NY DONOGH MAC CARTY RIBOGH. I think accuracy in copying old inscriptions is a great point to be attended to. We may never again see them. See Smith's *Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, pp. 88-9; also, Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 65, where another incorrect copy of the inscription is given.

No. 3 occurs on a stone built into the wall inside the door-way of the old church of Rattoo, in the parish of the same name, the upper part of the inscription being turned towards the door-way:—
X MRS. . * DINIGHAN E' . 1666 . Vxor . hic . . iac^r. An antiquarian friend of mine in Killarney, to whom I showed my copy of this in-

scription, thinks it may be read as follows:—"X MARGARET O'DINIGHEN, EJUS, 1666, VXOR, HIC JACET." He also thinks that the X, or cross, before the name "MARGARET," may have been intended to connect it with another inscription, perhaps that of her husband; or the cross may have served as a mark to draw attention to this one, when separated from some other.

No. 4 is on a stone built into the wall of a house in Abbey-street, Tralee, and seems to have belonged to the old abbey there, though a learned friend of mine near Tralee, to whom I showed my copy of the inscription, thinks there were no interments in the abbey burial-ground so late as the date mentioned:—HERE LYEETH THE BODY OF DAVID ROCHE, ESQ^r CO. NCCELLER ATT LAW, WHO DECEASED THE 13 DAY OF AVGVST, ANNO DOMINI 1686, AND THE BODY OF HIS DAUGHTER MARY DECEASED IN THE YEAR 1685. I should mention, that I do not vouch for the accuracy of the last figure, it being much obliterated. The face of this stone was completely incrustated with mud when I went to copy the inscription.

No. 5 is in Ballyoughteragh church-yard, in the parish of Dunurlin:—I.H.S.—MAGLE. P^{TT} L^{TT} TERRY, 1551. A^{TT} L^{TT} FERRITER, 1642. P^{TT} L^{TT} RICE, 1722. L^{TT} M^{CC} MAHONAH, AGED 27, 1767.—PRAY FOR US. I cannot easily understand this curious inscription.

No. 6 is on a slab built into the wall of Kiltomy church, in the parish of the same name:—SISTE VIATOR, ET SI HÆC VAGOS ATTRAXERINT OCULOS SPLENDIDA MARMORA, NOLI TAM QUOD POSITUM EST MIRARI, QUAM DEPOSITUM OBSTUPESCERE, HIC ENIM PARVULA CONDITUR URNULA, MAGNA . . . CO[NS]T[A]NCIA, OLIM LONGORUM DELICIE . . BO . . SIS TANDEM FITZMAURICIORUM, UTRIUS SUE TAMEN HAUD IGNOB[IL]E ORNAMENTUM. Underneath is the following:—THIS CHURCH WAS RE-BUILT AND MONUMENT ERECTED IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD GOD ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND EI . . . SEVEN. There is more of the inscription, but I could not make it out. Underneath again, on two stones, are a skull and cross-bones, and over each the words, MEMENTO MORI. On the right of these, on another stone, is an hour-glass between two wings. Under it is a skull, and over it the words, VITA BREVIS. I heard of another old inscription having been found in this church-yard, but it was destroyed by the masons who built a tomb for a Mr. Gentleman, adjacent to the stones bearing the above inscriptions.

No. 7 is on a slab, broken into two parts, lying in the farm-yard of The Grove, Dingle, but said to have been brought from the adjacent church-yard. Some of the inscription appears to be wanting:—IMMODICIS BREVIS EST ÆTAS, ET RARA SENECTUS. H. S. E.—JOHANNES FITZGERALD EQVES KERRIENSIS, EX ANTIQUA STIRPE EQUITUM KERRIENSIIUM ORIUNDUS, SUAUITATE INGENII, ET INTEGRITATE MORUM EXIMIUS. ERAT IN ORE VENUSTAS, IN PECTORE BENEVOLENTIA, IN VERBIS FIDES, CANDIDUS, FACILIS, JUCUNDUS, QUOT NOTOS TOT HABUIT AMICOS, INIMICUM CERTE NEMINEM, TALIS QUUM ESSET, FEBRI CORREPTUS, IM-

MATURE OBIIT, ANNO ÆTATIS TRIGRESSIMO QUINTO. A.D. 1741. HOC MONUMENTUM, CHARISSIMI MARITI MEMORIÆ SACRUM, MARGARETA CONJUX, MERENS POSUIT.¹ There is a copy of this inscription in Smith's *Kerry*, pp. 177-8, wanting, however, the words "anno ætatis trigressimo quinto," supplied above.

No. 8 is from the church-yard of Killiney, in the parish of the same name:—I. H. S. CATHERIN M^cMAHON DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 24TH DAY OF MAY, ANNO DOMINI 1756, IN THE — YEAR OF HER AGE. THE BODYES OF TIMO^t M^cMAHON OF KILLCOMMIN, CHILDREN AND GRAND-CHILDREN, HERE DOTH LYE. MATT^w M^cMAHON BEING THE LAST, DIED APRIL 19, A.D. 1780. The woman's age does not appear to have been inserted, or else it is quite effaced. Indeed, the stone is broken just there. In this church-yard stands a plain but fine stone cross, measuring nine and a-half feet high from the ground, four feet two inches across the arms, and seven inches thick.

No. 9 is from the church-yard of Ventry, in the parish of the same name, and is, I believe, the only inscription visible there, so overwhelmed with sand is this ancient and interesting spot:—HERE LYETH THE BODY OF FRED^s BROWNE, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE FEBRUARY THE FIRST, ANNO DOMINI 1775, AGED 80 YEARS.

No. 10 is from the church-yard of Garfinny, in the parish of the same name—an interesting inscription, which may hereafter prove useful to the local historian:—INRI. DEO O. P^o—MAX^o EJUSQ^{ue} FILI^o—ET SP. SANCT^o.—HERE LIE MAURICE KENNEDY AND HIS WIFE JUDIT CURRANE, JAMES KENNEDY AND HIS WIFE ALICE MORRARTY ACHILLION. — SAID MAUR^{ce} AND JAM^s KENNEDY WERE THR SONS OF JOHN, SON OF MAURICE, SON OF JOHN KENNEDY, WHO IN THE DAYS OF CROMWELL LEFT NENAGH IN ORMOND, AND SETTLED IN THE PARISH OF GARFINACH.—THIS STONE IS CONSECRATED TO THEIR MEMORY BY JOS^{ph} KENNEDY, M.D. AND REV^d JAM^s KENNEDY, P.P. OF DINGLE, SONS OF SAID JAMES, A.D. 1816.

No. 11 occurs over the door of the new church of Cloghane, in the parish of the same name, and, as I was informed, commemorates the period of its erection:—REV^d R. L. TYNER, RECTOR, A.D. 1828. In connection with this rather uninteresting inscription I may mention, that in the wall of the adjoining old church is a projecting stone, formed into a representation of a human head and face. It is placed at the height of five feet nine inches from the ground, and is believed to represent the head of *Crom Dubh*, a celebrated personage, who was contemporary with St. Patrick, and of whom there are traditions at the highest mountains in Ireland, viz., at Sliabh Donard in the county of Down, at Croagh Patrick in the west of the county of Mayo, and at Brandon Hill in the west of the county of Kerry, which is much higher than any of these. A "pattern" is still held at Cloghane, in honour of *Crom Dubh* and St. Brendan, on the last Sunday of July, which is commonly called "Dounagh Crom Dubh."

¹ The lady who built this monument was daughter of chief justice Deane.

No. 12 is from one of several small cairn-like monuments, at the road side, near Hugginstown, in the parish of Aghaviller, county of Kilkenny:—THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF THOMAS HEALY OF LISMOTIGUE, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE NOVEMB^r THE 10, 1840. ETERNAL REST GRANT UNTO HIM, O LORD, AMEN. The building from which I have taken this inscription is named “Kyleva monument,” being situate in the townland of that name. These little monuments are remarkable, as having been raised to the memories of persons who, I was told, had died and were buried elsewhere, and one or two have young trees growing on them.

I should observe here, that the originals of many of the inscriptions above given, particularly Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are much more curious than can be represented by the printer; most of the letters being of peculiar forms, and many of them, merely by the addition of a stroke, made to serve as two and three letters.

Having sent a copy of the newspaper report of the preceding communication to a friend in the south, the Rev. A. B. Rowan, D.D., Belmont, Tralee, he has favoured me with the following additional particulars relative to some of the present “Gleanings,” which, with his permission, I give just as they are in his letters to me:—“I think I must go over to Kiltomy (not Kiltorny)¹ church some day, to try and decypher this inscription [No. 6], which I suspect to be of a countess of Kerry, certainly of some Fitzmaurice: you gave it to me before,” “Are you quite sure that you can read the inscription on the pillar of Ardfert abbey [No. 1]? I never could be sure of it, and yet you *certainly* set it down as *Donaldus Digen*: I am not convinced.” “I send you an inscription from Abbey-dorney church more ancient than any you have given:—AMBROSIUS PIERIS. VIC. GEN. DIOCES. ARDFERT. HUNC TUMULUM SIBI FIERI FECIT, ANNO 1587. Did you give the Society the *fac-simile* of the inscription in Rattoo church [No. 3]? The contracted language is the chief curiosity of it.” My friend then gives a copy of the inscription, which he reads as follows:—“IO[HANNES] DINIGHAN, 1666, × MARG^a EJUS VXOR, HIC JACET.” . . . “You have not copied the inscriptions to the three Roman bishops, or to the friars, in the cathedral [of Ardfert]. The last are curious, as showing how late the order was preserved.”

Dr. Rowan has since supplied me with the following valuable note on the inscription on the pillar of Ardfert abbey (No. 1):—“I send you on another leaf a copy of Sir Richard Colt Hoare’s letter, written after a visit to Ardfert. His is a great name in antiquarian matters, and he was one of the best antiquaries of his day; still, as examination has become more accurate, I venture a suggestion on *his*, namely, that the last line might be made better sense, thus:—‘*orate pro eo*—pray for him.’ This may well be read out of the rather defaced letters, and is a likely sense for the inscription.

¹ A misprint in the newspaper.

'*Dormitor*' might be an office in the monastery, i. e. keeper of the dormitory. It is a very ancient inscription certainly.

[Copy of a letter from Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart].

Stourhead.

SIR—I send you the best solution I can of your inscription; but it is not quite satisfactory to me. I cannot make anything of the letters *HERO*; but if read thus, it would be somewhat intelligible:—

DONALDUS FITZ-BOHEN HEIC
DORMITOR, FECIT HOC OPUS.
ORATE PROCO, A° M.CCCC.LIIII.

DONALD FITZ-BOHEN HERE
SLEEPER, MADE THIS WORK.
PRAY, I RESECH, ANNO 1453.

Sir, your obedient servant,

R. C. HOARE.

Note—We frequently see bad Latin in similar inscriptions.

On the above I would suggest that '*dormitor*' was probably the name of an office in the convent, probably dormitory keeper, and that the letters which Sir R. C. Hoare makes out '*preco*' may well have been '*pro eo*,' and so the inscription would run in the common form—'*pray for him*.'"

The visit of Sir Richard Colt Hoare to Ardfert, above alluded to, is probably that of which an account is given in his "Journal of a Tour in Ireland, A.D. 1806," in which Sir Richard mentions the "Latin inscription," on one of the columns in the nave, "recording (as he was told) some repairs done to the building" (p. 63). The date of this visit, as given in the "Journal," is 11th July, 1806, and if we suppose the letter, of which the above is a copy, to have been written soon after Hoare's return to Stourhead (his seat in Wiltshire), it contains a copy of the inscription now (1853) nearly fifty years old. This is a point of some importance, as the inscription must have been somewhat more legible half a century ago than it is now. The following valuable communication, however, with which I have been favoured by the distinguished Cork antiquary, Richard Sainthill, Esq., to whom it would seem Sir Richard Colt Hoare's letter had been addressed, throws considerable additional light on the matter, and fixes pretty accurately the date of the baronet's letter:—

Cork, 5th January, 1854.

SIR—In reply to your letter of the 3rd inst., I have to say, that being on a visit at Mrs. Croasbie's, Ardfert Abbey, in the autumn of 1830, I attempted to decypher the inscription on the wall of the abbey; and in a communication, which I made to my friend John Gough Nichols, which is published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1831, pages 409-12 of that magazine, respecting Ardfert, I see that I gave my idea of its reading being:—

DONALDES FITZ BOHEN HOC
DORMITOR FECIT H . . O . US (HOC OPUS ?)
ORATE PR' EO A° M.CCCC.LIIII.

Subsequently, understanding that Sir R. C. Hoare had been at Ardfert, I addressed a letter to him, with my reading of the inscription, and requesting his opinion as to its correctness and meaning, to which he favored me with a reply; and this formed part of a very large collection of MSS. which I afterwards made to illustrate the history of the county of Kerry, to assist my friend John James Hickson, solicitor, of Tralee, who purposed reprinting Smith's History of Kerry, with additions and illustrations, Mr. Savage, of Cork, bookseller, undertaking to print. Mr. Hickson's lamented death having put an end to

this, I some years ago gave my whole collection of MSS. to the Rev. A. B. Rowan, of Belmont, near Tralee, hoping that he might do something for the history of Kerry. Among these MSS. is Sir R. C. Hoare's communication to me, of which I have no copy, and can only refer you to Mr. Rowan, if he is not the friend from whom you derive your information. I should suppose that I may have written to the baronet in 1831: I was in London that spring, and spent a good deal of my time searching the MSS. at the British Museum for Kerry history, and I am inclined to think it was then I applied to Sir R. C. Hoare for his opinion respecting it [the inscription]. When I first saw it, it was obscured by moss, &c., &c., and *very hard work* I had to scrub off the accumulated incrustations. My idea is, that the inscription refers to the person who made that evident addition to the abbey. I have not since been at Ardfert; and remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

RICHARD SAINTHILL.

Richard Hitchcock, Esq.

I have since received another valuable letter from Mr. Sainthill, full of curious information respecting Ardfert abbey, and other similar matters; but I regret that this is not the place to introduce the letter, or I would willingly add it here. I regret this the more, from the writer's having assured me that I am "heartily welcome" to make any use I please of his letters to me.

DINGLE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY RICHARD HITCHCOCK.

THE town of Dingle, in the county of Kerry, was at one time a place of considerable importance, and, although now comparatively poor, it yet exhibits many remains of its former greatness. It is the most westerly town in Ireland, beautifully situate on the northern coast of the bay of the same name, an inlet from which forms the harbour, and may be called the capital of the extensive peninsula which comprises the entire barony of Corkaguiny—one of the richest and most interesting districts in Ireland to the antiquary and the lover of wild scenery. The town occupies a hilly slope, and is surrounded by mountains on all sides except that towards the harbour, which here presents the appearance of a lake, the outlet being concealed by a projecting headland. The streets are irregularly disposed, but as there are more than the usual proportion of respectable slated houses, with gardens attached, the town has, from a short distance, a very pleasing appearance.

This district is generally supposed to have been colonized by the Spaniards, who formerly carried on an extensive fishery off the coast, and traded with the inhabitants, who still retain strong indications of their Spanish origin. Smith, writing about a century ago, informs us that "several of the houses were built in the *Spanish* fashion, with

ranges of stone balcony windows, this place being formerly much frequented by ships of that nation, who traded with the inhabitants, and came to fish on this coast; most of them are of stone, with marble door, and window frames: on one is an inscription, signifying, that the house was built by one RICK, *anno* 1563; and on a stone beneath two roses, are carved these words, *AT THE ROSE IS THE BEST WINE*. Many of them have dates on them as old as *Q. Elizabeth's* time, and some earlier."—*Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, pp. 176-7. Few or none of these dates and inscriptions are now visible, being most probably altogether destroyed, or covered over with plaster; but many of the quaint old houses still exist. Smith further informs us (pp. 192-3) that several Spanish merchants *resided* at Dingle, before queen Elizabeth's time, and that they traded with the natives for fish and other kinds of provision, as appears by a tract written by John Dee, entitled "The British Monarchy," in 1576. Smith gives a curious account of such commodities as might then be purchased in Kerry, and such as were usually transported to Spain from the port of Dingle. A comparison of the prices of these with the prices of the same articles at the present day would form a rather curious result.

According to Dr. O'Donovan's edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters* (A.D. 1579, vol. v. p. 1714, *n. z.*), Dingle was formerly called Daingean-Ui-Chuis, i. e. the fortress or fastness of O'Cuis, the ancient Irish proprietor of the place before the English invasion, not of the Husseys, as asserted by Dr. Smith and others. It is probably from this name that the modern term "Dingle-i-couch"¹ is derived. Subsequently, it appears that a castle was built in Dingle by the Hussey family, to whom one of the earls of Desmond had granted a considerable tract of land in the vicinity. On the rebellion and consequent forfeitures of the Desmond family and its adherents, the castle was, with divers lands, granted to the earl of Ormonde, from whom it was purchased by Fitzgerald, knight of Kerry, who also had a castle in this town. No traces of these castles now exist, if we except some of the hewn stones belonging to them built into the modern houses about the town. Queen Elizabeth, in the 28th year of her reign (1585), signed a warrant for the grant of a charter of incorporation to the inhabitants of the town, with privileges similar to the borough of Drogheda, and with a superiority over the harbours of Ventry, Smerwick, and Ferriter's creek; and she gave the inhabitants £300 to wall the place. The charter, however, was not actually granted until the 4th of James I. This charter, which is the only one known, was granted to the "sove-

¹ I believe that the origin of the first part of the name "Dingle-i-couch" may with equal probability be found in the simple meaning of the English word "dingle"—a hollow between two hills, which is partly the situation of the town. In the old

account of Dingle, which follows this introduction, we find the name spelled "Dingenacush"—an evident modification of the Irish name Daingean-Ui-Chuis, above given. The present Irish name of Dingle is simply DAINGEAN.

reign, burgesses, and commonalty," from which it would appear that the corporation was then in existence, probably under the authority of the warrant of Elizabeth. The town, however, under the name of Dingle-i-couch, is found among those that sent members to parliament in the 27th of Elizabeth (1584). The borough sent two representatives to the Irish parliament until the Union, when it was disfranchised, and the entire compensation of £15,000 paid to Richard Boyle Townshend, Esq., several other claims having been disallowed. Traces of the town walls, which appear to have been very thick, may still be seen, particularly near The Grove, at the north side of the town. They seem to have been built with clay mortar, which is still visible.

There was formerly an ancient monastery in Dingle, which was a cell to the abbey of Killagh,¹ near Castlemaine. The old church, which was dedicated to St. James, is said to have been built by the Spaniards: it was originally a very large structure. A part of it, called St. Mary's chapel, was kept in repair until the erection of the present parish church, on the site of the ancient edifice, in 1807. In the church-yard are several ancient inscriptions, amongst which is one to the Fitzgerald family, in Gothic characters, bearing the date 1504. The Roman Catholic chapel of Dingle is a handsome and spacious modern edifice. Adjoining is a convent for nuns of the Presentation order, established here in 1829.

A residence of nearly three years in Dingle and several visits since made to the town and surrounding country enable me to write pretty accurately of both; and I hope it will not be considered a foible in me, if I inform my readers, that some of the happiest days of my life have been passed in the remote town and neighbourhood of Dingle. No wonder, then, that I should like to write of the place.

The country around Dingle, as before stated, is full of deep interest to the antiquary and the lover of the beauties of nature. To the former, because on this coast had the first landing been effected by the great Milesian expedition from Spain, some centuries before our era; and from this quarter had that civilized colony diffused itself throughout the island. The historical fact of the expedition landing on this western barony of Kerry is amply verified by a multiplicity of remains bearing uncommon marks of the remotest antiquity.² Almost at every step do we meet the Pagan cemetery, the open fire

¹ See Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 304.

² I am aware that Keating and others after him place this landing at *Inbher Sceine*, supposed to be the present Kenmare river; but I believe this is now one of the doubtful points in Irish history. Indeed, Smith, writing nearly a century ago, mentions, on the authority of Ptolemy, two other places in Kerry, either of which is quite as likely to have been the scene of the Milesian landing as the river of Kenmare.

These are, the bays of Tralee and Castlemaine, between which, it is worth remarking, the peninsula of Corkaguiny shoots out into the Atlantic, indented by the deep inlets of Brandon and Smerwick on the one side, and by those of Dingle and Ventry on the other, besides several smaller ones. The following letter, from my collection, just occurs to me, as bearing a little on this point, and I gladly introduce it here. It is from the pen of a gentleman and Irish

altar, the bending cromleac, and the Ogham pillar with puzzling inscriptions, in age and mystery perhaps emulating the undefined relics at Persepolis. Here, indeed, would the antiquary be tempted to designate this western "tongue of land" as the Baal-berc of Ireland, if not of western Europe. I sometime since amused myself by making out, from the Ordnance Survey maps, and other sources of my own, a tabular list of the principal remains of antiquity in the barony of Corkaguiny, and I found them to be as follows:—eleven stone cahers;¹ three carns; forty calluraghs, or obsolete burial-grounds, where unbaptized children only are interred; ten castles; eighteen artificial caves; twenty-one churches in ruins, and nine church sites; two hundred and eighteen cloghauns, or bee-hive-shaped stone houses; sixteen cromleacs; twelve large stone crosses; three hundred and seventy-six earthen forts, or raths; one hundred and thirteen gallauns, or immense rude standing stones; fifty-four monumental pillars, most of them bearing Ogham inscriptions; fifteen oratories; nine peni-

scholar, well versed in the history and antiquities of Kerry, the Rev. John Casey, of Killarney, and was written in October, 1849:—

"In answer to Mr. Hitchcock's question, I can aver, that the ivory antique was found at *amam na Feime*, the river falling into the sea hard by captain Fitzgerald's, at Murragane, or Brandon Lodge, whose ancestors for many generations were proprietors of this and the surrounding district, and very probably a member of the same family was the owner of the antique.

"Very convenient to this spot is *Cúis Dúinn*, where the leader of the Milesian expedition was cast ashore, who gave name to that [Corkaguiny] and the two next baronies, and of course the three oldest named baronies in Ireland. This *Tig-Dhuinn* of antient Irish history is at present called Ballyduinn. Contiguous thereto a grave-yard was discovered a few years back, covered, as I was informed, by the spring tides; would recommend Mr. Hitchcock to visit the locality at his next convenient opportunity, as I could give him further information, not alone of this but of other places skirting along Brandon Hill all the way to Tralee.

"JOHN CASEY."

The Ballyduinn mentioned above, or, as it is spelled on the Ordnance Survey map, Ballyguin, is the name of a townland and village situate at the head of Brandon bay—a spot well adapted for the landing of the Milesian expedition. Shortly after receiving the above letter, I made inquiry concerning the grave-yard, of an intelligent coast-guard then stationed in the immediate

vicinity, but since dead, and he wrote to me as follows:—

"Brandon, 22nd Nov. 1849.

"DEAR SIR—In reply to your favour of the 15th ultimo, relative to the discovery of a grave-yard near this place, I beg to say, that there is *such* on the strand near Brandon-quay, between two sand-banks. The spring tides often cover a part of it, and the strong gales of wind blow the sand over it. There is now nothing to be seen but a few stones stuck up here and there. I often inspected the said place, but could find nothing remarkable or worth noticing; being informed that a priest by the name of Harrington, some twenty-eight years ago, found human skulls and bones of the largest description, and fragments of coffins, &c.

"I should have answered your inquiries before, but, being ill this some time, was unable to do so.

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Yours truly,

"J. DANTELL."

I regret to state, that I have not since had an opportunity of visiting the grave-yard, so invitingly mentioned by Mr. Casey, and described by Mr. Daniell; but I trust that I may be able sometime to examine the place. It is not marked on the Ordnance Survey map.

¹ Cahercullaun, about four miles to the north of Dingle, is one of these, and tradition says that it occupies the site originally intended for that town. Lady Chatterton gives an interesting description of Cahercullaun in her *Rambles in the South of Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 173-5.

tential stations; sixty-six wells, many of them bearing the name of some saint; and twenty-nine miscellaneous remains. This list, of course, only applies to such antiquities as have had some remains of them existing about five years ago, when I compiled the list; but I earnestly hope that none, or at least but very few of them have been since destroyed. How many more fine remains have been lost during centuries of blind fanaticism and internal warfare! Such as the list is, I venture to say that no other part of Ireland, of the same size as Corkaguiny, can number so many and such a variety of ancient remains, and in such a fine state of preservation, as are to be found in that interesting barony. Since making out the above list, I have found in lady Chatterton's very interesting *Rambles in the South of Ireland*, second edition, vol. i. p. 189, an engraving of a cromleac on Ballyferriter hill, which may probably be added to the number already mentioned; but I regret to say that this cromleac, or, as lady Chatterton calls it, "sun altar," does not now exist, the stones which composed it having been broken and carried away for building purposes, as if there were no others in the neighbourhood! It is, however, fortunate that we have even a small engraving of the monument preserved to us. I may also take this opportunity of stating, that I have made no mention, in the above list, of the "stone circles," so numerous in Corkaguiny. They are to be found in all parts of the barony, and no doubt are of very remote antiquity. That this district was anciently remarkable for cultivation, fertility, and piety, is, I think, sufficiently proved by the numerous remains of churches and other vestiges of civilization which still remain there. Dr. Smith, in his "Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry," published nearly a hundred years ago, enumerates no fewer than twenty parish churches in Corkaguiny (p. 172); and it has been seen above, that the remains of many more than this number of churches still exist there. Smith seems to conclude from this fact, that the barony of Corkaguiny was formerly better inhabited than at present,¹ each parish having had its respective church, most of which were very large, as appears by their ruins. Another proof to which he refers of the barony having been formerly better peopled than at present, is the fact, that several of the mountains, though of but poor and stony soil, are marked by old enclosures and other signs of former culture on their sides even to the very tops.

By the lover of wild and romantic scenery, as well as by the invalid, Dingle and the country around will be found equal to, if not surpassing any other place in Ireland, in peculiar attractions and salubrity. To be sure (I suppose because of its remoteness and the primitive simplicity of its inhabitants), Dingle has not yet been honoured

¹ There is no doubt of this fact. The histories of the Desmond wars in the end of the sixteenth century, from 1578 to 1580, attest the flourishing state of the district

(the fertile barony, as its name signifies it to have been) at the commencement of these wars, and its desolate condition when they were ended.

with visits from many of those tourists, who might write laudatory books on it, such as have been written on Killarney, Wicklow, and some other places in Ireland; but let persons of delicate constitution, or with mind and heart alive to all that is lovely in nature, reside but one short summer or autumn in Dingle, and I am bold to say, that they will leave the place with both mind and body in healthier and happier condition than when the party first arrived in Dingle, and with a feeling towards the people of that town and district which can never be effaced from the memory. To use the words of a distinguished geologist who visited this part of Kerry some years ago, after speaking of "the variety and beauty of the wild flowers" which adorn the sides of the mountains there, he proceeds:—"But if the lovers of the picturesque beauties of nature knew but half the glorious scenery that is to be found among them [the mountains], this extreme point of western Europe would be more frequently visited and acknowledged as equal to any of the favourite haunts of tourists. If we walk along the shores we see mural precipices of eight hundred feet in height, opposed as barriers to the vast Atlantic, whose waters, in their calmest mood, break against the rocks with a violence which conveys an idea of the power and strength of the ocean, hardly appreciable by those who are acquainted only with the channel seas. If we ascend the mountains we are charmed with the wildness of their rocky defiles, the richness of their flowery vegetation, exceeding anything I have elsewhere seen, and the depth at which the lakes are embosomed in the midst of them. The precipices over Connor lake rise to about fifteen hundred feet above its surface; from the summit¹ a panorama is exhibited, of which I know no equal. To the north, the broad mouth of the Shannon, flanked by Kerry and Loop heads, and the distant peaks of the Bunabola or Cunnemara mountains; to the west, the spacious Atlantic with the Blasket islands, thrown out as it were a breakwater against the violence of its surges; to the south, the tumultuous mass of the Iveragh mountains from the serrated Reeks to the island of Valentia, and in the far distance Hungry-hill, and the southern headlands of Cork and Kerry."² Another writer says:—"From Connor Hill, to the north-east of Dingle, on the road to Castle-Gregory, a splendid view, embracing both sides of the peninsula, is obtained. On one side is seen the bay of Dingle, as far as the island of Valentia, with the great Skellig rock in the distance, and the town and harbour of Dingle lying immediately beneath; and on the other side, Brandon bay and several bold headlands. On each side are mountains, with wide and deep valleys intervening, and numerous tarns or small lakes lying in the hollows of the hills."

But, in my zeal for the antiquities and natural scenery of Cork-aguiny, as they now present themselves, I must not depart too far

¹ I suppose of Brandon Hill.

² Charles William Hamilton, Esq., in the

first volume of the *Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin*, p. 277.

from the heading which introduces this article. I could willingly linger amid these subjects, but time and space forbid me.

I feel, however, that, after the hurried and I fear imperfect sketch of ancient and modern Dingle which I have attempted to give, it is now time to introduce what I consider to be a very curious account of the town, its inhabitants, and customs, as they existed three centuries ago, and which I trust will not be without its interest for many of the readers of our Transactions. The account is taken from "the voiage of the right honorable *George Erle of Cumberland* to the *Azores*,¹ &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier master *Edward Wright*"—as given in "the Second Volvme of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the *English Nation*, made by Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-east parts of the World, at any time within the compasse of these 1600. yeres. By Richard Hacklvyt, Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford." Part ii. pp. 165-6; folio: London, 1599. Hakluyt's collections for the history of British voyages and discoveries are now much valued, both for their antiquity, scientific accuracy, and rarity; and we even have a "Hakluyt Society," instituted on the 15th of December, 1846, for the purpose of printing the most rare and valuable of these collections.² With the view of rendering the following extract the more acceptable, I have here and there added a brief illustrative note.

"The first of December at night we spake with another *English* ship, and had some beere out of her, but not sufficient to carry vs into *England*, so that wee were constrained to put into *Ireland*, the winde so seruing.

"The next day we came to an anker, not far from the S. *Kelmes* vnder the land & winde, where we were somewhat more quiet, but (that being no safe harbour to ride in) the next morning wee went about to weigh anker, but hauing some of our men hurt at the *Cap-sten*, wee were faine to giue ouer and leaue it behinde, holding on our course to *Ventre* hauen,³ where wee safely arriued the same day, that

¹ The Azores, or Western Islands, are a group of islands in the Atlantic, between 25° and 30° W. long. and 37° and 40° N. lat., 900 miles west of Portugal. They are nine in number, and are seen at a great distance, one of them having a very high mountain, called the Pico, or the Peak of the Azores.

² The account of the earl of Cumberland's voyage, taken from Hakluyt, is also given in the first volume of Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, pp. 804-19 (4to. Lond. 1808); but, not to speak of one or two verbal differences, I prefer Hakluyt's old spelling and black-letter text. This is here printed in Roman type, and Hakluyt's

Roman words are here in *italics*, to distinguish them. The earl of Cumberland's voyage to the Azores took place in the year 1589.

³ This harbour is exposed to the S.W. winds, but on all other sides it is sheltered by lofty mountains. The strand (in Irish *fhionn trāide*), being remarkable for its fine white sand, has given name to the parish of Ventry, and is justly considered to be one of the finest strands in Ireland. It is further celebrated as being the scene of the romantic story, entitled *Cat Fhionn Trāide*, i.e. the Battle of Ventry, a correct version of the account of which, from a vellum MS. of the fourteenth century, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, I am glad to learn, is now

place being a very safe and conuenient harbor for vs, that now wee might sing as we had iust cause, *They that goe downe to the Sea,*¹ &c.

"So soone as we had ankered here my Lord went soorthwith to shoare, and brought presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as Muttons, pigges, hennes, &c. to refresh his company withall. Notwithstanding himselfe had lately bene very weake, and tasted of the same extremitie that his Company did: For in the time of our former want, hauing a little fresh water left him remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunke and dried vp. Soone after the sicke and wounded men were carried to the next principall Towne, called *Dingenacush*, being about three miles distant from the foresaide hauen, where our shippe roade, to the Eastwards, that there they might be the better refreshed, and had the Chirurgians dayly to attend vpon them. Here we wel refreshed our selues whilest the *Irish* harpe sounded sweetely in our eares,² and here we, who for the former extremities were in maner halfe dead, had our liues (as it were) restored vnto vs againe.

"This *Dingenacush* is the chiefe Towne in al that part of *Ireland*, it cōsisteth but of one maine streete, from whence some smaller doe proceede on either side.³ It hath had gates (as it seemeth) in times past at either ende to open and shut as a Towne of warre, and a Castle also. The houses are very strongly built with thicke stone walles, and narrow windowes like vnto Castles: for as they confessed, in time of trouble, by reason of the wilde *Irish* or otherwise, they vsed their houses for their defence as Castles. The castle and all the houses in the Towne, saue foure, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Erle of *Desmond*. These foure houses fortified themselues against him, and withstood him and all his power perforce, so as he could not winne them.

"There remaineth yet a thicke stone wall that passeth ouerthwart the midst of the streete which was a part of their fortification.⁴ Notwithstanding whilest they thus defended themselues, as some of them yet aliue confessed, they were driuen to as great extremities as the *Iewes*, besieged by *Titus* the *Romane* Emperour, insomuch that they were constrained to eat dead mens carcases for hunger. The Towne is nowe againe somewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they haue no chimneys in their houses, excepting them of the better sort, so that the

announced for publication by the Oasianic Society. How beautiful to walk along this strand on a fine moonlight evening, when all around is stillness, broken only by the gentle ripple of the ever active waves on the sand! How sweet then to muse on the days gone by here! A pier has been lately built at the west side of the harbour by the Board of Fisheries, which will prove of great service to the poor fishermen and others in the neighbourhood.

¹ Psalm cvii. 23.

² This is exceedingly interesting, as showing how late the Irish harp was in use in this remote district.

³ After the lapse of nearly three hundred years, this is still the form of the town, and the principal street is now literally named the "Main-street." This passage also shows the importance of ancient Dingle.

⁴ Remains of this wall are still (1853) to be seen, as before mentioned.

snoake was very troublesom to vs, while we continued there. Their fewell is turfes, which they haue very good, and whinnes or furies. There groweth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as also want of lime (as they reported) which they are faine to fetch from farre, when they haue neede thereof.¹ But of stones there is store ynough, so that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other; and the ground seemeth to be nothing else within but rockes and stones:² Yet it is very fruitfull and plentiful of grasse, and graine, as may appeare by the abundance of kine and cattel there:³ insomuch that we had good muttons (though somewhat lesse then ours in *England*) for two shillings or fiae groates a piece,⁴ good pigges and hennes for 3. pence a piece.

"The greatest want is industrious, painefull, and husbandly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common sort, if they can prouide sufficient to serue from hand to mouth, take no further care."⁵

"Of money (as it seemeth) there is very small store amongst them, which perhaps was the cause that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our comming thither.

"Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yeerely rent.⁶ There are Mines of Alome, Tinne, brasse, and yron.⁷ Stones

¹ There is no lime-stone in the barony of Corkaguiny. See a letter from the Rev. A. B. Rowan, D.D. (one of our members), in the fifth volume of the "Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin," describing the curious geological phenomenon of immense lime-stone boulders occurring in the bed of a river at the eastern extremity of the barony. A similar geological curiosity, near Kenmare, is mentioned by Mr. Windele in his *Notices of Cork and its Vicinity*, pp. 334-5; ed. 1848.

² Verily, there are stones enough in Corkaguiny. I believe the entire of Connor Hill, at least of one side of it, is composed of immense layers of rock. The part where some of these overhang the new road is awfully grand. Above the beholder are mountains of rock, seeming as if about to fall and crush him to pieces; while beneath is a broad and steep valley, the bottom of which is studded with the fragments of rock already fallen, and lying round some small lakes. Of all the mountain scenery about Dingle, I know of no place to equal this and the top of Brandon Hill on a clear day.

³ I have seen wheat growing in spots in this barony, which, to look at them at another season of the year, one could

scarcely believe that they were so fertile; and yet the poor people are in great want of the common necessities of life.

⁴ The Blasket islands are celebrated for fattening sheep, and the flavour of the mutton they produce is excellent.

⁵ This is in a measure a mistake, at least as applied to the present inhabitants: for during a three years' residence in Dingle, when I have had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the industrial habits of the people, I found them to be hardworking and industrious. I have seen men and women in Corkaguiny do work which is only fit for beasts of burden! and surely the reasonable being who can do this is not to be stigmatized for not being "industrious" and "painefull." In any place where there is sad want of spirited and considerate landed proprietors, possessing some amount of capital, and where the men are, consequently, badly fed and badly used, there cannot be that natural desire for work and improvement of their several holdings, which under other circumstances will surely follow.

⁶ Very different are the rents now—from £2 to £5 being the average rent per acre.

⁷ There must be some exaggeration in the enumeration of these mines, as I have

wee sawe there as cleare as *Christall*, naturally squared like *Diamonds*.¹

"That part of the Countrey is all ful of great mountaines and hills, from whence came running downe the pleasant streames of sweete fresh running water. The naturall hardnesse of that Nation appeareth in this, that their small children runne vsually in the midst of Winter vp and downe the streetes bare-foote and bare-legged, with no other apparell (many times) saue onely a mantell to couer their nakednesse.

"The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soueraigne, who hath the same office and authoritie among them that our Maiors haue with vs in *England*, and hath his Sergeants to attend vpon him, and beare the Mace before him as our Maiors.

"We were first intertained at the Soueraignes house, which was one of those 4. that withstood the Erle of *Desmond* in his rebellion. They haue the same forme of Common prayer word for word in Latin, that we haue here in *England*. Upon the Sunday the Soueraigne commeth into the Church with his Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe euery man by himselfe priuately to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Minister beginneth prayers.

"Their maner of baptizing differeth something from ours: part of the seruice belonging thereto is repeated in Latin, and part in *Irish*. The Minister taketh the child in his hands, and first dippeth it back-

never heard of such having ever existed in the barony of Corkaguiny. Smith, the historian of the county, makes no mention of them. Yet I may observe, in illustration of the reference to "yron," that I have in my possession a Dingle tradesman's token, bearing the following inscription:—*ROBY . CREANE . DINGLE-COVCH . IRON . WORKE*. See Dr. Aquilla Smith's Supplement to his Catalogue of Tradesmen's Tokens, No. 29, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. v. appendix vii.

¹ These "stones cleare as christall," or, as they are now called, "Kerry stones" and "Kerry diamonds," are to be found on the sides and tops of many of the Kerry mountains. Numerous are the joyous evenings which I have spent collecting them with my school-fellows in days now, alas! gone for ever! I have collected some large and very beautiful "Kerry diamonds" in the autumn of the year 1852, a selection from which I have presented to a lady friend in Dublin. I have also forwarded to our Honorary Secretary, the Rev. James Graves, a few specimens, which I hope are bright enough

to illustrate the statement above made in the text. The Kerry diamonds appear to have been formerly held in much repute as an article of dress, as we learn from an interesting letter in the first volume of that curious old publication, the *Anthologia Hibernica*, p. 125, where it is stated that Thomas, the first earl of Kerry, had a passion for wearing Kerry-stone buttons, of which he had several suits set in the brilliant way. See also Croker's *Researches in the South of Ireland*, p. 323. The magnificent rock Kerry diamonds are principally obtained from the cliffs and caves of the western coast of the county and the Blasket islands. I have been informed that some of the coast-guards of the western stations here have sent away chests full of these rock diamonds to England. Several fine examples of the rock Kerry diamond were to be seen in the Great Irish Exhibition of 1853, and on the chimney-piece of the room in which I now write I have a small but not very good specimen of the rock diamond procured from the western part of the ancient "kingdom of Kerry."

wards, and then forwards, ouer head and eares into the cold water in the midst of Winter, whereby also may appeare their naturall hardnesse, (as before was specified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Parishioners together, but they expect till their Soueraigne come, and then they that haue any deuotion follow him.

"They make their bread all in cakes, and, for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the towne.

"We had of them some 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the *Victory*,¹ but it proued like a present purgation to them that tooke it, so that we chose rather to drinke water then it.

"The 20. of December we loosed frō hence, hauing well provided our selues of fresh water, and other things necessary, being accompanied with sir *Edw. Dennie*, his Lady, and two yong sonnes.

"This day in the morning my Lord going ashoare to dispatch away speedily some fresh water that remained for the *Victory*, the winde being very faire for vs, brought vs newes that there were 60. *Spanish* prizes taken and brought to *England*. For two or three dayes wee had a faire winde, but afterwards it scanted so, that (as I said before) we were faine to keepe a cold *Christmas* with The Bishop and his clearkes."²

The original family name of the earls of Cumberland was Ponce, until Walter, the second son of Richard Fitz-Ponce, having obtained Clifford Castle, in Herefordshire, with his wife Margaret, daughter of Ralph de Toney, assumed thence that surname. From this Walter, the earl who undertook the voyage to the Azores was descended, and of him Burke writes:—"Earl George was educated at the University of Cambridge, and attaching himself to the study of mathematics, imbibed so decided a passion for navigation, that he became soon afterwards eminent as a naval commander, having undertaken at his own expense several voyages for the public service; but *that*, and a passion for tournaments, horse-racing, and similar pursuits, made such inroads upon his fortune, that he was said to have wasted more of his estate than any one of his ancestors."—*Extinct and Dormant Peerages*, 3rd ed. 1846, p. 127.

[In illustration of the above very curious extract, Mr. Hitchcock sent the following remark from the letter of the gentleman who had directed his attention to it:—"It is singular that to this day—or, at least, fourteen years ago, for I have been out of Dingle so long—the bakers have still the custom, which I believe is peculiar to Dingle, of baking for a tenth part of the bread. Then the description of the 'Kerry stones,' the 'streams of water running down the streets,' and the price of fowl, might nearly stand for an account of matters as they now are. When I first went to Dingle, thirteen eggs were readily had for a penny."—Eds.]

¹ The name of the earl of Cumberland's ship.

² A cluster of rocks off the coast of Pembrokehire.

OF HAWKS AND HOUNDS IN IRELAND.

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

TIME works such changes, both in the habits of men and in the appearance of a country, that to appreciate the history of former days one must endeavour to transport the mind from the present, and encompass it with the circumstances of the past. In this effort we have not merely to overcome the difficulty arising from "old customs changed, old manners gone," but from such a change in the aspect of the country, that were the actors of former scenes to return, they could scarce recognise their former haunts.

Ireland of old—indeed up to one hundred and fifty years ago—was a thinly peopled country covered (not with large forests, unless in the King's and Queen's Counties, known as Leix, Offally, and Ely O'Carroll, but) with scattered woods and extensive plains.—*Fynes Morryson's Itinerary*, part iii. p. 160. Although without parks of fallow deer—for Sir John Davys (*Discovery*, pp. 124-5) observes, that the earl of Ormonde's park, at Kilkenny, was the only deer-park in Ireland—it abounded in red deer, like those of Scotland or of Kilkenny, which latter are but the relics of herds that roamed over hill and plain in former times. The survivors of this race have retired to the peninsula of Kerry and the wilds of Donegal jutting into the Atlantic, where a few may still be seen in those districts, the most remote from the cultivated haunts of men, and their last foot-hold in this island, so long their peculiar home.

In the emblematic title-page to Sir James Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland*, published so late as the middle of the seventeenth century, Hibernia is represented as a kind of Diana, standing in the foreground of a woody scene, beside her a large deer-hound. In the distance are the deer, and in front a large tree swarming with bees, to indicate that Ireland was celebrated for her deer, her race of gigantic dogs, and for her abundance of wild honey. But her woods also harboured the wolf, and were full of martins in such numbers that lord Strafford could promise archbishop Laud from out of the woods of Shillelagh, which he had wrung from the Byrns of Wicklow, enough of martins' skins to make a lining for his grace's winter gown.

Let us then imagine ourselves at the distance of some three hundred years from the present, and from the leads of some neighbouring castle survey the scene. Looking down from the parapet, would be seen a green and swelling plain extending from the very walls of the bawn till it reached the neighbouring hills or wood—crossed only by some bridle-paths—and between, at distant intervals, the towers of some neighbouring castle, or the embattled wall and steeple of some abbey, embosomed in trees; or, let it be here in Kilkenny on some hunting morn, from the great tower of the castle. Waiting

outside the great gate would be found the huntsmen and the dogs. In the court of honour Piers earl of Ossory, with a gallant company, getting ready for the field. How unlike the shooting parties and battues of the present day! Fowling-pieces and shot-belts were then unknown, and gun-powder but little used. The long bow and the cross bow were the soldier's arms. As in the old ballad of Robin Hood—

No waring guns were then in use,
They dream't of no such thing;
Our Englishmen in fight did use
The gallant grey-goose wing.

With these, sending their arrows as thick as hail, they conquered at Cressy and Poitiers. In those days they followed the chase with hawk and hound, and with a magnificence of which we should obtain but a poor conception, from even the best equipped trains of the present day. There awaited the earl of Ossory, as we suppose him riding out with all his company from the gate, no less than sixty deer-hounds with their four and twenty huntsmen—for such was the number both of men and dogs used by the earl, as we shall see from an authority subsequently quoted. These deer hounds, no doubt, ran by sight more than scent; and they were held, in twos and threes in leashes, by hunters who were posted at different points to watch and let slip the dogs, as the deer might outrun the dogs first loosed. We can imagine the noise and joyousness of such a train leaving Kilkenny castle, and may, if we like, fancy we hear the earl jesting with his followers in Irish, for then, and long after, our Anglo-Irish nobles used the native tongue. Numerous, however, as was the earl's train, his hunting equipage had not the magnificence of, though it was no doubt more hearty than, those of men of like rank on the Continent and in England.

And this leads one to consider the passion of the feudal nobles for the chase: more especially in France, Germany, and England, where they pursued it with a sumptuousness such as seems never to have been exhibited in Ireland. The extent and origin of their engrossing desire for this sport will be best appreciated by considering, in Monsieur Guizot's manner, in his *History of Civilization in France*, the condition of the feudal proprietor—a condition, he says, which though general in Europe, was probably unknown to all ancient times. He selects his castle, as the type and essence of the feudal system. Those massive walls, contracted chambers, and looped turrets, the parapets, battlements, and advancing barbicans; these were not the whims and caprices of wealth, but the necessity of his condition. He and his brother-adventurers, dwelling each on the property of some native, whom they had deprived of his lands and liberties, dwelt in the midst of dangers. Isolated, and obliged to depend on his own resources, he had need of fosse and tower against the attempts of the conquered race. And what was his life, cooped within this dark and

narrow castle, without books, and without society! It was wearisome in the extreme—hence the absolute necessity for out-of-door life and enjoyment, and that overwhelming passion for the chase.

It was to gratify this taste that William Rufus turned thirty miles along the southern coast of England, near his royal palace of Winchester, into a hunting forest, dispeopling sixty villages, besides monopolizing the right of sporting over all the kingdom. And when the Norman nobles won the freedom of hunting on their own estates, they considered this liberty as one of the liberties of England, and secured it by the Great Charter; for it was only on the confirmation of Magna Charta by king Henry III., that the clauses relating to the forest were first thrown into a separate charter, making the *Charta de Foresta* (Reeve's *History of the English Law*, c. v. p. 231). Some notion of the strictness with which they had been previously bound, may be obtained from the 9th and 12th chapters, whereby it was first permitted to every freeman to agist his own woods, i. e. to feed his cattle there, and to have liberty to take the eyries of hawks, eagles, and herons found there (*Id.* p. 255). But while they broke up the king's monopoly in favour of themselves, they continued it as regarded those beneath them, and enacted such severe laws, that in the matter just above mentioned they made it felony for any to steal hawks' nests, a statute which was only repealed within the present century. They forbade any under the degree of gentleman to intermeddle with vert or venison; and each Norman baron became after the model of their earlier kings, a little tyrant in his own fief, with his verderers and foresters, as they then called their game-keepers. From the king downwards to the pettiest baron, his hawks and his hounds and his equipage for the chase became the objects of the greatest parade. And so throughout the feudal nobility of Europe.

The rolls of Close Writs, in the Tower of London, afford curious evidence of the taste of our early kings for falconry. Thus (in the 14th year of king John, A. D. 1213), we have the king's writ to the sheriff of Dorsetshire accompanying three gire-falcons sent to be mewed in that county, and directing him to find whatever may be required by Robin de Hauville their keeper, with his horse and man, and to furnish him with young pigeons' and swine's flesh for the gire-falcons, and once a week fowls' flesh; the cost to be accounted to him at the exchequer.¹

With another writ (21st March, 16th king John), the king sends to John Fitz-Hugh, by William de Merc and another, three gire-falcons and "Gibbun the gire-falcon, than which," he adds, "we have no better;" and one falcon-gentle, and directs that they be put in mew and, for their food, be provided with plump goats and occasionally good hens, and once a week with hare's flesh; the cost of their

¹ Printed Calendar of Close Writs, in Tower of London, p. 118.

keep and the wages of Spark, William de Merc's man, to be repaid at the exchequer.¹

In the following reign, on the 21st September, A.D. 1219 (in the third year of Henry III.), the sheriff of Northampton is ordered to supply with all necessities Walter de Hauville, during his stay at Northampton, to "ensaim" Blakeman the king's gire-falcon, and to make him fly three or four times a week.²

And in the following year the same sheriff is apprised that the king sends Thomas de Weston with his two gire-falcons; namely, Blakeman and the foolish falcon, and three grey-hounds, and Haukinus de Hauville with Le Refuse the king's gire-falcon, and two grey-hounds, who are all to be furnished with necessities on the king's account.³

It has been remarked as a trait of the manners of the age, that Harold of England is represented in the first scene of the Bayeux tapestry, which describes the events of the conquest, as embarking on his visit to William of Normandy, with a dog under his arm and his hawk on his fist. In like manner it is curious to find, that the first chapter in the history of the conquest of Ireland, opens with a hawking scene. In the contemporary account given by Giraldus Cambrensis, he describes king Henry II., then going on his first visit to Ireland, as weather-bound for some weeks at Pembroke, the scene of the following incident; and it evinces the taste of that age, that so accomplished a writer as Giraldus, and one so familiar with the best authors and best company of the times, should pause to narrate it:—"Whilest the king laie there," says Giraldus, "he had great pleasure in hawking, and as he was walking abroad with a goshawke of Norwaie on his fist, he had espied a falcon sitting upon a rocke; and as he went about the rock to view and behold him, his goshawke hauing also espied the falcon, bated unto him [as they describe the hawk's moving of its head on getting sight of its game] and therewith the king let her flie. The falcon seeing hir selfe thus beset, taketh also wing; and albeit her flight was slow at the first, yet at length she maketh wing and mounteth up of a great height: and taking the aduantage of the goshawke, hir adversarie, commeth down with all hir might, and striking hir she claue hir backe asunder, and fell downe dead at the king's foot: wherat the king and all they that were then present had great maruell. And the king hauing good liking and being in loue with the falcon, did yearlie at the breeding and disclosing time send thither for them: for in all his land there was not a better or more hardie hawk."⁴

Though Ireland never seems to have been cursed with forest or game laws, at least to the extent that England was, our gentry,

¹ Printed *Calendar of Close Writs in Tower of London*, p. 192.

² Printed *Calendar of Close Writs in Tower of London*, p. 400.

³ Printed *Calendar of Close Writs in Tower of London*, p. 412.

⁴ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Hooker's translation, apud *Holinshed*, book i. chap. xxx.

both native and Anglo-Irish, were ardently attached to the chase. For this they had peculiar advantages in the extent of uninclosed grounds which gave scope for hunting. How extensively they followed it may be inferred from the hunting retinue of the earl of Ossory in the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign. In 1525 he is accused by the earl of Kildare (who as we shall find did the like himself) of taking coigne and livery of all the king's subjects in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, not only for his horsemen, kerne, and galloglass, for his masons, carpenters, and tailors being in his own work, but also for his sundry hunts, that is to say, twenty-four persons with sixty grey-hounds for deer hunting, another number of men and dogs to hunt the hare, and another number to hunt the martin, all at the charges of the king's subjects—meat, drink, and money.¹

But this was a charge merely made of rivalry, for it seems to have been the common custom of the Anglo-Irish nobles adopted no doubt from the practices of the native chieftains, who though they took no rent, for amongst them there was no such thing as tenure, yet took it out of them in other ways—living upon them in fact, doing them the honour of coshering with them, as they called visiting the inferior members of their clan, with their wives and families, including horses and horse-boys, and eating them out of house and home.

The earls of Kildare and Ossory followed the same practice of visiting their Irish equals, the O'Mores, the O'Connors, the O'Carrols, and others, putting up at their houses with their sons and daughters, all of them no doubt with good appetites, "*gens bien endentés*," their horses and grooms being quartered the while on the O'Mores' or the O'Carrols' dependants. To such an extent did they carry this jovial, social life, that, according to the report made to Henry VIII. on the state of Ireland, the earls of Kildare and Ossory with their wives and families and trains, lived half the year in the houses of the Irish gentry or at monasteries, which then stood in place of inns.²

It was of course part of this system that the hounds should be quartered on the neighbourhood, in like manner, when these nobles went a hunting and visited their Irish neighbours. And the earl of Kildare did it no less than the earl of Ossory, for we find in the report of the commissioners sent to inquire into the condition of Ireland in 1540, that when Kildare, Poer, or Ossory hunted, their dogs were supplied with bread and milk or butter.³ This, be it remembered, was shortly after the discovery of America, and before the introduction of the potato, and does not imply anything of waste or extravagance, as the like practice would at the present day.

But they had dogs for other hunts besides the deer, hare, and martin. Ireland from the earliest period abounded with wolves; and

¹ *State Papers, temp. Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 121.

² *State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 185.

³ *State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 511, n.

the country was furnished with a peculiar race of wolf-dogs, celebrated through the world for size and courage; and we shall see a patent of Henry VIII.'s granting some of these dogs yearly to some of the grandees of Spain as a princely gift.¹ The gentry seem to have been peculiarly attached to their dogs of this race, of which there is curious evidence in an order of the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland during the Commonwealth, when the wolves had increased so alarmingly, in consequence of the desolations, that they were making prey of the orphans whose parents had perished in the wars or through famine. This order, which makes some provision, or rather solicits charity for the distressed Irish, describes "the great multitudes of poor swarming in all parts of the nation, occasioned by the devastations of the country, insomuch that frequently some are found starved in the highways, and many times poor children who lost their parents are found fed upon by ravening wolves."² At this sad period, the gentry had just laid down their arms and were embarking in great numbers for Spain, "forced from their pleasing fields and native home," and, as a solace in their misfortunes, seem to have resolved that "their faithful dogs should bear them company," which caused the issuing of the following order, made, it will be observed, in the castle of Kilkenny, the council being then on a tour in the provinces. It is headed—

DECLARATION AGAINST TRANSPORTING WOLF-DOGS.

For as much as we are credibly informed that wolves do much increase, and that some of the enemy's party who have laid down arms and have liberty to go beyond sea, and others, do attempt to carry away several such great dogs as are commonly called wolf-dogs, whereby the breed of them, which is useful for destroying of wolves, would, if not prevented, speedily decay. These are therefore to prohibit all persons from exporting any of the said dogs out of this Kingdom, and searchers and other officers of the Customs in the several ports and creeks of this dominion, are strictly required to seize and make stop of all such dogs, and deliver them either to the common huntsman appointed for the precinct where they are seized upon, or to the governor of the said precinct.—Dated at Kilkenny, 27th April, 1652.

There is less evidence of the extent to which falconry was practised by the Irish. It may be that the Irish gentry of Milesian race, one of whose peculiar features it was to despise all that bore the appearance of luxury and pomp,³ deemed this expensive pastime not worth the care and cost. But though this national trait may have kept the Irish from following the common custom of Europe, it is not to be supposed that the greater Anglo-Irish nobles, allied to the nobi-

¹ These would seem to have been the dogs that supplied Chaucer with his image of those that accompanied the king of Thrace on his entry into Thebes:—

Ten brace and more of greyhounds, snowy, fair,
And tall as stags, ran loose and coursed about
his chair,
A match for pards in flight, in grappling for the
bear."

see *Palamon and Arcite*, Dryden's version, book iii.

² Order of 12th May, 1653, quoted from the Council Book of the Commonwealth, by Hardiman in his edition of *Iar-Connaught*, p. 181.

³ Staniburst *de Rebus Hibern.* A.D. 1532, preface.

lity of England and frequenters of the king's court, and therefore, familiar with the habits of the higher classes of English society, could have been without their hawking train. Accordingly, we find a statute passed in the reign of king Edward II., creating the penalty of forfeiture on those who much aggrieved the common people and wasted and destroyed their lands by sending men, horses, dogs, and birds to sojourn in their houses.¹ This country, indeed, was early celebrated for its hawks.

In Edward III.'s reign, we find his falconer William of Troyes sent over to Ireland to purchase for the king six gos-hawks and six tarsels; and on the same roll is an order on the treasury of Ireland to pay the cost of the birds, and the expenses of the falconer and his varlets during his stay in Ireland on the king's business.² The demand for them on the Continent of Europe induced such an export of them as rendered them scarce and dear at home to the prejudice of the Anglo-Irish nobles, who thereupon obtained restrictions to be put on the trade in them.

Thus in the tenth year of Richard II. (A.D. 1386), proclamation was ordered to be made at Drogheda against exporting any corn, falcons, hawks, or tarsels in ships to foreign parts (*Calendar of Pat. Rolls*, tenth year of Richard II., p. 136, art. 90). And in the first year of Henry IV. (A.D. 1400), searchers were appointed to seize any horses, arms, fish, corn, hawks, or tarsels or falcons attempted to be taken out of the land (*Id.* p. 159, art. 10). In which is to be observed the curious coupling of hawks and falcons with corn and fish, as if they had become necessities of life!

In spite of those prohibitions, which perhaps were only temporary, we have evidence by another Act of Parliament passed in 1480 (see 20th Edwd. IV., Ir. Stat.), that the great plenty of goshawks, falcons, and tarsels that had formerly been within the land of Ireland, to the great pleasure of the king, and other lords and gentlemen of his realm of England and of his land of Ireland, was reduced, "in-somuch that no hawks were there to be had to pleasure the king and his lords;" and a very heavy duty was thereby imposed upon the export of these birds. And finally, when Henry VIII. provided ordinances for the government of Ireland, on his extending his jurisdiction over those parts that had not before submitted to his sway, he ordained "that noe stranger of other realmes take nother horse ne hauke out of that lande, ne any other person convey any such horse or hawke from thens to any outward parties, except into Englande, without the Deputie's lycence, and not thither to the intent to sell the same, upon payne of forfeiture of the same horse and hawke, or the value of the same to the Kynges Deputie." (*State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 216). Hawks had at this time become one of the choicest presents that could be made out of Ireland. Thus, archbishop Allen, wishing

¹ Unpublished Stat., Exchequer Memor. Rolls.—Lynch's *Feudal Dignities*, p. 120.

² *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 26th Feb., 32nd Edw. III., A.D. 1358.

to ingratiate himself with Cromwell lord privy seal to king Henry VIII., promises to send him in the following year a hawk, a hobby, and a Limerick mantle, these three things, he adds, being all the commodities for a gentleman's pleasure in these parts. In pursuance of this promise we find Skeffington, as deputy, writing to Cromwell that he was then sending up by a servant of his "from the Archbishop of Dublin to the King's Highness, a leash of gentil hawks, and a caste to your mastership."

In the same collection of state papers and correspondence there are two letters from the earl of Ossory, which strikingly exhibit how greatly these hawks were prized. In one he writes, "I doo send, at this tyme, three goshawkes, oon old and twoo younge hawkes; whereof I will that Maister Secretary doo chewse twoo hawkes, and that my Lord Chancellor have the thirde hawke, and," he adds, by way of caution, as if he feared lest some jealous acquaintance should take offence, "that as fewe knowe thereof, as ye may, and specially that my Lord of Wilshire know not thereof" (*State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 272). In the other the earl commissions his agents in London, the two Cowleys, to explain to Cromwell that one of O'More's sons while he (Ossory) was in Dublin, took a nest of hawks that he had bought in Leix of O'More to send to Cromwell, and had given them to the lord deputy, lord Leonard Grey; but at the same time directs him to state, that he had provided half a dozen nests to recompense his lordship for his own hawks that he had presented to the king in his (Ossory's) name last year, but that the year was so bad that they had failed and he had only one in mew (*State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 48). In like manner (*State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 222) the countess dowager of Ormonde sends the king two goshawks, and St. Leger a like number, which were kept back when some falcons and tarsel-gentles were sent, not knowing but that the king's proclamation against exporting goshawks prohibited it (*State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 527).

From the following curious entry on the Memoranda Rolls of the Irish exchequer, it would appear that this ordinance against the export of hawks was strictly observed, and that king Henry VIII. considered it matter of great favour to grant a suspension of it. The entry is as follows:—

To our Right Trusty, &c., Sir Anthony St. Leger, Knt. of our Order, Deputy of our Realm of Ireland, &c., and to our Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor, Sir Wm. Brabazon, Esq., Vicethesaurer of our Kingdom of Ireland, &c. We greete you well, letting you wit that upon instant sute made unto us by our Rt. Trustie and Rt. Entirely beloved Cosin the Duke of Albekirk, of Spayon, on behalf of the Marquis Desaria and his son, that it might like us to graunte unto the said Marquis and his said son and to the longer liver of them yearly out of that our Realm of Ireland two Goshawkes and four Greyhounds. For as much as the seyd Duke had doon unto us, in attendance upon our person in theis our warres, very acceptable pleasure and service, and for that we bee informed that the said Marquis bereth unto us especiall good wyll and affection, tenderyng as well the contynnuance of the same, as the earnest request of the said Duke, whose daughter the said Marquis's sonne hath in marriage, We have been moved to graunt his suit in that behalf.

The writ proceeds to command the deputy to take order for the delivery of the said hawks and grey-hounds unto such persons as the said marquis and his son and the longer liver of them shall yearly, with their letter, address unto him for that purpose :—

And that our Treasurer for the time being shall, out of such treasure as shall from time to time come to your hands, content and pay the charges of buying the said hawks and greyhounds, &c. Given under our Signet att our Palais of Westminster, the 19th Dec. the 36th year of our Raigne (A.D. 1545).

In the council book of Edward VI. and Phillip and Mary, there are further applications of the marquis for his yearly demand of hawks and grey-hounds out of Ireland, but war breaking out between Spain and England in queen Elizabeth's reign, would, of course put a stop to all intercourse, and there is no notice of any further demand.

The office of grand falconer, which in England is a high hereditary office and enjoyed at this day by the duke of St. Alban's, seems never to have had any regular continuance in Ireland.

In the reign of king Henry IV. Sir Hugh Shirley was created by writ of privy seal dated at Westminster, 27th March, A.D. 1400, master of the falcons in Ireland for the term of his life, to be executed by himself or his sufficient deputy, receiving from the king the accustomed fee.¹ But from the absence of any other notice of the office, and from the tenor of the grant of the like office made in the reign of James I., it may be inferred that the office and its duties were almost unknown in Ireland.

In 1605, king James I. appointed Sir Jeffrey Fenton, then principal secretary for Ireland, to be master of the hawks and game of all sorts within that realm.² It is stated in the patent that many honours and estates are held of the king by the service of rendering of a falcon, eagle, gentle, goshawk, or tarsel of goshawk or other kind of hawk, and that lords or chieftains of territories had paid unto the king or his ancestors at the receipt of their exchequer, or unto the deputy or other governor-general of the kingdom, sundry hawks of the kinds aforesaid, of which hawks the king was for the most part defrauded through the negligence of his officers who ought to receive or demand the same. And that abuses were daily committed by engrossing of hawks of all sorts, by buying and selling of them and making common merchandize of them, and at times transporting them out of the kingdom to the disfurnishing of it, whereby the honourable personages in the realm and others attending the state are utterly disappointed of hawks and deprived of their recreation. For reformation "of these enormities" Sir Jeffrey is appointed to be receiver of rent hawks due to the king and his successors, and master of the hawks and game.

In illustration of this species of render for estates and honors it may be mentioned, that in the 8th year of Edward IV. (A.D. 1468),

¹ *Stemmata Shirleiana; or, the Annals of the Shirley Family*:—Privately printed

by Nichols, Westminster, 1841, 4to.

² *Liber Munerum Hibernia*, part ii. p. 91.

Robert Bold, Esq., was by patent created baron of Ratowth with the manor thereof, to hold to him and his heirs male, rendering yearly a gos-hawk for all service, &c.¹ And in the year 1218, Reginald Talbot was found seized of Dalkey rendering therefor a gos-hawk annually: and in 1369 his successor, Reginald Talbot, was sued in the court of exchequer for delivering therein as the rent of Dalkey one gos-hawk, which on inspection and examination there, proved unsound and of no value, and for this fraud he was fined.²

The following entry from the records of the court of exchequer at a somewhat later period shows that even in the reign of king James I. hawks were of importance enough to give rise to law-suits. The entry is from the rule books of the equity side of the court of exchequer.

Veneris xxi^o Aprilis, 1608.

Limerick—In the cause dependinge betwene the Lord Bourke and George Courtney pl^{ts} and Richard Gill, def^t, for an ariere of haukes whereas by bill of complaint the last saizes holden at Limericke before the Earle of Thomond, Sir Humfrey Winche, knight, Lo. Chiefe Barrone of this Excheq^r and Henry Gosnell esquire and others on the xvith daie of August last past, It was ordered by the assent of both parties that the Goushawke menc^oned in the said Bill of Complainte shall remaine still in the possession of the defend^t, and that the Caste of Tasseils should be put in deposito into the handes of the right hon^{ble} the Earle of Thomond, the said Earle having undertaken to restore to him to whome of right they shall be found by lawe to belonge, and the pl^{ts} to commence their suite the next Tearme in the Court of Excheq^r against the said def^t Gill for the title of the lands.³

But the sport of hawking was now declining; and the growing use of fowling-pieces and the rapid progress of the puritan spirit in this and the succeeding reign, probably put an end to falconry.

The last person who seems to have attempted the sport in Ireland was lord Strafforde; but from the ridicule he casts on the failure of his efforts, it is plain that the sport had already ceased to be a common pastime. In fact, the sport seems to have been as strange to the public, and not so successful, as the displays occasionally made in the Phoenix Park and on the Curragh of Kildare, some ten or fifteen years ago.

His correspondent, lord Cottington, seems to have detailed to him some very bad sport he had had in Wiltshire for lack of wood-pigeons; and this draws forth from lord Strafforde one of those characteristic sallies in the gailliard or courtly tone with which his correspondence abounds, indicative of his haughty and self-complacent spirit. His letter is from Dublin, and bears date the 24th November, 1633:—
“Your Defeat of your Hawking sport in *Wiltshire* is nothing like to mine: For (as the Man you wot of said by the Pidgeons) here hath not been a Partridge in the Memory of Man, so as having a passing high-flying Tarsell, I am even setting him down, and To-morrow purpose with a cast or two of Spar-hawks to betake myself to fly at Black-Birds, ever and anon taking them on the Pate with a Trunk.

¹ Lynch's *Feudal Dignities*, p. 182.

² D'Alton's *History of the County of Dublin*, p. 888.

³ For these extracts from the exchequer

records the writer is indebted to his friend, James Frederick Ferguson, Esq., the keeper of those important muniments of the national history.

It is excellent Sport, there being sometimes two hundred Horse in the Field looking upon us, where the Lord of *Fonsail* drops out of Doors with a poor Falconer or two, and if Sir *Robert Wind* and *Gabriel Epsley*¹ be gotten along it is a Regale."²

To conclude, the following doggerel lines describing the hawks found in Ireland, are extracted from a very curious work by John Derrick, a servant of Sir Henry Sidney, giving an account of Ireland in the year 1578 in metre of the same doggerel character extending to over a thousand verses. His main object is to describe the habits of the kerne of Ulster, whose life he had observed during Sir Henry Sidney's war with O'Neill. It will be found in the first volume of the Somers' "Collection of Tracts." But first, one word about the gos-hawk, for which Ireland was chiefly celebrated. Falconers divided hawks into two classes—the long-winged and short-winged hawks. To the former belonged the falcon, and the falcon-gentle and others; to the latter the gos-hawk, which was the largest hawk used in falconry, except the ger-falcon, peculiarly the bird of kings and princes, and scarcely known in these countries. The falcon and the gos-hawk differed in their flight; the gos-hawk flew at the same level as its prey and struck at it by a side flight; the falcon mounted up above it and shot down perpendicularly, bringing down the prey with an extraordinary force to the ground, just as described in the scene at Pembroke before Henry II. The tassel, or tarsel, was simply the male of any hawk, so called from the French word *tiercelet*, derived from *tiers*, signifying third part, because (unlike the rest of creation) the males among hawks are less in size than the females, to the extent of a third part. Juliet's application of this term to Romeo is familiar to all—

O for a falconer's voice,
To lure this tassel-gentle back again!

The following are the lines from Derrick:—

Of Hawkes which retain sundry names,
The country store doth breed;
Whose names if patience will abide,
In order shall proceed.

The Goshawk, first of all the crew,
Deserves to have the name;
The Faucon next, for high attempts
In glorie and in fame.

The Tarsell then ensueth on,
Good reason 'tis that he
For flying hawks, in Ireland, next,
The Faucon placed should be.

The Tarsell-gentle's³ course is next,
The fourth peer of the land;
Combined to the Faucon with
A lover's friendly hand.

¹ Neighbours, apparently, of lord Strafforde in Yorkshire. — *Strafforde's Letters*, vol. i. p. 162.

² Earl of Strafforde to lord Cottington: and boldest kind of falcon, somewhat less,

The prettie Marlion¹ is the fifth,
 To her the Sparhawke's next;
 And then the Jacke and Musket² last.
 By whom the birds are vext.

These are the hawks which chiefly breed
 In fertile Irish ground;
 Whose match for flight and speedie wing,
 Elsewhere be hardly found.

KILKENNY TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, ESQ., M.D., M.B.I.A.

THE subjoined list is forwarded in the hope of aiding the local archæologists in making further inquiries on the subject. The legend on the obverse is first given, with the bearing in the field between parentheses; then the legend and the bearing in the field of the reverse:—

1. EDWARD. ROTH. MARCHANT. (A stag trippant in front of a tree, the armorial bearing of Roth).
 IN. KILKENNY. 1663. (E. R. 1d.).
2. JOHN. BEAVOR. (the figure of a beaver).
 OF KILKENNY. (I.B. 1d.).
3. RICHARD. INWOOD. (a wind-mill).
 [. . .] KILKENNY. (1d.).
4. RALPH. SKANLAN. (1d.).
 KILKENNY. 1656. (a swan).
5. JOHN. WHITTLE. IN. (arms of the Commonwealth of England).
 KILKENNY. 1656. (1d.). Engraved in Willis' "Price Current" for 1853, p. 11.
6. LVCAS. WALE. OF. (a shield containing the arms of Wale).
 KILKENNY. MERCHANT. (L.I.W. 1d.).
7. PETER. GOODIN. OF. (1d.).
 KILKENNY. MARCHANT. (a fleur-de-lis).
8. THOMAS. DAVIS. KILKENNY. (a lion's head).
 EXCISE. OFFIS. (1d.).
9. WILLIAM. KEOVGH. (1d.).
 KILKENNY. GOLDSMITH. (a mermaid).

but much better, than the peregrine falcon. See Cotgrave's *French and English Dictionary*. A.D. 1610.

¹ Or merlin; a small sprightly hawk, called in French "es merillon," from which

we have the proverb, "as merry as a marlin;" in French—"joyeux comme un es merillon.—*Ib.*

² The tarsel, or male of the sparrow-hawk.—*Ib.*

10. JOHN. LANGTON. IN. (a shield charged with three chevronels, the bearing of Langton).
KILKENNY. MAR. (1d.).
11. EDWARD. SEWELL. OF. (a man dipping candles).
KILLKENY. TALLOW. CHAN. (1d.).
12. THOMAS. ADAMS. (C. K. 1658).
KILKENNY. PENY. (the city arms).
13. THOMAS. ADAMS. (C.K. 1658).
KILKENNY. HAPENY. (the city arms).
14. JAMES. PURCELL. (a shield charged with three boars' heads couped, a crescent for difference—the bearing of Purcell).
IRISHTOWNE. KILLNY. (I.P. 1d.).
15. JOHN. BOLTON.
KILKENNY.

This is given on the authority of a collector. I have not seen a specimen.

16. THOMAS. NEVELL. OF. (1d. 1658).
KILKENY. 1658. (a harp).
17. THOMAS. TALBOT. OF. (1d.).
KILLKENY. VINTNER. (a sun).
18. THOMAS. TOOLE. OF. (a lion rampant).
KILKENY. MARCH. (1d.).
19. FOR. THE. POORE. (C.K. 1659).
KILKENNY. PENY. (the city arms).
20. FOR. Y^e VSE. & CONVENIENCIE. (the city arms).
OF. THE. INHABITANTS. (. 16. KILKENY HAPENNY. 77.).

This is engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, figure 4, the date being incorrect.

21. ADAM. DVLAN. 1578 (a cross, the points floree of fleurs-de-lis, between the arms a crown and fleur-de-lis alternately).

OF KILKENE. (a shield, surmounted by a crown, bearing three fleurs-de-lis).

The advantages which result from the publication of special catalogues or lists of coins are so manifest, it is much to be regretted that the practice is not more generally adopted.

The publication of such lists as I have alluded to, stimulates collectors to direct their attention more particularly to the subject, which necessarily leads to classification, and thereby furnishes the local historian with means to draw inferences from subjects, which if not grouped together might escape his attention.

The first notice I find of tradesmen's tokens having been current in Ireland, is by Walter Harris, in his edition of "Ware's Antiquities of Ireland;" he informs us that, "when *Oliver Cromwell* possessed himself of the Government, several Merchants in *Dublin*, and other Towns, to supply a scarcity of small Change, coined Pence and Half-pence in Copper and Brass, with their Names and Places of Abode

inscribed on them, which they were obliged to make good, and the same Practice prevailed in subsequent Times.”¹ The next writer in point of date is Simon, who, in his “*Essay on Irish Coins*,” first published in 1749, informs us that—“Before the restauration of King Charles II., and during the common-wealth and Cromwell’s government, no money was coined for the particular use of Ireland; but divers persons in Dublin and other places in this kingdom, in order to supply the great scarcity of small change, coined copper tokens, with their names and places of abode stamped on them, whereby they obliged themselves to make them good. To this time may be ascribed those of Richard Greenwood, of High-street, Dublin; Thomas Flood, of ditto, merchant; Thomas Gould, of ditto, merchant; John Warren, of ditto, chandler; Nicolas Delone of Lazy-hill, Dublin; Desminier, of Bridge-street, Dublin; and of William Keough, of Kilkenny, goldsmith; besides, no doubt, many others which I have not.”²

“About this time [1672] small change must have been very scarce, since we find that private persons and towns were obliged to coin copper tokens. I have of this year the Penny-piece struck at Kinsale, having on one side a port-cullis with the figure 1^o. and round it, KINSALE. 1672, and on the other the arms of the town. I have also the Half-penny of Michael Wilson, having on one side the scutcheon of his arms, with this inscription—MIC. WILSON. OF. DVBLIN. reverse, St. George, killing the Dragon, and HIS HALF-PENY. 1672.”³

These very cursory notices of a class of coins which must have been more abundant when Simon wrote, than they are in our time, show clearly how little attention he had bestowed on them, and the significant words, “which I have not,” prove that his collection amounted to only nine specimens, seven of which were issued in Dublin, one in Kilkenny, and one in Kinsale.

Snelling, whose valuable supplement to Simon was published in 1769, gives us some additional and more explicit information, together with engravings of a considerable number of tokens of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He says, “we don’t remember to have seen any of them dated before 1654, after which year we have observed the following dates, viz., 1656, 1657, 1658, 1661, 1664, 1667, 1672, 1674, and 1679, thus it is plain Armstrong’s patent in 1660, and the proclamation in consequence of it, to forbid these tokens having a currency had no effect.”

“The towns we have observed where these pieces were uttered are Belfast, Cashell, Charleville, Clitheroe, Cork, Dublin, Dungarvan, Galway, Kildare, Kilkenny, Lisburne, Lymerick, Londonderry, Montrath, Pullhely and Youghal, and no doubt but there are a great many more. However, there were but very few cities or towns that

¹ Harris’ *Ware’s Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. p. 48 of the edition of 1810.
219. folio, 1745.

² Simon, p. 53, first edition, and p. 52

³ Simon, p. 49, first edition, 1749, and of the edition of 1810.

struck them in their corporate capacity, being only Cork, Kinsale and Kilkenny."¹

From Snelling having included Clitheroe in Lancashire, and Pullhelly in Caernarvonshire, among the Irish tokens, it is evident that he had not given much attention to this class of coins, and his conjecture that "there are a great many more" than those enumerated by him, has been established to an extent far greater than he imagined.

In a few years after Snelling's time, we find that our local historians began to direct their attention to the tradesmen's tokens. Ferrar, in his "History of Limerick," 1787, 8vo., gives a tolerably complete account of fourteen local tokens, with engravings. Hardiman's "History of Galway," 1820, 4to.—"The History of Belfast," 1823, 8vo.—M'Skimin's "History of Carrickfergus," 1823, and the "Picture of Parsonstown," contributed to our knowledge on this subject. These, together with isolated notices of particular tokens in the "Anthologia Hibernica," and other publications, comprise all that was published up to 1839, when my learned friend, Mr. Lindsay, conceived and carried into execution the idea of publishing "A List of Irish Tokens."

It is to Mr. Lindsay that I am indebted for the suggestion which directed my attention to the collecting of tradesmen's tokens, with the purpose of extending his "List," and making a more particular classification than he observed; to which pursuit I was encouraged by my late friend, the Very Rev. Henry Richard Dawson, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, the first collector who duly appreciated our local tokens, and owing to the diligence and zeal with which he sought after them, and the liberality with which his rich cabinets were at all times accessible to others, Mr. Lindsay was enabled to publish more than one hundred tokens of the seventeenth century.

The tokens issued in Ireland may be divided into the following groups or classes:—

- 1st. — Tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century from 1653 to 1679.
- 2nd. — Tokens or tickets of the eighteenth century from 1728 to 1761.
- 3rd. — The war tokens issued subsequent to 1789.
- 4th. — The commercial farthing tokens current at present.
- 5th. — Leaden tokens.
- 6th. — Silver tokens.

It now only remains to show to what an extent and how rapidly our knowledge of the tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century has been increased by the publication of my Catalogue and its Supplement in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy."

¹ Supplement to Mr. Simon's *Essay on Irish Coins*, p. 5.

Mr. Lindsay's "List of Irish Tokens, commencing with the period of the Commonwealth, and ending with that of the reign of George II.," comprises 195; from this list we must abstract seventeen which will take their places in one or other of the groups which I have proposed, and after this deduction 178 of the seventeenth century remain.

Within ten years after Mr. Lindsay's publication I was enabled to extend his list by the addition of 374, and in the following six years I discovered 72 which are described in my supplemental catalogue, making a total of 624, and, as Snelling observed, "no doubt but there are a great many more."

I feel much gratification in reprinting the following extract from the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," as it shows that the object I had in view when I published my first catalogue, has been realized to an extent far beyond what I expected at that time.

"May 28th, 1849. — Dr. A. Smith laid before the Academy a manuscript catalogue of the Tradesmen's Tokens current in Ireland in the seventeenth century, and made a few observations on their use, as illustrating family history and other matters of local interest. He stated that his object at present was, that the list should be printed in the Proceedings, with the view of circulating it extensively, and thereby inviting the collectors of coins throughout the country to communicate to him notices of such tokens as have not come under his observation, so as to enable him, at some future time, to publish a historical and descriptive catalogue, accompanied with engravings of such of the coins as are peculiar for their devices, or calculated to assist the local historian in his inquiries."¹

To many persons it may appear that these tokens are not worthy of the attention which some collectors bestow on them, but I hope at some future time to enter at large on the subject to which these remarks are only preliminary, and to show that the history of local tokens, when fully investigated, possesses more interest than is generally supposed to be connected with them.

AN ATTEMPT
TO IDENTIFY THE PERSONS WHO ISSUED
TRADESMEN'S TOKENS IN KILKENNY.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

DR. Aquilla Smith having furnished the Society with a list of such tradesmen's tokens struck in Kilkenny, as he has ascertained to be in existence, it has occurred to me that it would be interesting to illus-

¹ Vol. iv. p. 345.

trate that list by an attempt to identify the persons by whom those humble examples of a circulating medium were issued, and place on record any matters in connexion with them worthy of being preserved. It is unnecessary for me to enter into any defence of such an inquiry, for although Pinkerton has inconsiderately denounced the study of this kind of coinage as tending to serve no purpose of interest or utility, Mr. Akerman, in his valuable work on the tradesmen's tokens of London, has fully proved of what importance is such an investigation, in illustrating local matters, historical and topographical, connected with the latter portion of the seventeenth century, and Dr. Smith, in the paper which accompanies his list of Kilkenny tokens, has further elucidated the subject. It is, of course, well understood that the private coinage of tokens, passing for a penny or half-penny, arose out of the inconvenience sustained by shop-keepers and traders, in consequence of the scarcity of small change. This inconvenience was felt from a very early period, and traders in England endeavoured to meet it so early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, by issuing private tokens, made of lead, to pass in lieu of the silver half-pennies and farthings of the state, which were scarcely procurable, though manifestly the most necessary kind of money to suit the occasions of the poorer people. The leaden tokens appear to have been in very general use, though not countenanced by the authorities, down to the reign of James I., when the king and privy council devised several schemes for the issuing of small coin so as to bring profit to the crown. These arrangements, however, were only attended with very partial success; and during the Commonwealth, and the earlier portion of the reign of Charles II., pence and half-pence were so scarce that the issuing of private tokens, both in England and Ireland, became very general, and were struck by traders in almost every town and city. Dr. Smith is collecting materials for a full, historical and illustrative catalogue of the Irish tokens, which will prove a work of great interest, calculated to throw valuable light on the extent and diffusion of trade in this country at the period, and do much to forward and assist the researches of local historians. My own inquiries have merely been turned to the tokens issued in Kilkenny; and the result may not be altogether unworthy of a place in the Society's Transactions—perhaps may even be calculated to give information to that distinguished numismatist himself, on points which, from his want of local knowledge, he could scarcely be expected to become acquainted with.

The token, No. 1, in the list which Dr. Smith has communicated



to the Society, purports to have been issued by Edward Roth, a merchant of Kilkenny, in the year 1663, and bears on the obverse the

armorial insignia of the distinguished mercantile family to which he belonged. The name of Roth first makes its appearance in the civic records of Kilkenny, amongst those of importance in the municipality, in the year 1403, when Thomas Roth was invested with the office of sovereign, or chief magistrate of the town. It is almost unnecessary to advert to the prominent place taken in the historical memorials of the first half of the seventeenth century by David Roth, Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, the son of a Kilkenny merchant, and famous alike for the part which he played in the politics and the literature of his day. In the charter of James I., which raised Kilkenny to the dignity of a city in 1609, four of the Roth family are nominated as amongst the first aldermen, whilst the first recorder also was Robert Roth. Edward Roth, who struck the token under consideration, was sheriff of Kilkenny for the year 1651. On the 28th March, in the previous year, when Cromwell's besieging army was before the city, this gentleman was one of the four commissioners nominated by the gallant governor, Sir Walter Butler, to negotiate terms of surrender; and for the fulfilment of the treaty, so honourable to the garrison which was the first to give a check to the all-conquering arms of the parliament's general, Edward Roth remained a hostage in the camp of the besiegers. When James II., in 1688, revoked his grand-father's charter to Kilkenny, and granted instead, one of more limited power, though ostentatiously put forward as an act of extraordinary royal bounty, amongst the new aldermen specially nominated, Edward Roth comes third upon the list, the distinguished names of the lord Mountgarret and the baron of Courtstown only preceding his. There were no fewer than six Roths named in this charter to be aldermen and common-councilmen, and the honour of the mayoralty was conferred by it on John Roth. The family suffered considerably by its adherence to the fortunes of king James, and has since died out in Kilkenny. The token of Edward Roth is by no means scarce, being one of those most frequently found throughout the county and city of Kilkenny. The crest of the Roth family, which is displayed on the obverse of the token, is a stag trippant *gules*, beneath a tree *vert*.

John Beavor, or Beaver, as the name is frequently spelled, who issued token No. 2, seems to have been a settler in Kilkenny after



its subjugation by Cromwell, for the name is not previously to be met with in the municipal records; and that he was a subscriber to the puritanical doctrines introduced by the parliamentary soldiers who

settled in the district, there is evidence. Griffith Williams, bishop of Ossory, and a determined partizan of the royal cause, in a work which he published in London, in 1661, entitled "Seven Treatises Very Necessary to be Observed in these very Bad Days," &c., complains bitterly of the number of sectaries who were planted in his diocese by the great Anti-Christ, as he termed Cromwell; and in a list of seventeen persons, "frequenter of an unlawful conventicle," returned to him by the church-wardens of one of the city parishes, he gives the name of John Beaver, merchant. On the 28th October, 1661, Mr. John Beaver is stated in the White Book of the corporation of Kilkenny to have been sworn one of the wardens of the merchants' guild, for the ensuing year; and on the 8th October, same year, Mr. John Beaver is recorded to have been one of four selected from the merchants' guild to enter the common council, and was sworn into office the same day. His tokens, which bear the figure of a beaver on the obverse as a pun on the name of the striker, were made the subject of a special order by the corporation, on the 2nd May, 1667; but to this I shall have to recur hereafter.

Richard Inwood (No. 3) was, like Beaver, a settler in Kilkenny. He was an inn-keeper, in those days not a very common calling; in fact less than half a century previously the necessity of an establishment where strangers could procure lodging and entertainment, was felt so much in Kilkenny, that the corporation offered premiums to parties to induce them to open hotels. In the year 1591 an annuity of forty shillings was granted, according to the Red Book of Kilkenny, to a person "for keeping an ordinary for strangers;" and on the 11th October, 1619, an allowance of £5 per annum was given to a person to induce him to "keep an inn to entertain the Lords Justices, and noblemen, and gentlemen coming to the city." Bishop Williams gives Richard Inwood, inn-keeper, amongst the frequenters of the conventicle in 1661. He is mentioned as a member of the corporation, being a common-councilman, on the 1st November, 1667, and it is probable he was elected to that office before the Restoration, as the order of Charles II. for having the oath of supremacy taken by all civic officials, seems to have been for some time a sad stumbling-block in the way of his subsequent advancement to municipal dignities. On the 29th June, 1668, Mr. Inwood and a Mr. Thomas Cooksey were elected sheriffs. On the 25th September following, the latter took the oath of supremacy, and was installed in his office, but the entry sets out further—"Time given to Mr. Richard Inwood to consider taking his oath of supremacy, by Friday next." At the meeting of Friday, 2nd October, it appeared that he had made up his mind to go through part only of the formulary, and the declaration is thus set out in the White Book:—

I Richard Inwood doe declare in y^e presence of God that I doo owne and acknowledge Charles y^e 2^d King of Brittain, to be y^e supreme head and Govern^r of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Territoryes and Dominions thereunto belonging; and I

doe utterly deny and renounce all forraigne powers and jurisdictions in these his ma'ties Dominions; and I doe promise faith and true allegiance to my Soverraigne Lord y^e King in all and every part of his civil and temporall government, soe help me God.

Thus far Mr. Richard Inwood can take y^e oath of supremacy, but refuseth the oath in y^e printed booke of Dalton Sherreffes.

The next Deren Hundred to consider what fine shall be imposed on Mr. Inwood for not taking y^e oath of supremacy.

The question was not fully decided at next meeting, which was on the 9th of October, as appears from the following entry:—

That Mr. Richard Inwood be sumoned to appear next Deren Hundred to shew cause, if any he can, why y^e fine usually imposed on p'sons refusing to act as Sherriffes by not taking y^e oathe appointed, should not be payed by him.

We are not given any further record as to the termination of this proceeding; we know only that another person was appointed sheriff for the year 1668. Whether Inwood was converted from dissent by the indefatigable denunciations, oral and written, of bishop Williams, does not appear; but, be this as it may, in a few years after, all his conscientious scruples about the oath of supremacy would seem to have vanished. At a meeting of the corporation, held 6th October, 1671, we have an entry in the White Book to the effect that Henry Cookson, having been elected sheriff, was called to be sworn, but not appearing, he was fined ten pounds for his default; "Mr. Richard Inwood was chosen in his place and sworn, and he took the oath of supremacy." On the 29th September, 1672, Inwood was sworn coroner of the city, and again took the previously obnoxious oath. His token, which is very rare—I have found it impossible to procure a perfect one to illustrate this paper—is ornamented with the figure of a wind-mill on the



obverse, which there can be little doubt was the sign of his inn, it being customary with traders, in many places, instead of their family cognizances or such punning conceits as that adopted by Beaver, to set forth the device peculiar to their trade, or which they had adopted as the badge of their private establishments, upon the coin which they issued.¹

Ralph Skanlan, the next striker of tokens (No. 4), was also a

¹ In 1644, the common-council of London, having petitioned the House of Commons against the issue of farthing tokens struck by a patentee of the crown, some hundreds of retailers presented a counter-petition, declaring that those who decried the farthings acted from self-interested motives—"that this very point is the gulph of their conceits, and the mys-

tery of their griping iniquity, mixt with vaine-glory, viz. to suppress these farthing tokens, that so they may advance their owne tokens, stamps, seals, names, signes, and superscriptions, if not images, as now appears, though they be far inferior to Cæsar's."—Burn's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Tokens in the Beaufoy Cabinet*, Introduction, p. xix.

member of the corporation of Kilkenny. In 1660, 1661, and 1662, he was amongst four nominated for the shrievalty, but not elected.



In 1661 he was also a candidate for the recordership, but defeated by Launcelot Johnson. On the 4th October, 1661, he was sworn warden of the merchants' guild, conjointly with Beaver. He was elected and sworn sheriff at Michaelmas, 1663, but died in office, and on the 19th July following, the corporation was obliged to appoint John Whittle to serve the shrievalty for the remainder of the year. I have not been able to ascertain the Skanlan armorial insignia, but the swan on the reverse is a common device on Irish tokens of the period.

We have already had a notice of John Whittle who put the next token in Dr. Smith's list (No. 5) into circulation. The family of Whittle, now sunk into obscurity, was founded in Kilkenny by a soldier of Cromwell's army, who lived to the extraordinary age of one hundred and twenty-seven years, and the whimsical inscription on whose tomb, at St. Canice's cathedral, has often excited attention. I believe it has never been printed, and I shall therefore transcribe it here :—

Here lies the Body of Jobe Whittle.
who died November the 4th aged 127 ye^{rs}.
Also the Body of Elinor Whittle, al.
Harrason wife to Joseph Whittle who
died March the 4th 1767, aged 63 ye^{rs}.
Likewise the body of Joseph Whittle
Son to the above Job, and husband
to Elinor who Departed the 3rd of June
1769, aged 85 years.

Jobe a Soldier with Cromwell this land
did invade,
The Patience of Job made his Son
Joseph reside,
Edward Joseph's son saw George
the third's jubilee,
Resigns up his Soul, and leaves the
third posterity.

Aged 99 years.

But no man may deliver his Brother nor
make agreement unto God for him,
for it cost more to redeem their souls so
that he must let that alone for ever.

John Whittle was, no doubt, brother to the patient Joseph, and son to the founder of this long-lived race. His partiality for the cause espoused by his father is very obvious from the cross of St. George and Irish harp on two escutcheons conjoined, the armorial cognizance



of the Commonwealth, displayed on the obverse of his token.¹ Having filled the office of sheriff during a portion of the year 1664, after Skanlan's decease, he was appointed coroner for the ensuing year; and, on the 13th January, 1670, was admitted to the common council, having, the record expressly states, "taken the oath of supremacy." On the 13th May, 1714, Job Whittle was elected town sergeant to the corporation of Irishtown, and his family was for upwards of two centuries hereditary pound-keepers of St. Canice's parish, having obtained a long lease of the pound from the corporation of Irishtown; however, this lease expired within the last six years, and the present representative of the Whittles, a man in humble circumstances, but bearing the name of his ancestor, Job, was dispossessed of the office by the town council. Collectors find some difficulty in procuring specimens of Whittle's token.

The family of Wale, or Wall, for they are thus indiscriminately designated, is of much longer standing in Kilkenny than the Whittles, Inwoods, or Beavers. Lucas Wale (No. 6) being a Roman Catholic could not enter the corporation of his native city during the reign of

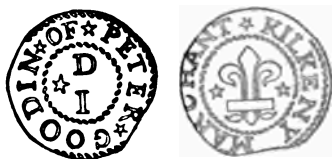


Charles II., as the oath of supremacy was an effectual bar against him. However, after the accession of James II. matters were changed. In the first year of that king's reign, the earl of Clarendon, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, forwarded a letter to the mayor and citizens of Kilkenny, directing them to dispense with the oath of supremacy, and elect Roman Catholic freemen and corporators. This order was, unwillingly enough, complied with, and we have an entry on the corporate minute book, under date 2nd July, 1686, that—"Seventeen

¹ This token has been engraved in Willis' "Price Current." The Commonwealth arms appear on a few Irish tokens of this period.

Papists were sworne of the Second Council ;” and on the 6th July—“ Luke Wall, one of the above, elected Sheriff.” It appears that Lucas Wale died before he had completed his year of office, and in a manuscript list of the chief officers of the corporation of Kilkenny, in the possession of Sir William Betham, is this entry under the year 1686—“ Isaac Mukins chose on y^e decease of Luke Walle, Papist Sheriff.” His tokens are rare, but most collectors have been enabled to supply themselves with specimens. The arms borne on the obverse are nearly the same as those given in a heraldic MS. in the possession of the Rev. James Graves, viz., “ Wale, *argent*, on a cross *sable*, five lions rampant *or* ;” the rose is a mark of cadency denoting a seventh son ; one of the lions has been defaced in the specimen by which this paper is illustrated.

The token bearing the name of “ Peter Goodin ” (No. 7) was, doubtless, struck for alderman Peter Goodwin, who was sheriff of



Kilkenny, in 1657, and mayor for two years consecutively, in 1664 and 1665. The family was very ancient in the city, and the name was written Godyn, Goodin, or Goodwin. John Godyn was sovereign of the town so early as 1316, and the name frequently occurs after. Goodwin's tokens are very scarce. I have never seen more than one, which I bought from a Connaught labourer, who said he turned it up in a field near Kilkenny ; it is the specimen which is now in the possession of Dr. Smith. The family of Goodin, or Goodwin, of Buckinghamshire, bore for arms, per pale *or* and *gules*, a lion rampant, inter three fleurs-de-lis counter-charged. The fleur-de-lis on the token was evidently from those of the arms of the striker.

There is a difficulty as to the identification of the particular Thomas Davis who struck the token bearing that name (No. 8). Amongst the Haydock MSS. in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle, there is a muster-roll of captain Evans' company of the militia at that time raised in Kilkenny, from which it appears that on the 8th April, 1667, a Thomas Davys was reported for having absented himself from a muster for exercise, on the Butt's Green, whilst no fewer than three other persons of the same name appeared on the ground. Of these, one particularly specified as “ Tho. Davys, Taylor,” carried a pike, the second Thomas Davis was armed with a musket, and the third with a pike ; but there is no addition given as to their trade or calling, so that it is impossible to say whether any of them was the excise officer who struck the token. In the years 1657 and

1658 a Thomas Davis was put in nomination for the shrievalty of Kilkenny, but was not elected; he was, however, sworn into that office for the year 1660. The name also appears on the roll of freemen of the corporation of Irishtown for the year 1661. On the 4th July, 1673, Thomas Davis and William Davis were two of four persons appointed to represent the guild of tailors, in the common council of Kilkenny. On the 3rd October, 1673, Thomas Davis took the oath of master of the "Company of Taylours." The family of Davis, Davys, or Davies of Kilkenny, claim to be of the stock of Sir John Davys, knight, marshal of Connaught, *temp.* Elizabeth, descended through the Shropshire branch from the ancient family of Davies of Gwassanan, Flintshire.¹ Robert Davis, of Gwassanan, on the 20th April, 1581, registered as his crest, a lion's head erased quarterly, *argent* and *sable*. Thus, the lion's head erased appears as his crest



on the token of Thomas Davis, which is amongst those but rarely met with.

William Keough (No. 9), like many others of his contemporaries, appears to have had conscientious scruples about subscribing to the oath of supremacy, though whether as a Protestant dissenter or a Roman Catholic does not appear. In the White Book, under the



date 24th December, 1686, is the following entry—"Mr. Ralph Banks and Mr. William Keough were sworne Masters of y^e Hammermen, having brought a dispensation from y^e Lord Lieutenant and Council for their not taking of y^e oath of supremacy." As a goldsmith, Keough was a member of the guild of hammermen. The population and trade of Kilkenny having been seriously diminished by the wars and disturbances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the corporation found it necessary to reduce the number of guilds, and to consolidate several trades into one company. In

¹ Sir John Davys, attorney-general in the reign of James I., and author of the "Historical Relations," &c., appears to have been connected, by property, with Kilkenny. In 1618, according to the Red Book, Sir John Davys, "the Attorney," sold the lands of

Tullaghpiassane, in the county of Kilkenny, to the corporation of the city. I am glad to acknowledge myself indebted to Francis R. Davies, Esq., Waltham-terrace, Blackrock, Dublin, for important heraldic information made use of throughout this paper.

carrying out this regulation the name of "Hammermen" was given to the smiths, cutlers, goldsmiths, "and all other handicrafts working with the hammer in metals," associated in one body. Keough's tokens are rather plenty. Whether the mermaid on the reverse of this token belongs to the Keough family as an armorial bearing, or was used by William Keough as his own peculiar sign, I have been unable to ascertain.

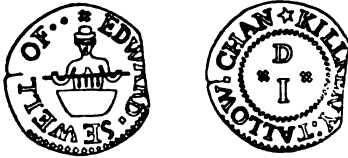
John Langton (No. 10) was the grand-son of Nicholas Langton, who was employed by the corporation, in 1609, to go to London to obtain from king James I. the great charter creating Kilkenny a city. Nicholas Langton has left a manuscript account of his family, continued subsequently by some of his grand-children, and forming a very curious genealogical document, which was in the possession of his descendant, the late Mr. Michael Comerford, of King-street. In it he styles himself—"Nicholas Langton, Fitz-Richard, Fitz-John, of the House of Low, in Lancashire."—He would thus appear to have been descended from the same family as the famous prelate who wrought such trouble to king John; and the arms of the Kilkenny Langtons, as they appear on the token, are precisely those of archbishop Stephen, viz., *argent*, three chevronels *gules*. Nicholas Langton built the



great stone house, now known as the Butter-slip, and also the mansion of Grenan, near Durrow. His eldest son, James, is stated in the pedigree already alluded to, to have "had sons and daughters to y^e number of 25;" of these the third was John, the issuer of the token, who married Rose Randon, living in 1679. It may be interesting to mention, as showing that at this period there were no mill-weirs impeding the passage of the Nore, that his father, James Langton, having died of the palsy at Grenan, his body was placed in a coffin which was brought down the river by boat to Kilkenny, for interment in the family tomb at St. John's abbey. William Langton, cousin to John, was a member of the Confederate Catholics' parliament, and upon the reduction of Kilkenny by Cromwell, the Langton family was driven out, and spent nine years, as the pedigree has it, "in banishment at Ballinakill." Langton's token is very frequently met with.

Of Edward Sewell, the tallow-chandler (No. 11), I can find no notice in the records of the corporation of Kilkenny; but a William Sewell, who seems to have united the trades of shoemaker and butcher, makes a considerable figure in these documents. When the consolidation of guilds was being effected, it was determined "that the Companie of Glovers do for the future consist of the present Compa-

nies of Glovers, Feltmakers, and Chandlers"—rather an incongruous association one would imagine. This token is scarce. The device



of a man dipping candles was a common one upon the tokens of chandlers in England and Ireland.

Thomas Adams (Nos. 12 and 13), or as he is sometimes termed in the White Book, major Adams, was mayor of Kilkenny for 1658, and died whilst in office. His tokens are to be met with in greater



numbers than any others circulated for Kilkenny; they are specially referred to in the by-laws of the corporation, and were struck in the year of his mayoralty and death, as appears by the date which they



bear. Both the tokens struck by Adams bear the arms of the city of Kilkenny, a castle triple-towered.

I have been unable to ascertain the particular James Purcell who struck the token No. 14, as there were many persons of the name in trade in Kilkenny in the seventeenth century. The family was one of great respectability, having for its head the baron of Loughmoe, county of Tipperary, but also having several branches possessed of large property in the county of Kilkenny, as those of Ballyfoile, Foulksrath, Lismain, &c. They usually blazoned either a saltier or a chevron in their escutcheons along with the three boars' heads given



on the token, which also bears a crescent for difference, indicating a junior branch of the family.

Of John Bolton (No. 15) I know nothing. No family of the name can be traced in the corporation muniments of Kilkenny, nor have I ever heard of such a token being lighted on, and I fear there must be a mistake on the part of Dr. Smith's informant.

My researches for information respecting Thomas Nevell (No. 16) have also been unavailing, but there can be no mistake as to the existence of his token, which though a tolerably rare one may be found in most collectors' cabinets. The arms borne by one of the branches



of the family of Nevell, in England, were, *or*, on a bend *gules*, a harp of the first. Hence, the harp on Thomas Nevell's token.

As regards Thomas Talbot (No. 17), I have been more fortunate in my reconnoissances, although I have gained but slender information enough. It appears that he was enrolled in the militia company which mustered on the Butt's Green, on the 8th April, 1667, and took his place amongst the contingent of pikemen.¹ A Robert Talbot built the walls of Kilkenny in the year 1400, and the family was highly respectable amongst our trading community. The device on the reverse



of the token seems to be intended for the sun in full splendour, which was no portion of the armorial bearings of any branch of the Talbot family, but was probably the sign of the striker's tavern. The only specimen of this token at present known to be in existence, is in the cabinet of Mr. Martin Walsh, High-street, Kilkenny.

Dr. Smith reads the name of the striker of the next token (No. 18) as "Thomas Toole," and, I believe, correctly, although the question has been raised as to whether it may not be Doole (a form in which the name Dooly sometimes appears in documents of the seventeenth century), as the first letter of the surname is nearly effaced on the only specimen which has yet been ascertained to be extant, and which is the property of a zealous collector, Mr. John Francis Shearman, High-

¹ Beside Talbot and Davis, some of the other strikers of tokens appear in the militia muster-roll. John Beaver and Richard Inwood are amongst the pikemen present, whilst alderman Peter Goodwin and Mr. John Whittle are reported as having ab-

sented themselves. The company appears to have been entirely composed of shopkeepers and traders of respectability, and it consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, three sergeants, four corporals, one "gent. at armes," and ninety-eight privates.

street, Kilkenny. The arms of the family of Toole, or O'Toole, were *gules*, a lion passant, and thus the lion rampant on the token might



be intended for difference, as the jargon of heraldry has it, or it might be a mistake made in executing the die.

The token struck "for the Poore" (No. 19) was probably issued by the corporation from motives of charity, as it bears the letters C.K., perhaps for *Civitas Kilkenniensis*, and the city arms. However, if



this were to be taken as a positive proof, it should also be conceded as sufficient evidence that that bearing the legend, "For y^e use and convenience of the inhabitants" (No. 20) was also executed for public purposes, which was not the case, it being issued by a person



named Edmond Tobin, a member of the merchants' guild, as will be seen by an extract from the corporation records which I mean to supply in its proper place.

The token of Adam Dulan, bearing date 1578, (No. 21), belongs to a different class of coins from all the others which we have before



considered. It is much larger, much more ancient, and is composed of lead. It is evidently one of the farthing tokens which were in such vogue in England in the reign of queen Elizabeth, owing to the

scarcity of small change, and which were all composed of lead, whilst the penny tokens of the following century were chiefly of copper or brass. I believe this token of Dulan's, which is in the cabinet of Mr. Roach Smith, of London, is the only Irish one of the date known to be in existence.¹ The most ancient of the other class of tokens which Dr. Smith has been able to discover bears date in the year 1633, which that gentleman considers there is reason for supposing to be a mistake, and that the intention of the engraver of the die was to have made it 1653. The engraving of Dulan's token here given, is taken from a plaster cast presented by Mr. Crofton Croker to Dr. Smith. The original leaden "dump" was dredged up from the bed of the Thames, and answers in every particular to the type of similar coins struck in France, which circumstance, combined with the three fleurs-de-lis on the shield, would serve to show that the coin was issued by a French settler in Kilkenny, and not by one of the Irish Doolans, which the municipal archives prove to have been numerous in the city at that period.

Whether any other person besides Dulan struck tokens in Kilkenny before the seventeenth century, I cannot say, but no other save his has yet been ascertained to be in existence. Tokens would not appear to have come into general use in that city until after the year 1656, which is the earliest date found on any of those issued in that century; and, as at that period the corporation exercised a supervision and control over everything appertaining to the trade of the city, we naturally find the council soon taking notice of the introduction of this new currency, and adopting measures to turn to their own account any benefit which might arise from it, on the, perhaps, not inadmissible plea of protecting the public from fraud. The first mention of tokens is to be found in a lengthy resolution, framed with all the solemnity of an act of parliament, set out in the "White Book," under the date of 12th August, 1658, the mayor, Thomas Adams, who that year struck his own token, presiding at the meeting. It is headed "An Act touching Brass Coyne," and then proceeds with a full preamble, as follows:—

Whereas its very convenient to carry on y^e traffig and trade of this Citty that there be brass penyes, halpenyes and farthings within y^e same, and that y^e benefitt thereof, if any there shall be, doe not accreu to any particular person, but to be employed for y^e discharge of y^e Cittyes debts and y^e revenue thereof for y^e publike benefit of y^e Citty, or some other pious use either for y^e relief of y^e poore or for y^e education of youth after y^e English fashion and maners. And alsoe thatt, whatt of those brass coyne is brought in,

¹ Mr. Burn states that the leaden tokens of Elizabeth's reign are now of extreme rarity, and there are only two specimens in the Beaufoy cabinet. He refers to a book of accounts of Nicholas Ball, market-man, of Chudleigh, Devonshire, for some curious facts as to the cost of leaden tokens at this period. Under the head of "Expenses," January 24th, 1562, is "Item: paid for A

nyron with a prynt, and for lede, and for smytyng of my tokense, iij s." On the 23rd February, 1566, "Pd. for ij pownde of led for tokens, and for making of the same to tokens, xxij s.," and under the date 23rd February, 1567, "Pd. for led and for tokens for ij years paste, xvj s."—*Descriptive Catalogue of the Tokens in the Beaufoy Cabinet*, Introduction, p. viii. a.

there be sufficient security given and taken to save harmless all that takes in payment, or in exchange, any of y^e aforesayd brass coin, and to prevent fraud and deceit which is likely to hapen both to this Citty and County att large by y^e frequent practiss and custome of late taken up by almost every body to bring in what brass coine they please, w^{ch} in all probability will turne most of the lawfull English coine into base coine and mettle, to y^e greate dishonoure of y^e governm^t and preiudice of this place, and to y^e utter undoing of y^e poorest and meanest of the people, and to y^e spoile of all trade and comerce, both in Citty and County. For y^e prevention whereof, and yett to keepe comerce and dealing, and thatt this Citty may be better enabled to carry on y^e good ends aforesayd; Bee itt, and itt is hereby therefore enacted and ordained by and with y^e whole and full assent and consent of y^e Mair, Aldermen and Cittizens of y^e said Citty, that y^e Mair of y^e same for y^e time being, shall lett the same to some sufficient person or persons, who shall give sufficient security to change and give again upon demand and as often as y^e same shall be demanded, silver for y^e sayed brass coine, or else shall authorise some person or persons in y^e behalf of the Citty to mannedge y^e same. And itt is further enacted and ordained by y^e authority aforesayd, that noe other person of [sic] persons whatt soever within this Citty or County of y^e same, shall bring, invent or cause to be invented, or take or receive any other brass coyne then whatt is as aforesayd allowed by this Corporation after proclamation made by the Mair to the contrary, upon y^e penalty of five pounds for each offence, and such other punishments as shall be thought meete and to Justice shall appertaine, w^{ch} the Mair is hereby authorised to cause to be leavyed and done. And itt is further enacted by y^e authority aforesayd, that security be given unto the person or persons thatt is or shall be appointed by the Mair for the time being to receive the aforesayd coyne or money, give bonds, or any wayes act aboutt y^e receipt, exchange, or putting forth of y^e sayd brass coyne, or any of them, to save them harmless for indemnifying all and every of them, w^{ch} security att the request of y^e person employed or to be employed as aforesayd shall be given under y^e comon seale of the Towne, by order from the Mair, without any further order in y^e case, any law usodge or custome within y^e said Citty to y^e contrary in any wise, notwithstanding. And y^e sending for any of y^e sayd brass coyne, receaving and paying, putting forth and exchanging y^e sayd brass coyne or any parte thereof, and all y^e benefit accreuing or arising thereby y^e aforesayd person or persons, in receaving and paying the aforesayd brass coyne, shall observe and follow the instructions given by order under y^e Mair's hand, w^{ch} order shall be to every such person or persons who hath the receaving or putting forth of y^e sayd brass money or coyne, a sufficient warrant; and they and all other persons are to obey y^e order of the Mair for y^e receaving and disposure of y^e sayd brass money or coyne from time to time, upon y^e penalty of being fined att the discrecion of the sayd Mair, any law, usodge, or custome within y^e sayd Citty heretofore in any waie to y^e contrary, notwithstanding.

Whether the tokens purporting to be "for the poor," and those bearing the name of Thomas Adams, the mayor, may not have been struck at the expense, and for the use and benefit of the corporation, in pursuance of the views expressed in the foregoing "act," it would be interesting to ascertain, but I have nothing to offer beyond conjecture. The inscription on the first, and the large quantities of the other which were issued, besides the appearance of the letters, C. K., and the city arms on each, give countenance to the supposition. The scarcity of small change was generally felt a great inconvenience at the time, and not only did the corporation take steps to remedy the evil, acting on the hint given by the mercantile men in issuing money for themselves, but there is even reason to think that the Irish executive, as the English government had frequently done previously, at this period took into consideration the propriety of legalizing this kind of currency under certain restrictions. Amongst the many curious and interesting documents in the Record Chamber of Kilkenny Castle there is a paper containing some memoranda on

the subject of the tokens, which look very like suggestions as to heads for an act of parliament, or order of the council of state, on the subject. The document is entitled "Proposals for Penny Tokens," and is indorsed in the handwriting of the great duke of Ormonde, then lord lieutenant—"Concerning Tokens or small money, 2nd May, 1664." The following is a transcript:—

For making of Tokens to be uttered for a penny a pecas, it is humbly proposed that some person be impowred and authorised to make and utter tokens w^{ch} shall be of such intrinsick vallew as that the mettle and workmens labor may amount to three fourth p^{ts} of a penny.

That the person soe authorized be obliged to take them back again, the persons that bring them in allowing twelve pence in every twenty shillings for the loss w^{ch} will be in the workmanshipp.

That the person that shall be soe impowred may have liberty to call them in as often as he thinks fitt, to prevent counterfeiting, but upon such calling in, the person bringing them in to give noe allowance.

That the tokens soe to be made shall not be enforced in payment but merely for change.

That the person that will undertake this work and give security for the performing of it, may have a Lease for a certain time.

Nothing seems to have resulted from the proposals on the subject of this unauthorized coinage, thus laid before the lord lieutenant; and the corporation of Kilkenny, having passed its act of 1658, took no further notice of the tokens, at least by any entry in their records, for twelve years. In the mean time, almost every trader of any importance seems to have circulated a currency of his own; and doubtless the public were in danger of being defrauded if any chose to repudiate his own issue. To prevent this, security was demanded and enforced by the civic body, and thus we have the following not very lucidly framed order upon their minute book of the 1st July, 1670:—

That Mr. Jo. Beavor be appointed to appeare next Deren hundred day and to bring with him good security, That in good money all such pence as he cause to goe, otherwise, they are to be cryed downe.

At this period the corporations of most of the English towns were also enforcing rules compelling the traders to give security as to exchanging their tokens for the coin of the realm, whenever called on.¹ There can be little surprise felt that such a precaution was deemed necessary, as it has been recorded that a penny-worth of material was capable of being wrought into fifty penny tokens, so that their value was quite fictitious. The entire circulating medium of the country seems at the time to have been in a very unsettled state. We have the following entry on the book of the Kilkenny corporation:—

Proposals made y^e 12th December, 1672, for small money to pass in this City:—

1.—Impr. That Maj^r Adams pence may each of them pass for a farthing.

¹ In the previous year, 1669, the corporation of Coventry made this order—"That the tokens which have lately been issued in this city, be called in under a penalty of £5. as many persons are obliged to give 13d. of those tokens for 12d. in silver; and

that none be suffered to remain out, except those which have the city's stamp, and whatever profit there may be the Sword-bearer to take it. After the 16th of April, the above tokens to be called in."—*Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1851.*

- 2.—That y^e cross ould copper penny goe for a penny.
- 3.—The Bengall for three half pence.
- 4.—The copper two pence for two pence.
- 5.—The copper fower pence for fower pence.
- 6.—That such as putt out Tokens for pence shall give in Bayle by this day seavenight.
- 7.—That such persons as have any of those pence belonging to Major Adams be sent unto to bring them in by this day seavenight.
- 8.—That each person, viz., Coll. Redman, Ald. Goodwin and Lt. Chapman, be desired to bring in the said pence upon oath.
- 9.—That the said pence be counted and then putt upon salfe hand to be uttered by him accordingly changed, allowance being first made to him as shall be thought fitt.

Major Adams being long dead at this time, are we to conjecture from his tokens being still in circulation and countenanced by the corporation, that he merely struck them as mayor for the benefit of the citizens generally—the city arms, it will be remembered, are borne upon them—or should we rather conclude, that as the utterer was not alive to give security, his tokens were therefore depreciated in value, and declared only worth a farthing, whilst those who could “give in bail” might pass theirs’ for a penny still? For my own part, I am inclined to believe Adam’s tokens were not a private coinage, but were struck for the corporation. But be this as it may, the reign of tokens in the local traffic, whether the utterers could find security or not, was soon after brought to an end, for on the 10th January in the same year (it is almost unnecessary to remark that, according to the old style, January followed December, instead of commencing the year as now) the corporation came to this determination—“Concluded and agreed that y^e Copper Tokens passed by severall persons in this cittie shall be cryed downe when the Mayr shall appoint—one weekes time being first given to the persons in the towne to take them in.”

By a royal proclamation, dated August 16th, 1672, private tokens are generally supposed to have been everywhere throughout Great Britain and Ireland superseded by half-pence and farthings issued by authority of king Charles, and directed to be current in all payments under the value of six-pence.—*Gentleman’s Magazine* for March, 1850, and August, 1851. I find, however, that in Kilkenny there was at least an attempt made to put the token, numbered 20 on Dr. Smith’s list, into circulation five years later. In the White Book, under date 7th December, 1677, there is an entry with this marginal reference—“Mr. Tobin’s pence not suffered to pass.” The entry itself commences rather abruptly thus:—

The inscription of Mr. Tobin’s pence (for y^e use and) with y^e Castell on y^e side: on y^e other side (of y^e inhabitants) and within y^e sirckell is written (Kilkenny 1677 and 6 Littell stars).

Put to y^e vote whether y^e above named pence of Mr. Edmond Tobin should pass or not. Then voted in y^e negative; and ordered y^e they should be suppress or not suffered to pass as currant.

After this I find no further mention of tokens in the books of the Kilkenny corporation, although that body still paid considerable at-

tention to matters connected with the currency, and, in 1679, sent specially to Dublin for a case of silver weights, "which are to be a standard in this City, and are to be lodged in y^e hands of this City Reseavor."

It is probable that in the several ancient corporations comprised within the county of Kilkenny, as Callan, Thomastown, Innistogue, Knocktopher, and Gowran, individuals were found who struck tokens; however, the only specimen which has as yet been discovered belongs to the last named town. It is that of Francis Barker, of Gowran, which is preserved in the cabinet of Mr. John F. Shearman. The obverse of this token exhibits the crest of the tanners' guild, viz., an



angel holding with both hands a shave, or currier's knife. Barker and Tanner being synonymous, it is probable that the name and trade of the "smiter" of this token were identical.

Tokens were either round, square, octagon, or heart-shaped, according to the fancy of the striker; but those issued by the Kilkenny traders are all of a circular form; the material employed was copper, brass, lead, tin, latten, and leather; but in our known Kilkenny examples the first three metals only were used.

The Society is indebted to Dr. Aquilla Smith for the use of his very beautiful and accurate drawings, after which the engravings which illustrate this paper have been carefully executed by Messrs. Oldham and Hanlon of Dublin.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1849.

PRELIMINARY MEETING,

FEBRUARY 19th, 1849.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, in the Chair.

A PRELIMINARY Meeting was held at the residence of the Rev. James Graves, A.B., and adjourned to the Deanery, Kilkenny, at which it was Resolved, that a Public Meeting be held in order to organize an Archæological Society for the County and City of Kilkenny and its surrounding districts.

The original members were as follow :—The Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory, the Rev. Luke Fowler, the Rev. John Browne, LL.D., the Rev. James Graves, the Rev. Philip Moore, and Messrs. Robert Cane, M.D., John James, M.R.C.S.I., and John G. A. Prim.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, APRIL 3rd, 1849.

ROBERT CANE, ESQ., M.D., Mayor of Kilkenny, in the Chair.

The adhesion of the noblemen and gentlemen following was announced :—The Marquis of Ormonde, the Lord Bishop of Ossory, the Right Hon. W. F. Tighe, Sir John Power, Bart., Wm. Lloyd Flood, Esq., D.L., J.P., the Rev. Joseph Thacker, the Rev. Michael Carry, the Rev. James Mease, the Rev. Henry Hare, the Rev. J. M. Pearson, the Rev. Dr. Nowlan, the Rev. C. B. Stevenson, Messrs. Samson Carter, Jun., C.E., M.R.I.A., Lewis Kinchela, M.D., Richard Anderson, M.R.C.S.L., Matthew O'Donnell, Barrister-at-Law, Daniel Smithwick, Richard Sullivan, J.P., Henry Potter, J.P., Zachariah Johnson, M.D., F.R.C.S.I., Godfrey Greene, Richard Smithwick, J.P., Henry M'Creery, Newpark, G. W. Kinchela, Purefoy Poe, Jun., J.P., Thomas Hart, J.P., George Helsham, Alexander Colles, Humphrey Semple, H. Semple,

Jun., W. Lanigan, T. E. Murphy, Thomas Cummins, A. Denroche, D. M'Carthy, and Thomas Jekyll.

The formation of a Museum was decided on; and the Meeting was adjourned to one o'clock next day for the purpose of further organizing the Society.¹

ADJOURNED GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4th, 1849.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY in the Chair.

General Rules were adopted.

Pursuant thereto the Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Honorary Secretaries of the Society were chosen.

Corresponding Members for the several districts were named.

A Committee was elected.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, MAY 2nd, 1849.

HENRY POTTER, ESQ., J.P., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—The Rev. J. L. Irwin, the Rev. Bernard Scott, the Rev. T. S. Townsend, D. D., the Rev. Michael Walsh, the Rev. James Ryan, the Rev. Matthew Brennan, Peter Connellan, Esq., D.L., J.P., Messrs. John Newport Greene, J.P., Joseph Greene, Jun., James Hamilton, W. P. Leech, Joseph Burke, Barrister-at-Law, M. O'Shaughnessy, Henry Fletcher, Joseph Lalor, M.D., John Lawson, Solicitor, John Quin, Solicitor, T. Hewetson, Patrick O'Toole, and J. R. Phayer.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, JULY 4th, 1849.

LEWIS KINCHELA, ESQ., M.D., in the Chair.

The routine business of the Society was transacted, but no Members were elected.

The first donations to the Museum were announced.

¹ As the Proceedings of the Society are embodied in the published Transactions for the years 1849, 1850, and 1851, it has been

considered unnecessary to give more than a very brief record of the Meetings held during that period.—*Eds.*

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5th, 1849.

THE REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL.D., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—The Rev. Samuel Madden, the Rev. Richard Deverell, the Rev. James Wills, M.R.I.A., the Rev. James Ryan, Johnstown, the Rev. John Salmon, the Rev. T. U. Townsend, the Rev. Joseph Moore, the Rev. Thomas Vigors, the Rev. John Quin, the Rev. S. C. Harpur, the Rev. Michael Maher, the Rev. Michael Birch, the Rev. J. L. O'Flinn, the Rev. James Leckey, Messrs. George Reade, Nat. Alcock, M.D., William Shee, Sergeant-at-Law, Miles Sterling, M.R.C.S.I., James Cullenan, M.D., Charles E. Ross, M.D., Edmund Staunton, Alexander Cullenan, M.D., John Prim, Ennisnag, Francis Massy, Jun., and Charles Tarrant, C.E.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7th, 1849.

CHARLES TARRANT, ESQ., C.E., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—Lord James W. Butler, John B. C. S. Wandesforde, Esq., the Rev. Edward Walsh, Durrow, the Rev. Charles Harte, the Rev. Henry Herbert, the Rev. Nicholas Kealy, Messrs. Richard M. Muggeridge, Richard Cooke, J.P., Michael Cahill, J.P., John Newell, M.D., Henry Herbert, William Graves, J.P., Dr. Cronyn, and Anthony E. Graves.

On the suggestion of the Rev. James Wills, the formation of a Library was decided on.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1850.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2nd, 1850.

MICHAEL BANIM, ESQ., Mayor of Kilkenny, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—The Very Rev. the Dean of Clonmacnoise, Messrs. Henry M'Creery, Rathbourne, Nicholas Loughnan, Solicitor, Joseph Burke, and John Burke, Riverview.

The Annual Report and Treasurer's Account were brought up and adopted.

The Committee and Officers for the ensuing year were elected.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6th, 1850.

THE REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL.D., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—Lord Walter Butler, Lord Charles Butler, Messrs. John Walsh, J.P., Fanningstown, Michael Banim, Bernard Scott, Jun., Solicitor, John Maher, Solicitor, James G. Robertson, Architect, Jeremiah Murphy, and Patrick Blanchfield.

The printing of five hundred copies of the Transactions for 1849 was decided on.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, MAY 1st, 1850.

THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—The Earl of Desart, the Earl of Bandon, the Countess of Desart, Messrs. Edmund Smithwick, J.P., E. Forstal, John Windele, John L. Rickards, C.E., Richard Culley,

Patrick Watters, Denny Lane, S. Morewood, B. M. Prentice, James St. John, LL.D., James Comerford, Peter Strange, and Thomas Chaplin.

On the motion of the Right Hon. W. F. Tighe, the number of copies of the Transactions for 1849, to be printed, was fixed at two hundred and fifty, instead of five hundred.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, JULY 3rd, 1850.

RICHARD SMITHWICK, ESQ., J.P., High Sheriff of the City of Kilkenny, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—Major-General M'Donald (for life), Nicholas P. O'Gorman, Assistant-Barrister, Kilkenny, Rev. H. B. Farmer, Major Roberts, Messrs. Richard Wheeler, J.P., C. Porter, LL.D., Thomas Shaw, Alexander Hamilton, Henry Flood, John Lindsay, Barrister-at-Law, Thomas Bradley, M.R.C.S.I., James M. Tidmarsh, N. H. Jones, Thomas Hewitt, W. E. Hudson, F. R. Stewart, J. E. Pigot, Barrister-at-Law, J. W. Hanna, T. L. Cooke, Samuel Bradley, and John O'Daly.

Mons. Boucher de Crevecoeur de Perthes, President de la Société Royale d'Emulation d'Abbeville, was elected Honorary Corresponding Member.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4th, 1850.

THE RIGHT HON. W. F. TIGHE, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—Lieut.-Col. Williams, Captain A. G. Kennedy, the Rev. Patrick Lamb, the Rev. C. P. Meehan, Messrs. Richard Hitchcock, John M'Creery, William Owen, J.P., J. Muriason, and Robert Carlton.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, 1850.

THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—The Marquis of Kildare, the Very Rev. L. F. O'Renehan, D.D., President of the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth, Lieut.-Col. Portlock, R.E., the Rev. J. L. Drapes, Lieut. Charles E. Fowler, R.E., Messrs. James Roche, J.P., Henry J. Loughnan, E. S. Delaney, J. S. Blake, Barrister-at-Law, Robert Malcomson, Henry Bird, Peter Prendergast, V.S., Robert Mosse, John Hutchinson, and Edward Butler.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1851.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8th, 1851.

MICHAEL HYLAND, ESQ., Mayor of Kilkenny, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—The Earl of Dunraven, Lady Harriet Kavanagh, Mrs. Wade, the Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D., S.F.T.C.D., Messrs. Edward Odell, Thomas Johnston, W. B. D. Turnbull, F.S.A. of Scot., W. R. Blackett, Jun., George Smith, James F. Ferguson, Hugh O'Brenan Clinche, John Potter, Jun., Timothy P. Glennon, Patrick Cody, George B. Anderson, J. K. Aylward, George Lewis Smyth, together with the King's Inns Library, Dublin, and the Warrington Public Library, through their respective Librarians.

The Annual Report and Account were brought up and adopted.

It was Resolved, that the Transactions for the year 1850 should be printed; the impression to be confined to three hundred copies.

Rules for the management of the Library of the Society were adopted.

The Committee and Officers for the ensuing year were elected.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5th, 1851.

THE RIGHT HON. W. F. TIGHE, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—The Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Lismore, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Cashel, the Rev. Robert O'Callaghan, D.D., the Rev. Charles Graves, D.D., F.T.C.D., the Rev. Newport B. White, Messrs. John Walshe, Jun., and Michael Desmond.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, MAY 7th, 1851.

THE REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL.D., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—Messrs. Robert Curtis, John

P. Prendergast, Barrister-at-Law, Samuel Robert Graves, John Davis White, M. Haverty, J. T. Gilbert, James C. Kenny, J.P., M.R.I.A., James Quin, Solicitor, Peter Charlsworth, and the Royal Dublin Society, through its Librarian.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, JULY 9th, 1851.

MAJOR-GENERAL M'DONALD, C.B., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—The Very Rev. the Dean of Waterford, Rev. George L. Shannon, W. R. Wilde, Esq., M.D., Messrs. Henry Jesse Lloyd, Henry T. Humphreys, W. J. Donovan, Edmund Murphy, Thomas W. Coneys, C.E., Richard R. Brash, Richard J. Sullivan, and Thomas B. M'Creery.

On the suggestion of Mr. Richard Hitchcock, it was Resolved, that a Prospectus, setting forth the objects and acts of the Society, should be drawn up, printed, and circulated.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3rd, 1851.

MICHAEL HYLAND, ESQ., Mayor of Kilkenny, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—The Earl of Bessborough, Rev. Aiken Irvine, Messrs. Abraham Whyte Baker, A. W. Baker, Jun., Charles Finucane, M.D., Samuel Haughton, James Palmer Graves, Joseph Kavanagh, Edward Sutcliffe, and James M'Grady.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5th, 1851.

ROBERT CANE, ESQ., M.D., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—Admiral Sir Thomas Beaufort, Miss L. Beaufort, the Rev. John Casey, the Rev. A. B. Rowan, the Rev. John O'Sullivan, the Rev. James Lawson, the Rev. Thomas Gimlette, the Rev. J. Handcock Scott, Col. Bruen, Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., A.M., the Rev. James Goodman, Messrs. William Collier, Richard Thorpe, S. B. Oldham, Charles Bourns, Henry Harris, H. W. Donnelly, Francis Devereux, J.P., John F. Purcell, M.D., Thomas Scully, Michael Kearney, Daniel Cullen, Messrs. Artaria and Fontaine, Peter O'Callaghan, James G. Newton, M.D., Euseby D. Cleaver, Henry L. Allen, Somerset T. Allen, J. W. M'Kenzie, John H. Whitcroft, and Martin A. O'Brennan, LL.D.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1852.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7th, 1852.

THE RIGHT HON. W. F. TIGHE, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—Lord Talbot de Malahide, the Rev. James Spencer Knox, Maghera; Major Larcom, R.E., M.R.I.A., J. H. Glascott, Esq., Clonatin, Gorey, and George Fuller, Esq., Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Rev. J. B. Wallace, Ardmore, and Benjamin Woodward, Esq., Architect, Cork: proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Waterford.

Arthur Leared, Esq., M.B., Oulart, and Robert S. Doyme, Esq., Wells, Oulart: proposed by the Rev. H. B. Farmer.

William H. Harvey, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.: proposed by the Rev. Aiken Irvine.

William Osborne Briscoe, Esq., M.D., Garranlea, Carrick-on-Suir, Joshua Kettlewell, Esq., Clogheen, John Barron, Esq., Dungarvan, Thomas Prendergast, Esq., Wexford, and Nicholas Wall, Esq., Lismore: proposed by Joseph Burke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Poor-Law Inspector.

Robert Clayton Browne, Esq., D.L., J.P., Browne's Hill, Carlow: proposed by Thomas H. Carroll, Esq.

R. Tidmarsh, Esq., Kilkenny: proposed by J. M. Tidmarsh, Esq.

W. J. Douglas, Esq., Kilkenny, and D. M'Evoy, Esq., Urlingford: proposed by John G. A. Prim, Esq.

Captain T. Stanley, 57th Regiment: proposed by Major-General M'Donald.

David Lynch, Esq., Q.C., 60, Lower Dominick-street, and Richard Tuohill, Esq., M.D., Clare-street, Dublin: proposed by M. O'Donnell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

The Treasurer's Account for 1851 was then brought up and passed.¹

The Secretary then read the Report for the year 1851, which was adopted and ordered to be printed.²

¹ See vol i. p. 281.

² See vol i. p. 274.

The Rev. James Graves called attention to the last paragraph of the Report, which was as follows :—

“A remarkable feature of the proceedings during the past year has been the large number of valuable original documents communicated by various individuals. Your Committee feel that it is most desirable to encourage contributions of this nature, which are the only true sources of history. But as the limited fund arising from the small subscription of 5s. annually is quite inadequate to their publication, they venture earnestly to recommend that a proposal should be issued inviting Members and others who wish to promote the printing, and therefore the preservation, of original documents, to contribute 10s. per annum, as a distinct subscription for that purpose; and that, in the event of 200 persons being found willing to co-operate for this object, the printing of an additional volume should be undertaken, to be issued yearly, and to consist solely of original documents, illustrated wherever necessary by notes. It would be for after consideration to determine whether such publications should be sold to the public at an advanced price, or be confined solely to subscribers. Your Committee need scarcely observe that rich mines of materials exist in this city and elsewhere which would amply repay the working.”

He would observe that the Committee were induced to make the proposal embodied in the last paragraph of their Report from the great number of original documents contributed at the several meetings of the past year, and likely to increase. Their value, he stated to be considerable, even if but preserved in the archives of the Society, but of course their publication would be most desirable; however, from their number and great length, it would be impossible that they could be printed in the forthcoming volumes of the Transactions. He would therefore propose that the Secretaries should be empowered to take steps to carry out the plan suggested in the Report.

It was then ordered, that a statement setting forth the nature of the undertaking should be drawn up and printed, and that the Secretaries should circulate it amongst the Members.

The Committee and Officers for the ensuing year were then elected.¹

The printing of the Transactions for 1851 was ordered, on the motion of Dr. Cane, seconded by the Mayor, the arrangements being left to the Committee, as usual.

The day of meeting was then, on the motion of Abraham Whyte Baker, Esq., changed from the first Wednesday to the first Saturday of each alternate month.

The following presentations were received, and thanks for them ordered to be returned to the donors :—

By the Royal Irish Academy, its *Proceedings*, vol. iv. part 3.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, its *Quarterly Journal*, No. 31.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, its *Transactions*, vol. iii. part 3.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, its *Report*, May, 1851.

By Miss Graves, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, 1782.

By Mr. James G. Robertson, Architect, *The Scenery and Antiquities of Kilkenny*, concluding part.

By Mr. Michael Kavanagh, Maynooth, *Apologia pro Hibernia adversus Cambri Calumnias : auctore Stephano Vito*. Dublin, 1849; *Historia Catholicæ Ibernix Compendium*, reprint, Dublin, 1851.

¹ See vol. i. p. 271.

By Mr. Henry M'Creery, Newpark, *The Muster Roll of the Kilkenny Legion*, 1782.

By Mr. T. H. Carroll, Carlow, lithographs of the cromleac at Browne's Hill, Carlow.

By Mr. James Fogarty, Tibroughny, a skein-haft, found at Bawn-garran, barony of Iverk, three years since, amongst some mounds of earth and large stones. The blade was sixteen or eighteen inches long and one broad, and the handle of bog oak—the former has been since converted into a butcher's knife.

By Miss Butler, Wilton, county of Kilkenny, a six-pence of William III., and a half-penny token.

By Mr. Henry M'Creery, Rathbourne, a queen Anne shilling.

By the Rev. Aiken Irvine, impressions from several ancient seals.

Mr. Graves said that he conceived it would be proper for the Society to form a perfect series of the Kilkenny tokens for their Museum, and, by way of commencement, he begged leave to present to the Society ten specimens which had been exhibited, being those of Roth, Beaver, Skanlan, Whittle, Davis, Keough, Adams (his penny), Purcell, Nevill, and the Kilkenny Penny for the Poor.

Mr. Tighe coincided in Mr. Graves' view as to the desirability of having the full series of tokens formed for their Museum, and felt sure that where so good a beginning had been made, the object would soon be accomplished.

Mr. J. H. Glascott presented an impression from a die, engraved with the reverse of a Papal Bull exhibiting the heads of SS. Peter and Paul. The matrix, or die, was in the possession of H. Alcock, Esq., Wilton Castle, Enniscorthy, by a friend of whose father it had been found amongst the ruins of Dunbrody abbey, county of Wexford, in a very singular manner. Having flung a stone at a rook, perched on a high corbel of the old building, the bird, in rising, disturbed some loose stones, and this curious antique fell at his feet. The die was of brass.

Mr. Prim exhibited a pair of high-heeled shoes, entrusted to him for the purpose by Mr. Joseph Goslin, of Kilkenny. He observed that those who smiled at the extravagant fashions of our forefathers in the days of the Richards and Edwards, with their peaked boots, twisted like rams' horns and looped up to the knee, seemed to forget that the fashions of their own immediate progenitors were quite as outlandish—nothing could be more absurd than the specimens which he now produced of the dancing shoes worn by the mothers of many persons present. The heels were more than four inches high, and tapering nearly to a point; to walk or stand in them must have been little short of torture, and how the wearers could contrive to move through the dance was altogether inexplicable, as the whole weight of the body was thrown upon the extreme point of the toes.

The Marquis of Ormonde exhibited several pieces of the ancient Tapestry of Kilkenny Castle.

The Rev. James Graves read a paper on the ancient Tapestry of Kilkenny Castle, which is printed at length in the Transactions, p. 3, *ante*.

George Lewis Smyth, Esq., Parliament-street, London, forwarded the following communication:—

"It is stated at page 260 of the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. i., that the 'family of the Smyths of Damagh has ceased to exist in the county of Kilkenny, for nearly a century.' This statement is incorrect. It may be that none of the family have resided at Damagh for a long time, but they are to be traced as residents in the county down to the year 1814, and as land-owners down to the last year.

"The more modern history of the family, which substantiates these particulars, may be told in a few words. The heirs of that Valentine Smyth so emphatically commended by the duke of Ormonde (page 263 of the *Transactions*), continued to possess Damagh until a younger son, taking advantage of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, wrested the estate from his elder brother by becoming a Protestant. But the person thus dispossessed of his inheritance did not cease to be trusted and employed by the house of Ormonde. He took up his abode in Carrick-on-Suir, occupying a house which he rented from the patrons of his family, and enjoying more than one townland upon their adjoining estates, which were then considerable in that neighbourhood. As soon as the relaxation of the penal laws enabled Roman Catholics to acquire landed property, the estate of Westcourt, near Callan, was purchased in fee by Valentine Smyth of Carrick-on-Suir. He was, I believe, the grandson of the person who was deprived of Damagh, as already stated, and instituted a suit in chancery for its recovery, without avail. He was agent of the Ormonde estates; an office in which he was succeeded by his grandson, Edmund. The mansion and demesne of Westcourt being let on lease when that estate was purchased by Valentine Smyth, he took up his residence and died at The Lodge, in Callan, which stands on part of the property. This Valentine had three sons, Laurence, Francis, and William, who all lived and acquired property at Carrick-on-Suir. Edmund Smyth succeeded to the agency of the Ormonde estates, which he held for some years. He too resided at The Lodge, in Callan, as well as in the house in Merrion-square, Dublin, now occupied by Dr. Corrigan. He withdrew to France in 1814, and died at Versailles in 1822, leaving two sons, both born in that country. To the eldest of these, Edmund Smyth, the estate of Westcourt descended, as may be seen by the proceedings of the commissioners of incumbered estates, who advertised the property for sale last year."

Mr. Patrick Cody, Mullinavat, communicated an account of the popular belief relating to the origin of a small lake called Lough Cuillinn, near Tory Hill, in the barony of Ida and county of Kilkenny. The legend is printed at large in the *Transactions*, p. 97, *ante*.

Mr. W. R. Blackett, Ballyne, wrote to inform the Society of the existence of a very curious and ancient fictile vessel, which is preserved by a farmer at Castletown, near Piltown, but is said to have been originally found in a rath, in the county of Tipperary. He thus describes the vessel:—

"It is made of a hard, coarse kind of earthenware, which has a ringing, metallic sound when struck. In shape it is nearly a globe, but somewhat lengthened, and terminating with a circumference of about twelve inches. It is six feet ten inches in circumference at the largest

part, and three feet ten inches about the mouth, which has a projecting rim of about two inches. In height it is three feet. It is as regular and smooth as if turned in a lathe, but has two cracks, extending a short way from the mouth. The substance is about one inch thick. It is in the possession of a tenant of Mr. Villiers Stuart, and is said to have been in the family more than two hundred years, since it was dug up. It is used for holding water."

Dr. Aquilla Smith of Dublin; communicated a list of all the known tradesmen's tokens struck in Kilkenny, followed by observations on that peculiar class of coin, and Mr. Prim read a paper on the same subject; both communications are printed at length in the *Transactions*, pp. 155, 159, *ante*.

Mr. James F. Ferguson forwarded, as a contribution to the Society's Library, translations of the very voluminous inquisitions preserved in Master Lyle's office, Four Courts, Dublin, concerning the suppression of the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian abbeys of Kilkenny.—These interesting records it is to be hoped will be printed in the Society's Annual Volume of Original Documents.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, SATURDAY, MARCH 7th, 1852.

MAJOR-GENERAL M'DONALD, C.B., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—Lord Clermont : proposed by the Rev. Luke Fowler.

The Hon. Frederick Ponsonby : proposed by Mr. W. R. Blackett.

Sir R. Gore Booth, Bart., Lissadil; the Rev. William Reeves, D.D., Ballymena; Christopher Dain, Esq., 169, High-street, Southampton; and Thomas C. Mossom Meekins, Esq., A.B., Inner Temple, London: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

John Elliott, Esq., M.D., Cathedral-square, Waterford: proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Waterford.

The Rev. Samuel Hayman, A.M., Youghal: proposed by the Rev. Thomas Gimlette, Waterford.

Miss Mary C. Magrath, Bawn-James House, Rosbercon; Wellesley Prendergast, Esq., Listerlin, New Ross; and Peter Mullin, Esq., L.R.C.S.I., New Ross: proposed by the Rev. Philip Moore, Rosbercon.

William Daly, Esq., Poor-Law Office, Dublin; and Richard Burke, Esq., Waterford: proposed by Mr. Joseph Burke, Poor-Law Inspector.

Kerry Moone, Esq., New Castle, Co. Limerick; Michael Kean, Esq., Woodbine Cottage, Ennistimon; and Patrick Brady, Esq., Architect, Ballyvaughan, Gort: proposed by Mr. Mark S. O'Shaughnessy.

Thomas Butler Stoney, Esq., J.P., Portland, county of Tipperary: proposed by Mr. T. L. Cooke, Parsonstown.

Peter Burtchael, Esq., County Surveyor, Carlow: proposed by Mr. Samson Carter, Jun., County Surveyor, Kilkenny.

Joseph Ronayne, Esq., C.E., Cork: proposed by Mr. James S. Blake, Ballynemona.

Thomas H. Carroll, Esq., Proprietor of the *Carlrow Sentinel*; and Charles Denroche, Esq., C.E., Cardiff, South Wales: proposed by Mr. John G. A. Prim.

Richard Armstrong, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 9, Lower Dominick-street, Dublin; J. B. Murphy, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 5, Lower Gardiner-street, Dublin; W. J. Hackett, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Clonmel; Patrick J. Murray, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 1, Upper Pembroke-street, Dublin; Henry Lover, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 42, Rathmines, Dublin; James M. Loughnan, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 101, Lower Gardiner-street, Dublin; Charles H. Hemphil, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 6, Lower Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin; Charles Coates, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 3, Hatch-street, Dublin: proposed by Mr. Matthew O'Donnell, Barrister-at-Law, Kilkenny.

The following presentations were received, and thanks for them returned to the donors:—

By the Cambrian Archæological Association, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. 9.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, its *Quarterly Journal*, No. 32.

By Mr. John O'Daly, the Publisher, *The Tribes of Ireland, a Satire*, by *Ængus O'Daly*; and *The Munster Poets*, second edition.

By the Rev. Aiken Irvine, *Engravings of Inscriptions from the Ruins of Persepolis*, issued by the Royal Dublin Society.

By the Rev. Singleton Colville Harpur, Aghaboe Glebe, a bronze dagger, a fine bronze celt without stop-ridge, and a very large pocket-shaped bronze celt.

By the Rev. James Graves, a bronze antique, which in shape and size strongly resembled the pipe of a modern bellows. It was found in the bed of the Shannon. Several antiquities of a similar kind, but not ornamented as this was, are in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and their use has formed a subject of speculation amongst the members of that learned body without any very satisfactory conclusion being yet arrived at.

By Mr. P. M. Delany, High-street, a silver coin of queen Anne's reign.

By Mr. D. Byrne, Timahoe, a silver coin of Edward I., a silver coin of queen Elizabeth, and a copper coin of pope Pius VII., all of which had been found in the Queen's County.

By Mr. Robert Wright, Foulksrath Castle, a specimen of bog-butter which had been dug up in a turf bog at Park, near Moneygall, county of Tipperary, the property of R. Stannard, Esq. It was found at a depth of twenty-five feet from the surface in a cask of very rude construction, which the finders unfortunately had burned before the circumstance of the discovery came to his knowledge. The cask was described as being formed of staves, of irregular size, and very inartistically put together.

By Mr. Joseph Goslin, a pair of high-heeled shoes—(see p. 186, *ante*).

Mr. Prim, on the ground that the change made in the day of meeting had been found to be very inconvenient, gave notice of his intention to

move that the first Wednesday of each alternate month be the day of meeting, as originally fixed.

Mr. Prim exhibited, by permission of W. Jones, Esq., Architect, some objects of antiquity which had been discovered by a labourer in the employment of that gentleman at about a foot from the surface, whilst making a walk in the lawn before his cottage, near Kilkenny. They consisted of a very ancient silver reliquary, which exhibited signs of gilding, and was much worn, apparently from having been long suspended round the neck of some person; two silver buttons, one of them of conical shape, the other flat, and inscribed with the letters I.H.S., the centre letter surmounted by a cross; a small coil of silver wire, and six silver coins, five of them being of the reign of Elizabeth, and one of James I.

Mr. Prim reported the discovery of an imperfect Ogham monument in the ancient burying-ground of Tullaherin, county of Kilkenny; his attention had been called to the existence of this ancient memorial stone by Henry O'Neill, Esq., one of their members.

Mr. James G. Robertson read some notes on Kilkenny Castle, illustrated by drawings and plans. Mr. Robertson's paper will be found at full in the *Transactions*, p. 115, *ante*.

The Rev. James Graves contributed the following observations on what he supposed to be an ancient Pagan cemetery, at Rathmoyle, in the parish of Ballynemara, county of Kilkenny:—

"The names of localities, in a country which has retained its original inhabitants and language, often possess much historic interest, and in many instances preserve a record of events which have faded from the page of history, and only live in the faint glimmering of oral tradition. The parish and townland of *Ballynemara* is a case in point; the peasantry understand it to mean 'the town of the dead,' or of the corpses; the adjoining townland of *Ballydoole*, they say, means the 'town of mourning;' and the neighbouring parish and townland of *Clashacrow*, or *Clashaglow*, they understand to mean 'fretting, or grievous lamentation.' Having been recently in that locality, I learned from a respectable and intelligent farmer, named Grace, the popular belief as to the origin of names which tell such a tale of death and sorrow, namely, that they arose from the circumstance of a battle having, in ancient times, raged from Clashacrow, up the valley of the Arginny river, to Ballynemara, where, at the rivulet to the north of the parish church, a fierce and obstinate contest took place, in which the combatants fell nearly to a man.

"This vague tradition is also connected with another locality in the parish of Ballynemara. The townland of Rathmoyle takes its name from a rath of the same appellation, which, when entire, crowned a small eminence of lime-stone gravel situate on the elevated ridge, which rises to the south of the parish church, and shuts in at that side one of the loveliest and richest pastoral valleys in Ireland. Rathmoyle is composed, geologically speaking, of lime-stone gravel; and overlying, as it does, a soil based on the clay-slate of the carboniferous group of rocks, is, and has been, of such value in an agricultural point of view, and affords such excellent materials for road-making and mending, that a great part of the rath has been removed, notwithstanding the popular pre-

judice against disturbing such localities. The excavation thus formed presents a section of the rath, and proves it to be, not a remain of the military or defensive class, but a thickly peopled cemetery; and the popular belief is, that the bodies of the combatants who fell at Ballynema were here interred; however that may be, about eighteen inches or two feet under the surface may be seen, protruding from the sides of the sand-pit, human bones, which are found not confusedly buried, but belonging to perfect skeletons which had been interred without any coffin or cist of stones or flags. They lie for the most part with the head to the east, and feet to the west, and show no signs of cremation. I have been assured by the neighbouring peasantry that no arms or ornaments of any kind have ever been turned up; while the human remains are so abundant, that I was informed by one man that he had often carried away as many as two or three skulls in one horse load of gravel. This irreverence towards the remains of the dead may seem strange in an Irish peasant, but I imagine that it may be accounted for by the avowed belief that this was a Pagan burial-ground. I was unsuccessful in my endeavours to procure a specimen of the *crania*, but I shall, on some future occasion, make further search, as the form of the skull may help to indicate the peculiar race to which the combatants belonged, if those are indeed their remains. I however obtained and now lay before the meeting some other portions of several human skeletons procured on the spot. In addition to human remains, this ancient Pagan cemetery contains the bones of animals, amongst which the horns of the fallow deer frequently occur. These relics of the lower animals would seem to indicate that the obsequies of the dead were accompanied by the funeral feast, an idea which receives confirmation from the fact that the north face of the excavation exhibits a perfect section of a pit sunk into the gravel about five feet deep, and ten or twelve in diameter. This pit may be traced by a well marked line of charcoal, calcined bones, and clinkers or slag, exactly similar to the waste or slag of the ancient iron furnaces which occur along the course of the river Nore, at the base of the Slievebloom mountains, in the Queen's County. This pit is probably one of those anciently used to cook animal food, according to the well known method in vogue amongst the ancient Irish, as related by Jeffry Keating, viz., by lining such an excavation with stones, which when thoroughly heated by an immense fire of wood, were placed under and over the raw flesh, and then the whole covered in till sufficiently cooked. If we suppose the stones used for this purpose to be the clay-slate of the locality, which is rich in nodules of iron ore, it is easy to account for this slag, as the limestone gravel would serve to fuse such portions of iron ore as were subjected with them to the action of the fire. This very curious Pagan cemetery seems to belong to that class, of which another example, discovered in the course of excavations made in forming the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway near Jerpoint, in this county, was brought under the notice of the Society by Mr. Prim, at the January meeting of 1850.

"The learned Worsaae (*Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*, translated by W. J. Thoms, p. 104), considers interments in natural sand-hills to afford the latest examples of Pagan sepulture, and observes that the cir-

cumstance of several corpses being thus found interred together 'leads to the conjecture that towards the close of the heathen period there were general places of interment, which form the transition to the custom which became prevalent in the Christian era of interring the dead in church-yards.' Pagan burial-grounds of this nature are traceable, Mr. Thoms observes, 'in the Isle of Thanet, Northamptonshire, and other localities in England.'"

General M'Donald observed that Mr. Graves seemed quite correct in his translations of the various names of townlands, and from the prevalence of such names in the locality referred to, there could be little doubt of a bloody battle having been fought there at some very remote period.

Dr. Cane examined the bones exhibited, and stated that the greater portion of them belonged to human beings who appeared, from the teeth, to have been aged about fifty. A few of the bones seemed to have belonged to the skeleton of a sheep.

Mr. R. Hitchcock contributed a paper entitled "Gleanings from Country Church-yards," which is printed in the *Transactions*, p. 127, *ante*.

Mr. Hitchcock also communicated an extract from Hackluyt's Voyages, illustrative of Dingle in the time of queen Elizabeth, which will be found printed at length, with an Introduction and Notes, in the *Transactions*, p. 133, *ante*.

Mr. Patrick Cody, Mullinavat, contributed a second legend connected with Lough Cuillinn, which will be found printed at large in the *Transactions*, p. 98, *ante*.

Mr. Daniel Byrne, Timahoe, sent the following communication on the monumental inscriptions in Timogue church, Queen's County:—

"The church of Timogue comprises within its walls many interesting monuments connected with the ancient proprietors of the district, principally the Byrnes and Fitzgeralds. The district of Lugacurren, in which the church is situate, was originally the property of the O'Mores, being part of Leix. In remote ages the O'Mores formed an alliance with the O'Kellys. In the reign of Elizabeth the O'Kelly who possessed Lugacurren, then known by the name of Faren O'Ceallagh, or 'O'Kelly's land,' married the daughter of O'Byrne of Glanmalur, in the county of Wicklow; and in order to have a suitable habitation for his wife, he is said to have built, with stone and lime cement, in one week, a house, the site of which is known to this day by the name of 'shanagh clough,' or, 'old stone.' O'Kelly about this time had in his employment a servant named Macgloud. Tradition asserts that some difference arose between O'Kelly's wife and Macgloud, on which he went to the then earl of Kildare who resided in Kilkea castle; and without O'Kelly's knowledge invited the earl to visit the latter. The earl accepted the invitation, and was kindly received by O'Kelly who made him sponsor for his child: but on the night of the day on which the infant was baptized, the mother and child were found dead in their bed, to the great grief of O'Kelly. The earl remained, and attended at the interment of the infant and its mother, after which he induced his host to accompany him to his castle of Kilkea. The day after his arrival the earl took O'Kelly to the top of his castle, and under pretence of giving him a view of the surrounding

scenery, and contrary to the principles of humanity and hospitality, had two ruffians prepared, who struck off his head. He then immediately wrote to queen Elizabeth letting her know that he had dispatched a principal rebel, named O'Kelly, who was in strong alliance with the indomitable O'Mores; whereon he received from Elizabeth a grant of O'Kelly's property.¹

"All this traditional account is true, with the exception, that the earl of Kildare is unjustly accused. Gerald Fitzgerald, of Morett, was the murderer of O'Kelly. He was married to a daughter of John Bowen, of Ballyadams, who endeavoured by every means to destroy O'Kelly and the brave O'Mores; and by the aid of Fitzgerald he compassed the death of O'Kelly. But the O'Mores avenged O'Kelly by putting to death Fitzgerald and burning his castle of Morett.

"Gerald Fitzgerald, the son of O'Kelly's murderer, next became possessor of Lugacurren. He was commonly called "Short Garret." This Gerald was a consummate tyrant over the peasantry. A curse rested on him, and after some time he sold the estate of Lugacurren to Sir Walter Whelan. This Gerald, together with his perfidious father, lie buried in the church of Timogue.

"Sir Walter Whelan was a Roman Catholic and resided in Timogue castle. He built a chapel in Timogue on the site of the ancient church founded by St. Mochua, and which building is now the Protestant church. Sir Walter Whelan, after some considerable time, is said to have sold the estate to Daniel Byrne for an hundred and twenty thousand pounds. This appears an enormous sum; but the estate contained fifteen large townlands.

"Daniel Byrne was a son to Laughlin Byrne, who lived in Ballentlee near Red Cross, in the county of Wicklow, and a descendant of the Byrnes of Glenmalur, so much celebrated in history. Laughlin Byrne had two sons, Denis and Daniel; Denis possessed the estate of Ballentlee; Daniel was a clothier, and made a contract to clothe Cromwell's troops, by which he amassed a large fortune. Daniel, after he had made his purchase, got married to a young lady named O'Neill, by whom he had a son called Gregory. This Gregory was created a baronet, and lived in Timogue castle. Sir Gregory had a son named Daniel, who married Anna Dorothea, eldest daughter of Edward Warren, of Pointon, in the county of Chester; this lady was a Protestant. Sir Daniel's eldest son Charles died at nine years of age; consequently his second son John became heir to the title and estate. After the death of Sir Daniel, Sir John married the only daughter of Sir Peter Leyster, of Pointon, in England. Sir John's lady was a member of the Church of England, and while Sir John was in Ireland she fell sick of a fever. She recovered, but he unfortunately took the fever, and while he was in delirium his father-in-law is said to have drawn his will, and framed it so that Sir John's estates in Ireland should be sold, and purchases of property made in England for his heir, Sir Peter Byrne, and that unless Sir Peter conformed to the Church of England, the full amount of the

¹ This legend is given by Hardiman in his "Irish Minstrelsy," from which it is copied into the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i. p. 67.—Eds.

price of the estates should go to the support of the University of Oxford. According to the terms of the will Sir Peter conformed, and took the name of Leyster.

"In this paper I shall not mention the existing relations of Sir Daniel, but simply say that after the death of Sir John the estates were sold and the marquis of Lansdowne became possessor of Lugacurren.

"It now only remains for me to give the inscriptions of the tomb-stones within Timogue church. Sir Daniel Byrne's tomb is of beautiful white marble, on which is engraved the armorial bearings of the Byrnes, and the following inscription:—'Beneath this marble stone lyeth the body of Sir Daniel Byrne, Bart., who dyed the 25 of September in the year 1715 and of his age the 39. He married Anna Dorothea eldest daughter of Edward Warren, of Pointon, in the county of Chester and Kingdom of England, Esq. He was a singular instance of congenial affection, a kind and indulgent father to his children, and in the discharge of promises, which in the practice of the world meets with too little regard, a great example of justice. Heere also lyeth the body of Charles his eldest son, who was a youth of very promising expectation; he dyed the first of November, 1713, and in the ninth year of his age.'

"At the end of Sir Daniel's tomb, towards the door, and also in the floor of the church, rests a white marble tomb without any armorial ornament, containing the following inscription:—

"'Heere lyeth the body of Thomas Fitzgerald, of Morett, Esq., who departed this life the twenty-second of September, 1766, aged 20 years, son of Stephen Fitzgerald, of Morett, Esq. He was a most dutiful son and valuable youth, for which reason his mother, Catherine Fitzgerald, youngest daughter of Sir Daniel Byrne, Bart., lays down this stone, in regard to the great tenderness he had for his mother and her most parental love for him.'

"On the right of the pulpit, and in the wall of the church, is a tomb of black marble, on which is sculptured the armorial bearings of the Fitzgeralds of Morett, with the following inscription:—

"'In this vault and ground lie the remains of Gerald Fitzgerald of Morett, Esq., and of his wife a daughter of John Bowen, of Ballyadams, Esq. He was murdered and his Castle burned in the reign of Elizabeth. And of his only son, Gerald Fitzgerald, of Timogue, Esq. And of his wife, a daughter of O'Demesy, lord of Clanmalere. And of his eldest son, Thomas Fitzgerald, of Morett, Esqr. And of his wife a daughter of John Picat of Dysart, Esquire. And of his eldest son, Stephen Fitzgerald, of Morett, Esq. And of his wife a daughter of Henry Gilbert, of Kilmenchy, Esquire. And of his eldest son, Thomas Fitzgerald, of Morett, Esquire. And of his wife, a daughter of Sir Gregory Byrne, Bart. He dyed on the 18th day of April, 1754.'

"By the side of the white marble tomb of Thomas Fitzgerald rests a plain black marble slab, containing the following inscription:—'Here lieth the body of Stephen Fitzgerald of Morett, Esq., who departed this life the second of August 1771, aged 64 years. He was a most tender husband and affectionate parent, and sincere friend. His widow, Catherine Fitzgerald, youngest daughter of Sir Daniel Byrne, Bart., lays down this stone, in regard to the high value she has for his memory.'

"Adjoining the end of this tomb rests a green-stone slab also in the floor, which contains the following inscription:—'Here lieth the body of Mrs. Martha Fitzgerald, wife of Stephen Fitzgerald, Esq., who died the 25th day of December anno domini 1713, aged 54. Here lyeth the body of Stephen Fitzgerald, Esq., who died the 20th day of June anno dom. 1710, aged 54 years.'

"In the church a black marble tomb-stone forms part of the floor, containing the following words:—'Here lie the body of Mrs. Frances Fitzgerald, wife of Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, of Morett, and one of the daughters of Sir Gregory Byrne, Baronet, decd. she departed this life y^e 19th day of October, anno domi 1723 and in y^e 40th year of her age. By this stone lieth the body of the above named Thomas Fitzgerald, of Morett, Esq., he dyed the 18th day of Apl. 1754, aged 68 yrs.'

"I have to thank the Rev. William Mease, who came from Stradbally to Timogue, and kindly gave me admission to the church, which is of much interest on account of its antiquity, and the monuments which it contains. The tombs in the church-yard were all generally laid down about 1700; near the church door is a marble tomb-stone placed over Joseph Purcel, son of captain Purcel, who resided in Timogue."

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, SATURDAY, MAY 5th, 1853.

MAJOR-GENERAL, M'DONALD, C.B., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—Mrs. Beauchamp Newton, Rathwade, Bagnalstown; the Rev. John Warde, Wath Rectory, Ripon; and Herbert F. Hore, Esq., Pole Hore, Wexford: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Mr. Daniel Hickey, Gowran; and Mr. Patrick Carrigan, Mullinavat: proposed by Mr. Patrick Cody, Mullinavat.

John Fitzsimons, Esq., High-street, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. John G. A. Prim.

The following presentations were received and thanks for them ordered to be returned to the donors:—

By the Dowager Marchioness of Ormonde, a curiously ornamented and inlaid ancient pistol. Her ladyship, however, was unable to state anything of its history.

By the Rev. James Mease, Freshford, two curious modern brass medals.

By Dr. Keating, Callan, a silver coin of Edward IV., found sometime since in Jerpoint Abbey, by a person who thought proper to disturb the tomb said to be that of Felix O'Delany, bishop of Ossory *temp.* Henry II., and first abbot of Jerpoint.

By Mr. James Fogarty, a curious pear-shaped stone, found in a rath near Piltown.

By Mrs. William Jones, Kilkenny, the curious silver reliquary, two antique silver buttons, six coins of Elizabeth and James I., and the coil of silver wire, found in making a new walk in the lawn at Mr. Jones' cottage, near Kilkenny, and which had been exhibited at the last meeting.

By Mr. John P. Quin, two silver coins of Elizabeth, turned up in a field at Lisdowney.

By Mr. Williams, Lacken Cottage, a counterfeit dollar of Charles IV. of Spain, found near Kilkenny.

By Mr. Daniel Meany, a specimen of the ancient flooring tiles of Graigue Abbey.

By the Rev. James Graves, one of those very curious porcelain seals, consisting of a perfect cube, surmounted by a rudely shaped animal serving as a handle, and inscribed with Chinese characters on the under surface, which just now excite so much interest amongst antiquaries, and are as great a puzzle to them as the Round Towers themselves. The specimen now presented to the Museum was found near Thomastown many years ago, and is not enrolled in the list of Mr. Getty, of Belfast.

By Mr. W. R. Blackett, Ballyne, an accurate plan and measurements of the great cromleac of Leac-an-scaill, in the county of Kilkenny.

By the Rev. Thomas Gimlette, the Rev. Samuel Hayman's *Account of Youghal Church*.

By Mr. Alexander Johns, Carrickfergus, M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, its *Journal*, No. 33.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. 10.

By the St. Alban's Architectural Society, *A Description of the Roman Theatre of Verulam, &c.*

By the Architectural Societies of Northampton, York, and Lincoln, and the Architectural and Archæological Societies of Bedfordshire and St. Alban's, their united *Reports and Papers*.

By Dr. James, some records of the municipal corporation of the city of Kilkenny, and which he trusted might prove useful and interesting. They consisted of a mutilated copy of the charter of James I.; two original affidavits, one in the case of "King against Ambrose Evans, Esq., Mayor of Kilkenny," A.D. 1751, the other in "The King against Thomas Barnes, Mayor of Kilkenny," A.D. 1728; and a brief to Anthony Malone, the celebrated lawyer, from Mr. Arthur Helsham, whose election as coroner for the city had been petitioned against by the defeated candidate, Mr. Thomas Cuffe, one of the Desart family. These documents, which are not the first that Dr. James has liberally given into the custody of the Society, are of particular interest, as illustrating the state of the guilds, or incorporated trade societies, existing in the beginning of the last century in Kilkenny. It appears that there were then six incorporated trades, viz., the merchants' guild, the bakers', cordwainers', hammermens', tailors', and carpenters' companies. In electing the recorder, Mr. Cuffe claimed the right of the masters and wardens of these guilds to be allowed to vote for him, and also that the aldermen had a right to two votes each. Mr. Helsham denied the right of the first as it had become obsolete; and he declared the claim of the aldermen to two votes to have been already decided by the Lord Chancellor, Broderick, who, in a similar case, "desired to see one of the Aldermen, and if he appeared to have two heads, he should have two votes; otherwise

not, for it was contrary to the charter, and repugnant to the laws of the land." Mr. Helsham also alleged that the master and wardens of the hammermen, and other companies would have attended to vote for him, in case such votes were taken, but that Mr. Reade of Rossenara, Mr. Colles of Millmount, and Mr. Carpenter of Castlecomer, friends to Mr. Cuffe, had contrived to induce them to attend at their various residences on the plea of having in one case a clock, in another a window to mend, and in a third a cow to kill, and that they were there made drunk and kept in that state till the election was over, in order to prevent them from voting for Mr. Helsham. This brief summary of the contents of the documents will serve to show how curious and interesting they were, and may induce others who have similar old MSS. in their possession, to confide or exhibit them to the Archæological Society.

By Mr. James F. Ferguson, Exchequer Record Office, Dublin, an extract which formed in itself a considerable volume, taken from one of the valuable public records in his custody, the *Liber Tenurarum Lageniæ*, being the entire portion referring to the county, and county of the city, of Kilkenny.

Mr. Graves pointed out the vast importance which this document was of for the illustration of local history, as it contained a full list of the noblemen and gentlemen holding property *in capite* in Kilkenny in the beginning of the seventeenth century, together with ample statements of the denominations and value of their lands, and the nature of the tenures by which they held.

Mr. Ferguson's donation has been reserved to form a part of the Society's Annual Volume of Original Documents.

Mr. Prim having given notice of a motion for returning to the first Wednesday of each alternate month as the day of meeting for the Society, instead of Saturday, the latter having been found a most inconvenient day for all the members, and the recent change having resulted in seriously reducing the attendance of members at their meetings, Mr. Graves read a letter from A. W. Baker, jun., Esq., Ballaghtobin, pointing out that though he had recommended a change, still he had not suggested Saturday, as he knew it would be most inconvenient. He now again urged his previous objections to Wednesday, and suggested that either Monday or Tuesday should be fixed upon.

After some discussion, Dr. Cane said it was evident that no day could be fixed upon which some one would not find inconvenient, and that it seemed that Wednesday was likely to be inconvenient to the smallest number of the members; he was sorry that they could not meet the views of a gentleman who took so great an interest in the Society as Mr. Baker had evinced, but under all the circumstances he would second the motion for returning to Wednesday.

The question having been put from the Chair, Wednesday was fixed upon *nem. con.*

Mr. Baker, in his letter, made several suggestions for extending the operations of the Society. He acknowledged that the means at its disposal were very limited, owing to the low amount at which the subscriptions had been fixed, but he thought a reduction might be made in the expenditure by not posting notices of each meeting to members, but

substituting a notice in the newspapers; the amount saved to be applied in repairing monuments of antiquity falling to decay, such as the Round Tower of Tullaherin. He also suggested that a regular chronicle of the antiquities still extant within the sphere of their knowledge or influence, their condition, state of preservation, &c., should be given in the annual report of the Society, by getting up parties and deputations of the members to inspect and report upon them. Also, that clay models of the more valuable sculptured monuments should be made; whilst some plan of rewards to people preserving objects of antiquity might be struck out, so as to give a stimulus for the prevention of wanton outrages on ancient monuments; and that the Society ought to take steps to connect itself with the Royal Irish Academy, and similar bodies, in order that by union of action, they might mutually aid the objects all had in view.

Mr. Graves stated that all possible economy was already used as to the item of postage in their expenditure, summonses to the meetings being only sent to such members in the country as expressed a wish to have such a notification of the day of meeting, so that the expense of advertising every meeting would be infinitely greater. One of Mr. Baker's suggestions the Committee had already arranged to put in operation—that of taking casts of valuable monuments liable to injury from situation in exposed places. Mr. O'Neill had been engaged to take a mould (and supply both the mould and a cast to the Society) of the beautiful tomb of the cross-legged knight in the old church of Kilfane, but as the funds could not bear this outlay, the expense should be defrayed by a private subscription of the members, some of whom had already put down their names for 10s. each, towards the object. The other suggestions made by Mr. Baker were referred to the Committee to consider how far it might be possible to act upon them.

Mr. Robertson exhibited a painting in water colours of the ancient Market Cross of Kilkenny, and the High-street from the Tholsel to the present Shambles, as seen by a person standing nearly opposite the former. The quaint old gabled fronts, unbroken lines of bay windows, and pent-houses, as they existed a century since in the High-street, were beyond doubt set down with the accuracy of a daguerreotype, for many of the prominent features of the view have been only removed within the last thirty years, and are at once recognisable. The drawing was found amongst those prepared by the late Mr. Robertson to illustrate his intended work on the history and antiquities of Kilkenny.

Mr. Graves said it was unnecessary to draw attention to the splendid collection of ancient bells upon the table, for they had already attracted general admiration, and excited the strongest interest amongst the members present—and he was sorry that more were not present to enjoy so unusual a treat. They were indebted for the exhibition of these bells, as well as the curious ancient ornaments which accompanied them, to the kindness of Mr. Cooke, of Parsonstown, who had sent them by his son, Mr. William Cooke, whom he (Mr. Graves) begged leave to introduce to the meeting, and they were accompanied by a paper from the former gentleman, which he would now have the pleasure of reading to them.

Mr. Graves then read Mr. Cooke's paper on Ancient Irish Bells, which will be found printed in full in the *Transactions*, p. 47, *ante*.

Mr. Watters exhibited the "Liber Primus Kilkenniae," the most ancient book of the proceedings of the corporation of Kilkenny now extant. It was a small quarto book of vellum, bound in oak boards; the proceedings commenced in the year 1230, and went down to the reign of Henry VIII., carrying on the minutes of the corporation during that long period. Being 622 years old, the book might be deemed a curiosity in itself, but as a record of the ancient history of the city, it was even more interesting. It contained the original charter of William earl Marshal, son-in-law of Strongbow, incorporating the citizens as sovereign and burgesses; also the grant of Richard II. confirming that charter; also an account of the division of the county of Kilkenny amongst the daughters of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, which family obtained the possession through marriage with a daughter of the earl Marshal. With one of the daughters of Gilbert de Clare, a portion of the county including Kilkenny Castle, came to the Le de Spencer family, and was purchased from them by the third earl of Ormonde. It seemed from this record that it was the custom for the corporation to assemble and swear in their sovereign in the Black Abbey; and he found that in the fourteenth century, two females had been elected and sworn burgesses of Kilkenny.

Mr. Henry O'Neill read a paper on the Rock Monuments of the county of Dublin, which will be found printed in full in the *Transactions*, p. 40, *ante*.

A communication was read from Mr. John O'Daly, on the name, Tullaherin, the locality of the recently discovered ogham stone, advocating the supposition, that the name in true orthography was *Tulaigh-Chiaran*, i. e., the Tulaigh or burying place of St. Kieran, the patron saint of Ossory; or a burying place dedicated to that saint.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, JULY 5th, 1852,

ROBERT CANE, ESQ., M.D., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—Lord Farnham, Farnham, county of Cavan; The O'Donovan, Montpelier, Douglas, Cork; T. Crofton Croker, Esq., F.S.A., J. P., London; Daniel Mahony, Esq., J.P., Dunloe Castle, Killarney; Rev. Joseph Fitzgerald, P.P., M.R.I.A., Rahon, Tullamore; Mrs. Mahony, Cullenagh, Beaufort, Killarney; John Gray Bell, Esq., London: proposed by Mr. R. Hitchcock.

Standish Hayes O'Grady, Esq., Monkstown, Cork; James Sandiford Lane, Esq., J.P., Shipton; Patrick Chalmers, Esq., Auldbar, Brechin, Scotland; Henry O'Neill, Esq.; Mr. Thomas Pembroke, Kilkenny; and John Costelloe, Esq., Galway: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Edward Lane, Esq., Kilkenny: proposed by Dr. James.

Walter Sweetman, Esq., M.R.I.A., Annaghs, New Ross: proposed by the Rev. T. U. Townsend,

Mrs. Charles Doayne, Newtown Park, Blackrock, Dublin : proposed by Mr. James K. Aylward.

Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., Nelson Terrace, Youghal : proposed by the Rev. Thomas Gimlette.

Mr. Graves read the following letter, which had been received from Herr Worsaae, the celebrated Danish antiquary :—

192, Bredgade, Copenhagen,
June 18th, 1852.

GENTLEMEN—After having returned from a stay in France and England, I have had the honour to receive the letter of Feb. 17th addressed to me from the Kilkenny Archæological Society, proposing to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, to enter into friendly communications with the Kilkenny Archæological Society.

As I am not at present more than a member of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, I have given up the letter to the Perpetual Secretary of the Royal Society, Councilor Rafn, and I do not doubt but that he will do everything towards carrying out the wishes of the Kilkenny Archæological Society. He was very much pleased when I told him of this plan.

Finally, I have to return my most sincere thanks to the Society, not only for the copy of "Hints and Queries," which you, gentlemen, have been kind enough to forward to me, but also for the very flattering compliment you have paid to my small publications.

With my best wishes for the prosperity of the Kilkenny Society,

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, faithful servant,

J. J. A. WORSAAE.

*The Rev. James Graves, and John
G. A. Prim, Esq., Hon. Secs. to the
Kilkenny Archæological Society.*

A communication was then read from the Rev. J. L. Irwin, rector of Thomastown, strongly urging on the Society the necessity of taking steps to arrest the decay of Jerpoint Abbey, and suggesting the formation of a special fund for that and similar purposes.

The Secretaries were requested, by a resolution passed unanimously, to visit and report upon the condition of the Abbey, and Mr. J. G. Robertson, architect, consented to give them the benefit of his professional assistance for that purpose.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By Mr. Patrick Chalmers, Auldbar, the impression of a small signet ring, engraved with the letter I crowned, and which was said to be the private seal of king John ; it was found in an old castle near Tara, and is in the possession of Miss Daly. It did not appear on what authority the ring was attributed to king John.

By Mr. R. Malcolmson, Shamrock Lodge, Bagnalstown, an impression from the signet of the second duke of Ormonde, which had been attached to a fee-farm grant of the lands of Rathowe, county of Carlow, made by that nobleman in the year 1711, to Thomas Jones and Anthony Sheppard.

By Mr. Albert Way, an impression in gutta percha, of the seal of Sir William Hilton, *temp.* Ric. II. It was circular in shape, and bore the device of an ancient vessel in full sail, surrounded by the legend—*"Willielmus. Hilton. Miles. Admiralis. pro. loco. Hybernie. usque. ad. Scociam."*

Mr. Way observed that the name of this admiral of the Irish channel was not found in any published list. The same gentleman also sent an impression of an oval ecclesiastical seal.

By Mr. James Light, through Mr. Douglas, a silver-mounted crystal seal, of the period of Louis XIV., dug out of the ruins of the citadel of Old Sarum in 1846.

By the Dean of Waterford, specimens of ancient flooring tiles from the Franciscan abbey, Waterford.

By Mr. J. Windele, Cork, a specimen of modern iron ring-money called a "manilla" manufactured at Birmingham for the traffic of the African coast, and which had formed portion of the cargo of a British vessel wrecked on the Cork coast. It was identical in shape with the ancient gold penannular ring-money so frequently found in this country.

By Mr. Corbet, Castle Gardens, an ancient globe-shaped glass bottle, found a few days previously in an old wine cellar, which had been long closed up and forgotten, and was lately exposed in the course of some excavations in the court-yard of Kilkenny Castle.

By Archdeacon Cotton, a very large and valuable collection of ancient and modern Irish coins, amongst which were a half-penny of King John, and specimens of the base Irish coinage of Elizabeth and James II.; also of the silver tokens issued by the Bank of Ireland, for general circulation in Ireland, in the beginning of this century.

By Mr. R. Smithwick, J. P., Birchfield, a modern silver Danish coin.

By Mr. J. Windele, Wood's *Inquiry concerning the Primitive Inhabitants of Ireland*, O'Flaherty's *Glance at ancient Ireland*, and Swanton's *Irish Primer*.

By the Rev. Samuel Hayman, Youghal, a little work by Mr. Fitzgerald, of Youghal, *A Hand-book to the Holy City of Ardmore*.

By Mr. John O'Daly, *The Kings of the Race of Eibhear*.

By the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute, its *Proceedings* part 6., together with an *Archæological Guide to Ely Cathedral*.

By Mr. J. G. Robertson, two plates illustrative of local antiquities, the subjects being the well in Roth's old house, Coalmarket, and two of the tombs in the cathedral of St. Canice.

By Mr. T. B. McCreery, an original parchment lease of the ancient hostelry, called the Bull Inn, Irishtown, from the Bishop of Ossory to Mary Walsh; this document was also curious, as supplying an autograph of Bishop Pococke.

By Mr. T. H. Carroll, Carlow, an old copy of a bond of King Charles I., dated Oxford, 1st April 1643, binding himself "on the word of a King" to the Earl of Carnwath, to repay him the sum of £6239.

By Mr. C. Fowler, Wellbrook, *Notes on the Use of the Clay Tobacco Pipe in England*, by Andrew James Lamb, Esq.

By Mr. John Gray Bell, three tracts, being a *Glossary of the Provincial Words of Cumberland*, and reprints of two scarce antiquarian tracts, of which he is the publisher.

By Mr. Hitchcock, a tract issued by Waterhouse and Co. of Dublin, illustrating the ornamental Irish antiquities reproduced by them, and containing two engravings of the Tara brooch.

A series of very interesting rubbings from brasses in St. Peter's

church, Norfolk, was exhibited by permission of Mrs. Hewit O'Brien, Deanery, Waterford, and excited much attention.

A chief attraction of the meeting was the cast from the ancient cross-legged effigy in Kilfane church, which had been executed for the Society's Museum. For the purpose of defraying the cost consequent on the execution of this cast a subscription was commenced, and the following members contributed 10s. each—Dr. Cane, Sampson Carter, Esq., C.E., Rev. James Graves, J. M. Tidmarsh, Esq., and Mr. John G. A. Prim. In connexion with this subject, Mr. Graves read a paper on the cross-legged effigies existing in the county of Kilkenny, which will be found printed at length in the *Transactions*, p. 63, *ante*.

Mr. Richard R. Brash, Architect, Cork, then read a paper on the local antiquities of Buttevant, which will also be found in full in the *Transactions*, p. 83, *ante*.

Mr. Prim read a paper on discoveries made in a rath at Dunbel, which will be found in full in the *Transactions*, p. 119, *ante*.

The Rev. J. Graves said they were indebted to Mr. Mosse, Bennetts-bridge, for forwarding the information as to the circumstance of the rath referred to by Mr. Prim being trenched. He hoped the other members of the society would be on the watch and give a similar intimation to the secretaries whenever they heard of any intention to level or trench a rath or other remain of antiquity in their respective localities.

The Dean of Waterford forwarded some highly curious documents connected with the history of the cathedral of that city, which will be found in full in the *Transactions*, p. 75, *ante*.

Mr. Patrick Cody sent a communication respecting the "giant's grave" at Licketstown, in the barony of Ida, known as Leaba-an-Cheadaich Mhoir, which will be found in full in the *Transactions*, p. 101, *ante*.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st, 1852,

THE RIGHT HON. W. F. TIGHE, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—John Greene, Esq., M.P., for the county of Kilkenny; and Hugh Greene, Esq., Rockview: proposed by Mr. Joseph Greene, jun.

John Hyde, Esq., D.L., J.P., Castle Hyde, Fermoy; Bindon Blood, Esq., D.L., J.P., Ennis; R. R. Madden, Esq., M.R.I.A., Loan Fund Office, Dublin Castle; M. H. Gill, Esq., University Printing Office, Dublin; Rev. William Scannell, Ventry, Dingle; Francis Annesly Dunlevy, Esq., Dingle; John Mason, Esq., Dingle; Rev. Edward Cowen, Dunurlin Glebe, Ventry, Dingle: proposed by Mr. R. Hitchcock, Trinity College, Dublin.

John H. Leech, Esq., Carrick-on-Suir: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The Rev. John Clarke, R.C.C., Louth; and Edward Hayes, Esq., Leeds: proposed by Mr. John O'Daly, Dublin.

Charles Lanyon, Esq., C.E., County Surveyor, Belfast: proposed by Mr. S. Carter, County Surveyor, Kilkenny.

The Rev. Joseph Rogers, Parsonstown: proposed by Mr. T. L. Cooke, Parsonstown.

The Rev. W. D. Macray, New College, Oxford; and Thomas Bell, Esq., Cumberland-row, Newcastle-on-Tyne: proposed by Mr. John Gray Bell, London.

The Rev. W. C. Gorman, St. Canice's Library: proposed by the Rev. Dr. Browne.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Rev. J. L. Irwin, Rector of Thomastown, a musket found near Penzance, on the coast of Cornwall, affording a most curious example of concrete of sand and gravel cemented together by the oxydation of the iron. The musket had been completely enveloped in this coating, which included many large stones; but from a small portion of the stock, visible where the concretion had been removed, it did not appear to have been subjected to the action of the sea-water for any very long period, the fashion of the woodwork being very similar to the military firelock of the present day.

By Mr. Michael White, Dunbell, some further objects from amongst those found in the rath on his lands (as described at the July meeting), and which he had since recovered for the Society; amongst these were fragments of jet rings, a small disk of bone, which had evidently been turned in a lathe, a brass ear-ring, and other objects.

By Dr. Lalor, a human skull, being one of a number found, together with a very large quantity of other human bones, on his property, at Clinstown, county of Kilkenny. These remains had been turned up in digging for sand, and, according to the usual tradition of the peasantry in such cases, were the remains of persons slain in some battle in the olden times, but when or by what enemy his informants could not tell. The medical gentlemen present seemed to consider this skull, from its appearance, of considerable antiquity; Dr. Kinchela, however, remarked that sandy soil, such as that of Clinstown, was not calculated to preserve bones as well as loam or boggy matter.

By the Rev. James Graves, on the part of Mr. Crawley, gardener to the Bishop of Ossory, a signet ring, engraved with armorial bearings, found in the garden of the mensal lands of the see, near Kilkenny. The ring was of brass, but had been gilded; the arms were much defaced; the second quarter appeared to display the bearings of Warren—*chequés or and azure, on a canton gules a lion rampant argent.*

By the Cambrian Archæological Association, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. 10.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, its *Journal*, No. 33.

Mr. J. F. Shearman exhibited a collection of bronze celts, found at Cashel, and in the Railway cuttings at Bagnalstown; one was of a very uncommon type, being ornamented with parallel depressions on the sides, and exhibiting notches to enable it to be more firmly bound to the haft.

Mr. P. O'Callaghan exhibited a curious bronze pin, a bronze celt,

and a silver coin of queen Elizabeth, which had been found, with some human bones, at Cullahill, Queen's county.

A letter from the Rev. Mr. Cowen, of Ventry, this day elected a member, was brought under notice by the Secretary. The Rev. Gentleman expressed his regret that none were found to rescue the antiquities which abounded in the rich and interesting region that formed the district surrounding him, from the ruthless contempt which daily threatened their destruction. He had often tried, but in vain, to impress their value on some of the local proprietors, but, alas! monuments that a command, or even the expression of a desire for their preservation, would be certain to save, were fast perishing, few, indeed, seeming to appreciate their value.

Mr. Graves stated that it was most gratifying to observe that this Society had attracted the attention of that learned and important body, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at present holding its meeting at Belfast. He had received a letter from the secretary of the sub-committee of antiquities, to the effect that it gave them particular pleasure to find that the present occasion was likely to open a correspondence between the north and south of Ireland on subjects connected with archæology; they had not as yet in the north a society exclusively devoted to that department, but the correspondence caused by the proposed exhibition, at Belfast, of Irish antiquities in connexion with the meeting of the Association, had shown them that a very large number of individuals throughout Ulster felt an interest in such pursuits. It therefore seemed to the committee that the occasion might be used to establish an Archæological Society to co-operate with similar bodies in Ireland; and that a general meeting might be held once a year in some part of Ireland, to last for several days, during which exploring excursions might be made, papers read, and various antiquities exhibited. The Kilkenny Archæological Society, it was suggested, might give this idea their consideration so that some suggestion from that body might be made during the meeting of the British Association at Belfast.

This subject was warmly received by the members present, who expressed their sympathy with the objects mooted, and it was resolved, on the motion of Dr. Browne, seconded by Mr. Robertson, that Mr. Mac Adam's suggestions be adopted, and that the honorary secretaries do communicate with that gentleman on the subject.

Mr. J. G. Robertson, architect, on the part of the sub-committee appointed at the last meeting of the society to inspect the condition of Jerpoint Abbey, exhibited several drawings of the building, and brought up the following report:—

"It will be recollected that on the occasion of our last meeting, a sub-committee, consisting of the Rev. J. Graves, and Messrs. J. G. A. Prim, and J. G. Robertson, was appointed, on the suggestion of the Rev. J. L. Irwin, to visit and inspect the abbey of Jerpoint, one of the most magnificent remains of by-gone days, to be found, not only in this county, rich as it is in such relics, but in Ireland.

"The sub-committee having visited the ruins, I have been deputed to read to the members of the society now present, a few notes descriptive of the state of the abbey, and to offer such suggestions, as we think, if

carried into execution, would not only serve to repair the present dilapidations, but might also prevent future injury to the remains of a building, the beauty of which may be well judged of from the drawings now exhibited, representing the abbey not only as a pile, but in detail.

"On examining the choir we found that the large and very handsome east window has been built up with a thick mass of rough masonry, with the exception of the central bay, over the head of which a lintel of wood, now in a state of rapid decay, has been placed; and, as upon it is built a large part of the masonry alluded to, on the giving way of the lintel this mass will fall, dragging down with it all the mullions of the window, which most likely could not afterwards be put together. As it is, many parts of the circular lights in the head of the window are wanting. It is therefore proposed to take down this mass of masonry and endeavour to secure the remaining mullions of this window by means of iron cramps and dowels. It is also proposed, to repair the interesting sedilia in the south wall of this part of the building; to arrange the abbots' and other tombs, and to repair the walls by pinning.

"In the nave many obstructions would require to be removed; amongst them a wall which at present destroys the effect of this portion of the structure by dividing it. This wall appears to have been built long after the suppression of the abbey to render that part of the church fit for domestic purposes. It will be also necessary to take down a modern wall, which now closes up the north-east arch of the side aisle, and to secure the south-east arch, the capital of one of whose piers seems to have been recently injured; to pin up bases of piers, and build a wall twelve feet high at south side of nave. At present that side is enclosed by a very low and loosely built wall, easily clambered over. The five clerestory windows are all more or less injured, the crowns of the arches having given way in some—in others there are several small breaches. These would all require to be repaired and secured, the top of wall being sloped, to throw off rain. This would be the most expensive part of the repairs, as from the height at which the windows are placed, scaffolding would be required.

"We next proceed to the south transept, where we find that many breaches have been made, which require to be built up to save this part of the building. In a little chapel attached to this transept, a large breach has to be made good, the back of a window to be repaired, and a great quantity of rubbish to be cleared out.

"In the north transept a general pinning of the walls would be required, and immediate precautions are necessary to prevent the impending fall of the gable. The unsightly modern wall which now closes up the transept arch, should be taken down, to restore the building to its original symmetry. In one of the eastern chapels of this transept, a breach beneath the window should be built up.

"In the upper chambers, at east end, considerable breaches are found, which require to be made good, and the walls to undergo a general pinning.

"Access to the building from the roofs of the vaults on north side, should be prevented; doors and windows, generally, to be rendered secure against mischievous intruders, by means of iron bars and gates.

"On a rough calculation of the several items already enumerated, the probable cost would amount to about £90; and when it is remembered that 5s. from each member of the Society would more than make up that sum (our members at present exceeding 300) it does not seem chimerical to express a hope that the persons constituting this association would so far contribute to rescue from inevitable ruin this noble remain."

The foregoing report was accompanied by a large number of very beautiful drawings, most of them executed upwards of thirty years since, thus demonstrating the injury which had accrued to many parts of the building during that period.

Mr. Graves observed that, besides the interest attaching to the structure as a most valuable specimen of the Hiberno-Romanesque and early Norman styles of ecclesiastical architecture, Jerpoint abbey, from its contiguity to the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway, was now of easy access and constantly visited by strangers, who must feel shocked at the disgraceful state of neglect and ruin into which it had fallen; scarcely a month elapsing without the perpetration of some new act of barbarism. This state of things could alone be remedied by a thorough repair, by rendering the abbey inaccessible to the mischievous and idle, and by placing a person in charge of it who should be responsible for its safe keeping. All this had been accomplished at Holy Cross, by the liberality of the proprietor, Dr. Wall, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, whose example was worthy of being more generally followed.

The Chairman stated he had recently visited the abbey in company with some English friends, and he should say the condition of the building was disgraceful to the local public, and loudly called for some such steps as those now proposed.

The members present unanimously coincided with the chairman, and agreed that there could be no doubt but that an appeal to the public for aid, in such an undertaking, would be warmly responded to.

After some conversation, on the motion of Dr. Cane, seconded by Mr. Douglas, it was resolved that the sub-committee, already appointed, should put themselves in communication with the agent of the property, or, if necessary, apply to the Lord Chancellor, for permission to carry out the steps deemed necessary in the matter.

A paper on an ancient Irish boat discovered at Clonaslee, in the Queen's county, was contributed by Mr. T. L. Cooke, Parsonstown; which will be found printed in full in the *Transactions*, p. 71, *ante*.

Mr. P. Cody, Mullinavatt, wrote to inform the Society of the existence of a rath-souterrain in his district, which had not been previously described. Mr. Cody's communication, having expressed regret the public did not more generally interest themselves in the preservation of such curious monuments, proceeded as follows:—

"Having been informed of the existence of a souterrain in the townland of Acres, parish of Killahy, after some search I succeeded in discovering it. The entrance to it is by a small aperture on the top at one end, and through which I descended, much to the surprise of two persons who conducted me to the place. It consists of, at present, but a single chamber, twenty feet in length, seven feet wide at the floor, in the

middle between both ends and at the highest point about six feet from the floor to the roof. The figure of the ground plan nearly resembles that of an ellipse, but very irregular in its dimensions. The side walls are built with rough stones put together without any order, and approaching each other by irregular projections, until at the top they are about two feet asunder; a roof of flags laid across completes the fabric.

"This structure must have been originally much more extensive, as I discovered a passage at one end, of about eighteen inches square, which formerly led to another chamber, but which had no existence in the memory of any one now living in the locality. The other end also, though packed with rubbish, shows signs of a similar passage.

"The only tradition preserved, connected with it, is that it was formerly covered by a large moat, and that it was named by the people in old times *Tulach-na-coire*, of which name they don't know the meaning at this day.

"There is great probability that the present name of the townland, *Acres*, may have taken rise from the latter part of this word (*na-coire*); or because *Tulach-na-coire* and *Acha-coire* both mean the same thing, namely, *the mound of the cave*, the latter might have been frequently used instead of the former, and so have given the name *Acres*."

The Rev. James Graves then read a paper contributed by Mr. Francis Prendergast, Barrister-at-Law, on some circumstances connected with the death of Wallenstein, calculated to exonerate one of the actors in that tragedy, Col. Walter Butler. The paper will be found printed in full in the *Transactions*. p. 9, *ante*.

The following communication was received from Mr. Daniel Byrne, Timahoe, Queen's county:—

"About one mile and a-half from the village of Timahoe, Queen's county, is a mountain named Fossy-mountain, or 'the mountain of the desert-land;' it is situate east by south of the village, and its summit is six hundred feet above the level of Timahoe plain. On this mountain is a valley which in remote ages contained a bog called the White Bog, which in its centre formerly was many feet deep. For ages the neighbouring inhabitants got their fuel in this valley, so that its turf is nearly expended.

"About twenty years ago a respectable farmer and surveyor, Mr. Robert Leggett, now deceased, possessed the mountain, and it happened that Mr. Leggett was taking turf-fuel out of the centre of this valley, where the bottom turf was never previously disturbed, and as his men cut ten feet deep and to the bottom of the bog, they discovered a square structure about ten feet by eight; this structure was made by oak poles, resembling stakes, closely set one after the other, and all of equal height, about seven feet; and so resting as to allow the person who constructed the work to weave strong switches between them. Mr. Leggett was of an antiquarian turn of mind, and took particular care in making a strict investigation as to the formation of this curious edifice. He caused his men to cut the turfy substance within and without the timber-work, without disturbing the stakes. By this judicious arrangement he completely cleared away the turf; and the wooden building remained in as perfect a state as the decay of ages permitted. He then made a further

examination and found that the stakes or poles were sunk about two feet in a stratum of solid earth, beneath the bog, and so he came to the conclusion that the wooden frame was constructed before the formation of the bog. Within the wooden frame-work he discovered the original surface, and resting on it there was found a beam of oak with a wooden wedge sticking in one of its ends ; whilst a mallet lay by the side of the beam, with apparent marks of having been made much use of. The mallet was not perforated, it was originally a part of a tree, and its handle was a branch that grew at right angles to the stem.

"I shall make no comment on this curious discovery, but must express my regret that these most interesting antiquities have been lost or destroyed."

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd, 1852,
THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected :—

Wyndham Gould, Esq., M.P., 21, Merrion-square, North, Dublin ; the Rev. Thomas Moriarty, Ventry Parsonage, Dingle ; Miss Fuller, Belmont, Tralee ; Mr. Jeremiah O'Leary, Ballydavid Coast Guard Station, Dingle ; Charles Yelverton Haines, Esq., M.D., 25, Warren's-place, Cork ; Robert MacAdam, Esq., 18, College-square, Belfast ; Alexander Colville Welsh, Esq., Dromore, county Down ; and Mr. John D. Nagle, Dingle : proposed by Mr. R. Hitchcock, Trinity College, Dublin.

John Greene, Esq., Rockview, Inistioge : proposed by Mr. Joseph Greene, jun.

Thomas M'Gillicuddy, Esq., Bawncluan, Beaufort ; and Rev. John F. Day, Beaufort : proposed by Mr. Daniel Mahony, Dunloe Castle, Killybegney.

The Rev. Thomas Dawson, Kilkenny ; Mr. Peirs Butler, Woodstock, Inistioge ; Henry M. F. Langton, Esq., 6, Southwick-place, Hyde Park Square, London ; Charles Cavanagh, Esq., St. John's, Black Rock, Dublin ; and Charles Edmonds, Esq., 33, Pelham Place, Brompton, Middlesex : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Rev. Francis Whitfield, Vicar of Dunhill, Annestown : proposed by the Rev. Thomas Gimlette, Waterford.

The honorary secretaries laid before the meeting several sheets of the Transactions for the past year, already printed, and reported that every exertion, compatible with a careful passing through the press, was being made to expedite the publication.

Mr. Graves also stated that in consequence of applications from several members, who had lately joined, a list of subscribers, at 5s. each, headed by Wyndham Gould, Esq., M.P., had been opened for the re-printing of the first year's Transactions of the society, all the copies of the original impression of 250, having been for some time exhausted.

A letter was read from the secretary of the Royal Cork Institution, conveying the thanks of that body for the cast of the cross-legged effigy

in Kilfane church, presented by this Society; and stating that the Institution would take care that it should have a prominent position in the museum.

Mr. Graves said he felt much pleasure in laying on the table a prospectus of "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," which was about being published in Belfast, the first number to appear with the new year. This interesting *brochure* was to be published quarterly, and would be devoted principally (but not exclusively) to the elucidation of the antiquities and ancient history of Ulster. Each number, besides being a record of interesting and authentic facts, would be open to the discussion of all disputed subjects in Irish Archæology, and would be illustrated with lithographs of curious ancient objects.

The secretaries then laid before the members present the following appeal for the preservation of Jerpoint abbey, which was unanimously approved of, and ordered to be circulated:—

"Founded before the anglo-Norman invasion, by one of the Irish chieftains, or *Reguli*, of ancient Ossory, Jerpoint abbey presents a fine example of the late Hiberno-Romanesque style of ecclesiastical architecture. The chancel, in itself of much interest from the sedilia, aumbry, and portions of the original eastern windows still remaining, should alone perhaps in strictness be attributed to this period. The pointed arches of the nave, and its lofty western triplet window, combined with details strictly Norman, exhibit the progress of the pile after Leinster became the princely fief of Richard de Clare. The eastern gable affords a valuable example of the insertion of a Decorated window of beautiful proportions amongst the older Hiberno-Romanesque work; whilst the belfry tower displays a still later style of architecture, namely, that of the Perpendicular.

"The architectural and historical interest attaching to the extensive remains of this abbey, the picturesque grouping of the ruins, and the beauty of the surrounding country, have long proved attractive to the antiquary and the tourist; and now that railway communication deposits the visitor almost beneath its very walls, it has become yet more famous, as it is better known.

"But with increased facility of access came no greater likelihood of better preservation; on the contrary scarcely a week passed unmarked by the perpetration of some new act of wanton Vandalism. Time, and the vicissitudes of the climate too, were more slowly, but yet surely, working the defacement of the noble pile, and both agencies combined, threatened in a few years to leave but a heap of shapeless rubbish to mark the site of Jerpoint abbey.

"The danger of losing a valuable national monument, together with the disgrace attaching to a civilized community from this state of things, were felt by the Committee of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, from its first formation, instituted as that association was to preserve and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our ancestors, more especially as connected with the county and city of Kilkenny. The Committee, indeed, never doubted but that in making an effort for the preservation of Jerpoint abbey, they would enlist the sympathy and receive the cordial co-operation of the public. But under

hitherto existing circumstances the difficulty presented itself, that, whilst the ruins continued exposed to the wanton attack of every mischievous idler, the money expended on repairs and renovations might, and most probably would, be completely thrown away.

"This difficulty however no longer intervenes. Local arrangements of a satisfactory nature have been made, and the important step has been already taken of appointing a care-taker, resident on the spot, who is now responsible for the due conservation of the abbey; and it only remains to make a vigorous effort to repair the injuries resulting from time, and the far more destructive agency of man, to obviate as far as possible the danger of further dilapidation, and to clear away the unsightly masses of rubbish which encumber the abbey precincts.

"The annexed professional report¹ presented to the September meeting of the society, by Mr. Robertson, details the repairs and other works which are deemed necessary, and estimates the lowest possible expense at which they could be effectually executed at £90; but the sum of £100 will be required fully to accomplish the objects proposed by the committee.

"The small annual subscription of the members being totally inadequate to meet this demand, it is proposed to raise a special fund for that purpose, and whilst the committee trust that many will be found liberally to aid their efforts, they beg to say that the smallest contributions will be of use, and therefore thankfully received."

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the marquis of Ormonde a most valuable and interesting collection of Roman brasses, amounting to forty in number, and comprising the coinage of most of the Roman emperors. His lordship also presented some Kilkenny tokens, copper siege-pieces, jettons, &c.; also specimens of the wood and iron which had been employed in clamping together the stones of the Parthenon at Athens, which in a remarkable manner served to exemplify the durability of those materials after the lapse of so many ages.

By F. R. Stewart, Esq., assistant librarian, King's Inns, Dublin, a celt of a rare type, together with other contributions to the Museum.

By Robert Mosse, Esq., a shilling of James I.

By constable Ebbs, city of Kilkenny constabulary, three tradesmens' tokens, of the 17th century, being of Dublin, Wexford, and Thurles.

By Mr. Graves, on the part of a friend, a curious iron chest, traditionally stated to have been brought to Kilkenny, as a treasure-chest, by king William III. He also exhibited an iron axe, found in excavating the rath near Dunbell, and which he had purchased for their Museum.

By the Royal Society of Antiquaries of London, *Archæologia*, vols. xxxiii. and xxxiv.; also their *Proceedings*, nos. 18 to 32 inclusive.

By Mr. R. Hitchcock, the *Reports* of the Cork Cuvierian Society for the years 1850 and 1851; also a pamphlet on the contemplated restoration of the cathedral of St. Brendan, Ardfert.

¹ The architect's report here alluded to will be found printed at large in the *Proceedings* of the September meeting of the Society, page 204, *ante*.

By Mr. J. R. Phayer, Finn's *Leinster Journal*, being the number published for April 21st, 1797, containing, amongst other curious matters, a proclamation for the apprehension of Byrne and Strang, whose subsequent execution for the abduction of the Misses Kennedy caused such a sensation in Kilkenny and the neighbouring counties, and effectually put down the "Abduction Clubs" in those extraordinary times fully organized through the country.

Mr. Graves drew attention to a splendid series of drawings of the ancient sculptured crosses of the county of Kilkenny, which ornamented the walls of the meeting room that day, and which had occupied much of the attention of the members present. He had long been alive to the importance of securing faithful representations of those noble works of art; and having pointed out their localities to the able artist now sojourning in Kilkenny, Mr. Henry O'Neill, that gentleman, with a genuine antiquarian zeal only equalled by his skill as a draughtsman, had devoted much of his time and labour to the production of the very beautiful and most faithful drawings now before them. He (Mr. Graves) had the authority of many eminent writers of the sister Island to support him in the assertion he was about to make, viz., that the style of ornament observable in these crosses was peculiar to the Celtic race; it prevailed throughout Ireland, in the Isle of Man, Cornwall, Wales, the Northern shires of England and Scotland—in short, wherever the influence of the early Irish preachers of Christianity extended. But not only was the peculiar interlaced work which distinguishes the Irish crosses to be found in these Islands, but it was also to be traced over Germany and Italy, wherever those zealous heralds of the Gospel had directed their footsteps. Celtic carving, says Sir Francis Palgrave in his late interesting and suggestive work "*The History of Normandy and of England*," was exhibited by The Book of the Gospels deposited by Berengarius, king of Italy, in the sanctuary at Monza, in Lombardy, circa A.D., 892, along with the iron crown placed there after his coronation, and still existing. "The crumbling leaves are preserved between the ivory tablets, quaintly carved and pierced, adorned by the interlacings termed runic knots, according to conventional archæological phraseology; but no Scandinavian sculptured their embossed and graceful foliage; they were worked by a Celtic hand" (*History of Normandy and of England*, Volume i, p. 629); and Mr. Daniel Wilson, the author of that valuable work, "*The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*," gave it as his opinion that interlaced knot-work, a favourite device of the Celtic mind, not only occurs on the sculptures, the jewellery, the manuscripts, and the decorated shrines of early Irish Christian art, but has been perpetuated almost to our own day on the weapons and personal ornaments of the Scottish Highlanders (p. 504). But apart from the national interest thus attaching to those crosses, he (Mr. Graves) could not forbear calling attention to their importance in another point of view. He alluded to their value as eminently beautiful examples of a high style of art. In his opinion, high art was not to be confined to the representation of the human figure, although no doubt that was its highest department. The main end was attainable, however, in other branches. It had been observed by the illustrious Humbolt, in his "*Aspects of Na-*

ture," that the eye is ever gratified by the rythmical recurrence of certain forms—and what could be more graceful than the endless variety of interlaced ribbon patterns observable on the examples before them, whilst the monolithic magnitude of the crosses, reared on solid and massive bases, and in general exhibiting such a graceful combination of circular and rectangular lines in their design, stamped them at once with the impress of the highest genius, and raised feelings of admiration for the men who in the troublous period extending from the seventh to the tenth centuries, were capable of executing works of art which created such a profound sensation amongst their rude disciples that its reflex effect, thrown back faintly in the traditions of the peasantry, almost universally attributes their origin to a miraculous exercise of the divine power. Mr. Graves then entered into a detailed description of the various ornamental designs upon the particular crosses of which the drawings were then exhibited, and stated it was Mr. O'Neill's intention to illustrate the crosses of the county Kilkenny by lithography, in which department of art he was a practised hand. He proposed to publish, as a commencement, six tinted lithographs, imperial folio, in a suitable folding case, of which a prospectus would immediately be issued. There were several most interesting crosses in the county of Kilkenny, all of which were known to the Secretaries of the Society, and had been investigated fully; but it would be most desirable that parties knowing of the existence of ancient stone crosses in the surrounding counties would communicate with the Secretaries, stating where they were situated, and mentioning anything of interest as to their general characteristics.

Mr. Prim said, that, to pass from the ancient sculptured crosses of the county to more modern monuments of the same character, he wished to report a discovery which made an interesting addition to the information conveyed to the society in his paper on "The Way-side Crosses of Kilkenny," read at the May meeting of 1850. In that paper he had stated, that, although there were faint traces of armorial bearings on the Butts Cross, yet owing to the manner in which the sculptures had been battered and defaced, it was impossible to ascertain to what family they appertained. Many supposed impossibilities, however, yielded to perseverance, and his continued observation of the monument had led to some success in making out the sculptures. By looking at the cross when the evening sun fell upon it, he had ascertained beyond question that the base bore an escutcheon parted per pale; the arms on the dexter, or husband's side, were undecipherable, but on the sinister or wife's side, were the chevron and three covered cups of the Fagan family quite clear and evident. At the dexter base were the initials R.S., and at the sinister M.F., leaving little room for doubt that the cross was erected to Sir Richard Shee, knight, of Bonnetstown, and his second wife, Margaret Fagan. The tradition of the people of the locality, which was rather a curious one, in some degree corroborated this, for they stated the cross to have been built by a "great man," they did not know his name, who lived in the castle of Bonnetstown; he dealt in the "black art," and, in order to show his contempt for religion, on each sabbath and holiday when others were at their devotions, it was his wont to bring out his hounds to hunt. On a certain great festival day there was a procession of the citizens to the cathedral,

through the Butts, and so large was the concourse that the building could only contain a tithe of the people, the rest being fain, when the ceremony commenced, to kneel down along the street. The knight happened to ride up, with his hounds and every other preparation for the chase, and upon perceiving the kneeling people he endeavoured contemptuously to spur his horse through them; but the animal refused to proceed, and kneeling down with the worshippers, could not be compelled to rise till the ceremony had concluded! The wicked knight was so struck with the reproof read him by his own horse, that, according to the legend, he immediately reformed his life, became a penitent, and built the cross to mark the spot in which the extraordinary occurrence took place. Mr. Prim said he merely told the legend as the people related it. He believed the monument really to be one of several votive crosses raised by dame Margaret Shee, alias Fagan, after the decease of her husband, Sir Richard Shee, who was the founder of the O'Shee Hospital, and was decidedly a religious man and no necromancer.

The Secretary read a letter from a Kerry member of the Society, the Rev. A. B. Rowan. Accompanying the letter was a slip from a Kerry local paper, containing two communications on the subject of the discovery of some very ancient graves in the neighbourhood of Sliabh Mis, on the supposed site of the decisive battle fought between the Milesian and Tuatha de Danaan forces, in which the invading Milesians were the conquerors. The Rev. John Casey, P.P., Killarney (another member of the Kilkenny Archæological Society), advocated the idea of these interments having belonged to the Milesians, with a *salvo* as to the possibility of human remains continuing for so many ages without being reduced to kindred earth; his letter was as follows:—

Killarney, October 12, 1852.

REV. SIR,—I received your letter to the Rev. Robert Hewson, requesting to be informed as to my opinion respecting the old graves discovered by the workmen employed a few years ago when making the road through the valley running by Caherconree, southward to Castlemain bay.

To a certainty I know that wide and long valley to be the "Gleann Fais," or "Glen Aish," where ended the first battle fought between the Milesians and Tuatha De Danaans, on the evening of the month of Bel, or May, in the year of the world 2736.

The valley retains as yet the name of "Gleann Aish" (the letter F being not expressed in the genitive case).

The Milesians, immediately after their landing at Bord O'Duinn, in Iveragh, marched across the country to Slieve Mis, where the Tuatha De Danaans were encamped and where the obstinate battle commenced. The superior valour of the Milesians prevailed; the Danaans left 1000 men killed on the field; the Milesians lost 300, two Druids, and two ladies, Scots, relict of Milesius, and Fais, the wife of Un Mac Vighe, with some leading officers. The next day the ladies were buried with all the pomp of funeral solemnities—Scots in the valley called "Gleann Scoheen," near Tralee, where a royal monument was erected to her memory, and Fais in the extensive valley before mentioned, called at the present day "Gleann Aish" where the battle ended, and where most probably the bodies of the 300 slain Milesians were buried.

I have determined on sending what I have here written for insertion in the *Kerry Examiner*, for the purpose of collecting the combined opinions of my much better informed friends on those subjects, and as to the possibility of human bones resting so long in earth without being pulverised into, or identified with, their kindred grave-dust. Should the well grounded report of intelligent readers of this article prove the affirmative, it goes much, if not *in toto*, to establish the truth of what has been recorded in ancient Irish history of the battle of Slieve Mis.

I can scarcely read or write for the last five years, except in the broad day light. But when next I write on these subjects, obscured by the lapse of ages, it will be on the earliest notices in ancient Irish history of your locality—afterwards on a few matters not hitherto published, connected with Corkaguiny, where I spent twenty-seven years, and lastly on subjects connected with this most picturesque and interesting district of Kerry, where I am for the rest of my life fixed.

I have the honour to remain, Rev. Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

JOHN CASEY.

To the Rev. A. B. Rowan.

Mr. Rowan's letter in reply ran thus:—

Belmont, October 27, 1852.

REV. SIR,—I have but just seen the letter which you were so kind as to address to me in the *Tralee Examiner*, on the subject of the ancient graves in the valley lying westward of Caherconree mountain, and which you identify as the "Glen Fais" or "Glean Aish" of ancient Irish history.

I hasten to thank you for your attention to my inquiry, not only in the present instance, but in several others, in which you have favoured me with your opinion on points connected with the antiquities of our county. I quite adopt your idea, that discussing such matters through the public journals is most satisfactory, and most likely to induce further information and more general interest on the subject, and only regret to find that, with your impaired sight, it should be so painful to you to impart your information to me and the public in general.

My attention was first directed to the graves in question by the Rev. George O'Sullivan, with the additional information, that besides those exposed by the cutting of the road, they abounded in the adjacent field. As there is no trace of grave-yard, or ancient place of worship, and as the general soil of the field covers them for several feet in thickness, it appeared to me a remarkable fact to find so many burial places, constructed with considerable care in such a situation; and when Mr. O'Sullivan further informed me that you had been examining them, I lost no time in asking the opinion as to their origin which you now so kindly give me.

Your opinion would place them, in my judgment, among the most interesting remains in Ireland, referring them as it does, to the very first settlement in this island of the Milesian tribes—a period carried back by the Psalter of Cashel and other authorities, to 1300 years before the Christian era! Others deduct somewhat from that date, but all authorities give a very remote antiquity for the event. Keating (of course copying from older authorities), tells us that after the battle of Sliabh Mis, "the Milesians continued upon the field of battle, burying their dead, and celebrating the funeral rites of the two Druids (Uar and Eithir) with great solemnity." This would quite agree with the care which seems to have been bestowed on the graves in question; but there is some difficulty in reconciling the vague mention of the localities. Keating says that "Fais, wife of Un-Mac Vighe (?) was slain in a valley at the foot of the mountain, and that Scots was buried in another valley on the north side of the mountain—Sliabh-Mis—adjoining to the sea—called from her Glean Scoithen, or the Valley of Scots." Now the valley in which these tombs lie is on the west side of Caherconree mountain, at least eight miles distant from Glean Scoithen, and at present rather nearer to the sea. If, indeed, we take into account the probability, that the sea once flowed much further inland than at present, it will remove this objection—and the name "Glean Aish" strongly bears out your opinion.

But, Rev. Sir (when was ever antiquarian speculation without its "but?")—the strongest difficulty, as suggested by yourself, remains for consideration, namely—the "possibility of human bones resting so long in earth, without being pulverised into, or identified with their kindred grave-dust." This is in all senses a *grave* physical objection to your opinion.

Even if we accept the chronology of Giraldus Cambrensis, who brings the coming of the Milesians within 400 years of the birth of Christ; it gives us an antiquity of 2050 years for these remains—and I believe (where embalming has not been used) there is no recorded case of "dust unreturned to dust" for so long a period—while the general evidence goes to contradict its possibility.

In the Etruscan tombs, which are continually discovered in Italy, I believe the in-

variable effect of the admission of air in, that the remains found in them literally *vanish from sight* in a few moments, under the eye of the beholder. I myself can testify, that having lately had an opportunity, through the kindness of Padre Marchi, the distinguished custodian of the antiquities of Rome, of being present at the opening of a tomb in the catacombs of that city, in a very few moments after the slab was removed, by which the air had been excluded for *at least* fifteen centuries, the remains enclosed, which at first presented the *seemingly* solid structure of a human skeleton, *disappeared!* and it was only by holding our tapers close to the floor, that we could discern an outline of a human form, traced out by a substance somewhat resembling cheese mould—the mere “shadow of a shade”—verifying the simple, solemn epitaph I had occasionally seen on other tombs, of “*pulvis et nihil.*”

Now, if the process of decomposition was thus complete in the dry air and puzzuolano soil of Rome and in the case of bodies buried *within* the Christian era, when we weigh the probabilities of bones remaining unpulverised in our moist climate and soil for a much longer period, I fear the conclusion will be against your conjecture, and that we must, with regret, let go so interesting a link of evidence for an historical fact, obscured by lapse of ages and loss of records.

At the same time, as one does not willingly give up a probability so strong and interesting as yours, it occurs to me that the subject deserves further inquiry. The Milesians are said to have bestowed unusual care on the burial of their slain, and may have used some process of embalming or preserving the remains, such as their intercourse and alliances with Egypt, previous to their migration westwards, may well have taught them. Further examination of these graves may confirm this, and thus bear out your ingenious and learned conjecture to its full extent.

I have the honour to be, Rev. Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

A. B. ROWAN.

To the Rev. John Casey, P.P.

Mr. James F. Ferguson contributed the following translation of two very curious documents transcribed by him from the Primates Registry at Armagh:—

“Memorandum—That on the 4th of August, 1455, Eugenius O'Neill, captain of his nation, perceiving his bodily strength to fail so that it was necessary that another should succeed to his care and lordship; his first born son, Henry (being elected as captain and principal of his nation before our lord the primate, in the chamber or hall of his residence in the monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul, at Armagh) stating that his election and institution as pertained to his temporal lordship belonged to his lord, the primate, and petitioning therefore with all diligence to be instituted and confirmed by the same lord, the primate, believing him to be a good man and useful for his church and for the people of Ulster, confirmed and ratified the said person so elected as The O'Neil, the principal and captain of his nation, and confirmed his collation before all those there assembled, as well clerics as laics, in very great numbers, the said former O'Neill offering no opposition.”

“Memorandum—That on the 14th November, 1455, an agreement was entered into, between our lord the primate, for himself and his church, and Henry O'Neill, captain of his nation, for himself, his brothers, cousins and subjects, through the intervention of Charles O'Neill, dean, David M'Dewyn, treasurer, and James Leche, canon of the church of Armagh, and Arthur M'Cathmayll, O'Neill's judge, by whose mediation it was agreed as follows:—That the said O'Neill, by reason of an

annual pension to be paid in shillings by our aforesaid lord the primate, shall have for himself of good and noble cloth for his vesture six yards long, and for his wife, to make one tunic, of the same cloth three yards: and, for the use of the aforesaid O'Neill, of coarse cloth one *duseta* (?). And in consideration of this pension the said O'Neill has sworn faithful service to our lord the primate, and his church, his officers, ministers, natives, tenants, servants and clerks, and to the religious and seculars, as appears by the following articles which he approved and ratified, and swore fully to observe."

Then follow in the original certain covenants, to the effect that—*imprimis*, he will keep the Church in all its liberties; *secondly*, that he will demand the primate's rents; *thirdly*, that he will impose no slavery on the clergy (*cleri*) or the tenants. These Mr. Ferguson did not transcribe at length.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1853.

"If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines."

CAMDEN.

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The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR 1853.

THE MARKET CROSS OF KILKENNY.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

AMONGST the many valuable ancient monuments of Kilkenny consigned by the Vandal spirit of the past century to destruction, the Market Cross, which must have formed one of the most striking and imposing ornaments of the town, will ever be most deeply regretted by those who reverence the beautiful in art, or are possessed of heart and thought for the olden times. This interesting monument, which was erected in 1335, stood in the High-street, between the Butter-ship and the Tholsel, and appears to have been an exceedingly light and elegant structure in the Decorated style of architecture. Several old writers have left us descriptions of it which correspond most accurately with a few drawings taken from different points of view, that fortunately have also come down to our day, and leave no room, as in the case of other ancient objects of interest destroyed about the same period, for doubt or speculation as to its appearance and effect. In the seventeenth century there were several private votive crosses, like that a portion of which still exists at the Butts, erected in different parts of Kilkenny by the wealthy inhabitants, as tributes to the memory of departed friends and relatives: but there were two crosses of a different character, of more imposing proportions, and filling more conspicuous situations—the lesser one, known as Croker's Cross, having been placed as a military trophy,¹ whilst the greater

¹ Croker's Cross stood nearly in the position of the present Parade pump, and was erected in the year 1407, in commemoration of the victory gained over the Burkes

and O'Carrolls, at Callan, by Sir Stephen Scrope, the lord deputy, in whose army the burgesses of Kilkenny served, under the leadership of their sovereign, John Croker.

cross was founded in the midst of the High-street of the city, and in the centre of the market-place, as it were to mark the dedication of the community to the service of the Christian Deity. We are afforded an interesting notice of the situation and general appearance of both those monuments by a manuscript preserved amongst the Clarendon papers in the British Museum, which appears to have been a fragment of a history of Kilkenny, written in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and never finished nor published. The writer—whom there is reason to believe was David Rothe, the then Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, a gifted scholar and antiquary, as his known works, as well as the evidence voluntarily borne by arch-bishop Usher, sufficiently testify—states that—

Towards the south the city is divided into four ways, and in the centre of the intersecting streets was erected a marble cross, which they call Croker's Cross, elevated on a four-square base of many steps, of which one side looks to the street of St. Patrick, the second to the Castle-street [now called the Parade], the third to St. John's [Rose-Inn-street], and the fourth to the High-town [High-street]; almost in the centre of which latter stands prominently forth another cross of similar material, but of more beautiful and magnificent fashion, from whose square graduated base rises a vault supported by marble pillars, and at its apex a graceful cross of polished marble; above which, at the point where its gablets diverged, were originally sculptured the statues of the saints to whose guardianship and patronage the city was of old committed. These are St. Canice, St. Kieran, St. Patrick, and St. Brigid the Virgin. At the time at which this cross was erected, it is recorded in the archives, that many of the inhabitants made pious vows for the safety, prosperity and protection of the newly-founded municipality—nay, some are even said to have burned the sign of the cross with glowing iron into their flesh, in order to their making the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, that God might condescend to prosper the undertaking of that community and town.¹

The record to which the writer refers as his authority for this event is, doubtless, the entry under the year 1335 in the annals of John Clyn, a Franciscan friar of Kilkenny, living at the period of the event. Clyn's statement of this occurrence, which is rather amplified in the above passage, is as follows:—"The same year, on Thursday, the morrow of Lucia the Virgin, the great cross was put up in the centre of the market-place in Kilkenny, at which time many persons, flying to the cross, were marked on the naked flesh with the sign of the cross, with a red hot iron, that they might go to the Holy Land."² Thus the ceremony of the raising of the cross upon its pinnacle, would seem to have created an extraordinary religious excitement amongst the burgesses of Kilkenny, and perhaps also the more warlike and adventurous inhabitants of the surrounding district, who may be supposed to have gathered into the town for the occasion. What a pity that Friar Clyn, who was doubtless a spectator of the scene, if not an actor in the solemnity, has not left us a more detailed narrative of the curious proceedings of that day. But bald and mea-

¹ Translated from the original Latin, Clarendon MSS. tom. li. No. 479, in the British Museum.

² *The Annals of Ireland, by John Clyn*, printed for the Irish Archæological Society, p. 27.

gre as is the entry of the event in his annals, it is sufficiently graphic to bring most vividly before the mind's eye, and enable us to realize with almost life-like effect, the exciting and picturesque spectacle presented in the market-place of Kilkenny on that memorable December morning, in the year 1335! It has already given inspiration to some of the local poets:¹ but what a splendid subject would it

¹ The following poem, suggested by the passage in Clyn's Annals above quoted, was written by Mr. Paris Anderson, and published in the *Kilkenny Moderator* newspaper in 1851:—

On the morrow of St. Lucia,
And the day of mighty Jove—
When the blast of dark December
Stripp'd the last leaves from the grove;
In the year of grace we read it,
Thirteen hundred, thirty-five,
All the streets of faire Kilkennie
Seem for festival alive.

From the high Cathedral chiming
Comes the sweet accord of bells,
Mingling with the loud Te Deum,
Many an echo, townward swells—
Stretches forth a long procession,
Monk, and priest, and prelate high,
Whilst the sun of cold December
Struggles through the wintry sky.

Hark! Our Lady's bells are ringing,
Echoing St. Canice' chime,
Marching to the mingling music,
How the multitude keep time!
Zealously their hearts are throbbing,
Eager grows each anxious face,
As the motley ranks are thronging
To the crowded market-place.

There the Black Friars assemble;
There the Gray Franciscans come;
There the mail-clad barons muster,
At the tucket's sound, and drum;
And round the Bishop, white-robed children
Incense-bearing censors toss,
As the long procession wendeth
To the new-built Market Cross.

In the market-place, like statues,
Men-at-arms stand, many score,
Drawn around the cross's basement,
'Neath the pennon of Le Poer.*
In the midst, the stately structure
Proudly rears its bulk on high;
But the cross, as yet, is cover'd
From the ardent gazer's eye.

Now the music of the chiming
Ceases, all is hushed around,
And the upturn'd eager glances
On the cover'd work are bound;
When the Bishop gives the signal—
Quick the arras-cloth they raise,
And the cunning of the working
Bursts upon the people's gaze.

Far above the pillar'd arches
Springs a slender shaft and tall—
Higher yet, the Christian symbol
Sheds its halo over all;
'Neath, St. Canice and St. Kieran,
Carved from out the living stone,
With St. Patrick and St. Brigid—
Tutelaries of the town.

As when through the leafless forest,
After a mysterious lull,
Louder comes the mighty surging
Of the wild storm, deep and full—
So the people's pent-up feeling
Bursts with one exulting cry—
Thronging through the serried soldiers,
To the holy cross they fly.

And the matron and the maiden,
Burgher meek, and rider bold,
Kneel before the Friar Preacher,
Whilst his holy words are told—
Words which, like a light'ning message,
Fly amidst that pious band,
Telling them of distant pilgrims
Wending to the Holy Land.

Words which sink within each bosom,
As the red-hot iron's glow
Burns into the flesh external—
Marks the cross 'neath which they go—
Witness of the truth that guides them
In that weary pilgrimage,
To the shrine of God's sepulchre,
For that faith high war to wage!

Since that morrow of St. Lucia,
Twice two centuries and one
Have passed o'er the crowded city—
Pilgrim, soldier, cross, are gone;
Yet the record hath not faded—
Fancy still the scene can trace,
When the cross was consecrated
In Kilkennie's market-place.

* The Lord Eustace le Poer was then Seneschal of the Liberty of Kilkenny.

form for the historical painter ! It presents, however, as I shall have to show, but one of a series of striking *tableaux* in connexion with the Market Cross of Kilkenny, well worthy of engaging the pencil of the artist.

Raised thus in the market-place, as a symbol of religion,¹ intended to remind the traffickers, in the midst of their buying and selling, of the Deity ruling over all, and to inculcate silently but forcibly the lesson of honesty and integrity in the fulfilment of their bargains and the regulation of their business transactions, the Cross naturally came to be the usual scene of public religious ceremonials. The clergy found it a convenient place, from its position in the most frequented thoroughfare, and the elevated stand which its base afforded them, for preaching to the people ; and doubtless such a scene as that which another Kilkenny poet² has imagined in the following lines, was often witnessed on the spot :—

'Twas noon at the Market Cross,
In the quaint town,
And the burgher so comely,
The tall peasant brown,
And the gaunt man-at-arms,
And the mild maiden meek,
With the peach-blush of beauty
And peace on her cheek,
Were crowding together,
In hundreds around,
Whilst the tall cross stood stately
'Mid tumult and sound :

Then the long mellow knell
Of the Angelus Bell
Upon the dense crowd
In the market-place fell ;
And the burgher knelt down,
And the peasant as well,
And the gaunt soldier rude,
At the peal of the bell ;
Whilst the pure maiden voice
Joined the long mellow knell.

The Market Cross was also selected, as appears by the civic records, as the position wherein, at the season of Corpus Christi, the young men of the town were accustomed from an early period annually to perform, for the public entertainment, those curious old religious plays, termed "mysteries," the rude but picturesque germs of our ancient drama. At the period of the reformation we have still the same locality selected for similar purposes. Bishop Bale, the celebrated reformer, records the circumstance of his having frequently preached at

¹ The Rev. Dr. Milner, in his "History of Winchester," says—"The general intent of Market Crosses was to excite public homage to the Christian religion, and to inspire men with a sense of morality and

piety amidst the ordinary transactions of life."

² Mr. John Thomas Campion in his poem, "The Angelus Bell;" from which these two stanzas are extracted.

the Market Cross during the short space which he remained in the diocese of Ossory; and on the 20th of August, 1552, some of the inhabitants publicly performed, at the same place, two dramatical pieces written by him, being "a tragedie of God's Promyses in the olde Lawe," and "a comedie of Sanct Johan Baptistes Preachinges," which were accompanied with "organe plainges and songes, very aptely."¹ We have references in the municipal archives to the performances of the mysteries (of which, however, the name of only one, "The Resurrection," is mentioned), down to the year 1632, and they may have been continued subsequently.² But soon after, Kilkenny became the scene of events of national importance, and in the turmoil of politics and the horrors of internecine war we lose sight of the arrangements for civic improvement and peaceful popular amusements, previously placed on record in the corporation muniments. According to a deposition preserved in the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin [F. 2. C.], a detachment of the government troops, numbering sixty, under the command of lieutenant Gilbert and "ancient" William Afry, in marching from Ballyragget to Ballinakill, about Michaelmas 1642, encountered near the latter town six or seven hundred of the Confederates' army, horse and foot, commanded by the eldest son of Lord Mountgarret, and having the temerity to engage in battle with them, were of course immediately overcome and many of them slain. The document states, that the heads of the two officers and of five others of the slain, were carried to Kilkenny and hung upon the Market Cross on the next market day, creating a great sensation in the city whilst they were suffered to remain there. The heads were subsequently removed and buried in St. James's green.

Our next glimpse of the Market Cross, however, shows it as again the scene of a striking religious solemnity. Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio to the confederate Catholics, arrived in Kilkenny in November, 1645, and thus himself relates the ceremonial which accompanied his entry to the city:—

The evening before I arrived in Kilkenny I stopped at a country-seat about three miles distant, to give time for the preparations that were being made for my reception. Here four knights, accompanied by Mr. Belling (the secretary of the Confederates'

¹ The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie, printed in the *Harleian Miscellany*, London, 1745, vol. vi. p. 415.

² The reference in the corporation records to the mysteries in the year 1632, would serve to show that the traders exposed their goods for sale in booths in the street, and that such standings were termed "shops." The entry referred to, which was made on the 13th April in the above year, was a notification that "The north side of the Market Cross was granted to

two persons for shops, during the fair times of Corpus Christi, in regard that their shops are stopped up by the stations and play of Corpus Christi day." The nuisance of a cattle market in the middle of the city was at that period permitted as well as now, but only a portion of the High-street seems to have been used for the purpose. On the 9th of February, 1609, the corporation ordered "that the market place for cattle be at James's-green and Walkin's-green, and from the Market Cross to Croker's Cross; and no one to buy elsewhere."

council) came from the council to welcome me anew; one of whom, a literary person, addressed me in a short speech, seated as I was in my litter. I was met, absolutely, by all the nobility and youth of Kilkenny and its environs, in different groups, the head of each of which complimented me. The first of these consisted of a company of fifty scholars, all armed with pistols, who wheeling about expressed their compliments through one of them, who, crowned with laurel, and more remarkably dressed than the others, recited some verses. Outside the gate in St. Patrick's church, all the clergy, both secular and regular, assembled, who immediately joined the procession. At the gate all the magistrates of the city, with the Vicar General, waited for me; the latter presented me a cross to kiss. I was on horseback, wearing the Pontifical hat and cope. Some of the citizens carried the canopy, remaining uncovered although it rained. The sides of the street, as far as the Cathedral, about the length of the Lungara at Rome, were lined with infantry, armed with muskets. There is a very high Cross in the middle of the city, at which the people assembled, as in the square, and all stopped at it while a prayer was being recited by a young student, and then went on to the Cathedral.¹

Again the scene shifts, and we have the market-place of Kilkenny the theatre of military violence and outrage, from which the Cross itself became a serious sufferer. In March, 1650, the gallant Sir Walter Butler—having bravely defended the town and castle and staid the all-subduing arms of Cromwell for nearly a week before the defences, feebly manned as they were by a garrison reduced to the last extremity from disease and want of provisions—surrendered on honourable terms, and marched away with drums beating and colours flying; and the victorious soldiers of the parliament, left in full possession of the conquered city, immediately proceeded to vent their fanatical feelings against this beautiful monument. Archdeacon, a member of the Jesuit order, and a native of Kilkenny, who perhaps may have been a witness of the occurrence, in referring to the siege of the city, describes the outrage and asserts that a divine judgment was inflicted on the perpetrators. He says:—

At which time a circumstance, witnessed by many, occurred that I must not pass over in silence. There stood then, and still stands (1686) in the splendid market-place of Kilkenny, a magnificent structure of stone, of elegant workmanship, rising aloft after the manner of an obelisk. Its supports are four lofty columns, which bear the weight of the entire superstructure, to which you ascend, on its four sides, by flights of stone steps. And above all there was elevated, on the highest point, a sculptured figure of the Crucifixion. But after the occupation of the city by the Cromwellian soldiery, some of them, who were particularly remarkable for their impiety, assembled in the market-place, armed with their muskets, and directed many blows against the symbol of the Crucifixion, in order that they might fully consummate their irreligious triumph, which their persecuting fury at length accomplished. But behold! the punishment of an avenging God quickly pursued the workers of this sacrilege! for in such a manner did the Divine vengeance and a mysterious malady seize upon and miserably afflict them that none of them survived beyond a few days. No meaner sacrifice could be offered up to the *manes* of fallen Kilkenny.²

With such stirring associations connected with it we can well appreciate the anxiety displayed by the corporation of Kilkenny, in

¹ Translated from the Italian of Rinuccini's relation of his reception at Kilkenny, for which see *Nunziatura in Irlanda di Monsignor Gio. Batista Rinuccini*, Florence, 1844, pp. 71, 72.

² Translated from *Theol. Tripart. Ricordi Aradekin*, Antwerp, 1686; tom. iii. p. 200. The author appears to have been one of the family of Archdeacon, of the Irishtown, Kilkenny.

the seventeenth century, to keep this interesting monument in repair, and prevent it from suffering from the effects of time and violence. On the 9th of February, 1609, according to the Red Book, an order was made by the civic council—"That the Market Cross and Croker's Cross be for ever repaired, and kept in repair, by the Company of Masons, in such manner as the Mayor shall direct." The preservation of the structure would appear to have been immediately thereupon undertaken, as, on the 20th of April following, an invitation was issued from the corporation—"That every person that have plows¹ within the city do send them to draw stones from the quarry to repair the Market Cross." And on the 3rd of August, in the next year, the following memorandum was inserted in the Red Book:—"The Market Cross repaired, May, 1610, by the Company of Masons. The corporation paid for carriage, and lime, and sand." Again, under the year 1624, Oct. 15th, this entry occurs:—"Part of the Black Quarry allowed for making up the south side of the Market Cross." No attempt, however, appears to have been ever made to repair the injury inflicted on the monument, in 1650, by the muskets of Cromwell's soldiers, for Monsieur Motraye, a French tourist, who published his travels at the Hague in 1730, observes, in his description of Kilkenny²—"the market-place of the Cross, so called from a marble cross which is still standing in the centre of it, is a long and broad street, adorned with many good houses, in this street the tholsel is remarkable, though small it is very neat; the cross is lofty, raised on a round (*recte* square) pedestal, with six (*recte* five) steps, the arms of it are broken off, but the shaft is adorned with good figures in relief, and well preserved." We thus learn the exact amount of injury which the fanatical parliamentarians had done; they broke away the arms of the Cross, allowing the shaft and the arched structure which supported it still to remain undamaged.³

¹ I am informed that the term *plough* is still applied in portions of England to a team of horses.

² Quoted by Ledwich, *Collectanea*, vol. ii. pp. 443-45.

³ The writers of a tour through Ireland, purporting to have been made by "two English Gentlemen" about the year 1740, thus allude to the Market Cross of Kilkenny—"The Main-street is a full English Mile—I mean of both towns [Kilkenny and Irishtown]—in length, which is the chief Part of the Town. For the most part it is spacious; but near the middle of what is called *Kilkenny*, stands the Market Place, and Tholsel or Town-house, a very good Building; and near it a handsome *Gothic* Cross, much the worse by Time, which you may ascend by high Marble Steps; it does not ill resemble that

of *Coventry* in *England*, though not so high."—*A Tour Through Ireland, in Several Entertaining Letters, &c.* Dublin, 1748 (second edition), p. 182.—The likeness of the Cross of Kilkenny to that of Coventry must have been a very general one indeed, as the building of the latter was only commenced in 1541, and it was a solid structure "consisting of a hexagonal shaft, or mass of masonry, raised on steps, and measuring about 57 feet in height by 42 in circumference. It was divided into four stories, each of which was elaborately ornamented." See a paper on Market Crosses, by John Britton, F.S.A., read before the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held at Salisbury, July, 1849; and published in *Memoirs illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Wiltshire*. London, 1851. p. 313.

But although, as we have seen, the Cross continued down to the middle of the seventeenth century to be looked upon as the pride and chiefest ornament of the city, the times soon after changed, and with them the feeling with which the monument had been regarded. The infusion of a new element into the corporation, under the Commonwealth, increased after the success of William III., and further extended by the effect of the statute of the 4th George I., chap. 16, passed in the year 1717, was calculated to weaken the sympathies of the civic council for monuments of the kind; and, doubtless, the circumstance of the thoroughfares being somewhat impeded by the graduated bases of the Market Cross and Croker's Cross, was deemed by the assembled wisdom of the city's representatives a sufficient reason for placing them under ban as public nuisances, and ultimately for decreeing their removal, and substituting for each a very useful but extremely unpoetical erection—a public pump. The people, like their betters, seem to have also lost the olden reverence for the Market Cross, and, as it ceased to be the scene of religious ceremonies, it gradually became perverted to base and profane uses. The arched canopy of the structure afforded so inviting a shelter as to cause the gathering beneath it of all the idle and dissolute characters frequenting the market, for the purpose of gambling and concocting mischief. It was probably with the view of awing these *mauvais sujets* and frightening them away from their chosen haunt, that the corporation placed the public stocks within it, harmonizing most infelicitously with the design of the monument, and suggestive of a rather incongruous association with the original intention of its erection. The presence of this instrument of punishment, however, had not sufficient influence to deter the depraved frequenters of the Cross from meeting there to indulge in their illegal and immoral amusements, and so the sapient authorities came to the determination to remove the Cross, and thus leave them without the convenient shelter which they had previously found for their malpractices. Such was the account of the motives actuating the corporation to the destruction of this beautiful monument, given by the late Mr. George Buchannan, a worthy but eccentric schoolmaster of Kilkenny, who died about twenty years since at a very great age, having presided over the education of three generations of the citizens. Mr. Buchannan, although well remembered as a strict disciplinarian within his school, when the daily task was done and the birch was laid aside, was of a kindly and sociable disposition, and he dearly loved, in his old age, to gossip of the scenes of his youth; but no theme had greater interest for him than the official doings of a certain puritanical chief magistrate of the city, one alderman Anthony Blunt, jun., who ruled with a rod of iron the affairs of the corporation from Michaelmas, 1770, to the recurrence of the same festival in the year 1771. This civic worthy, who from the revival of an obsolete mode of female punishment during his mayoralty is still remembered by the *soubriquet*

of "Whirligig Blunt," waged incessant war against the knot of idlers who used to congregate within the Cross, and contriving occasionally to pounce upon them whilst engaged in card-playing, usually condemned all those arrested in the act to be carted through the town, arrayed in a ludicrous costume, and wearing in particular a kind of high-peaked paper cap, which his worship had caused to be decorated in front with a full length and considerably magnified portrait of the knave of spades. This mode of punishment, intended to bring the offenders into public contempt, appears to have had more the effect of rendering the mayor himself ridiculous in the eyes of the people, whose gambling propensities were not to be thereby overcome; and, therefore, according to Mr. Buchanan's statement, determined to be revenged of these contumacious persons, his worship (in an evil hour for the beautiful old monument and the feelings of those of the citizens who valued it as it deserved) resolved on the utter demolition of their favourite harbouring place. The municipal records inform us of the fact of Mr. Blunt having involved himself in serious legal difficulties by the unwarrantable means to which he had recourse in maintaining "law and order" in Kilkenny, and the arbitrary system he affected in his discharge of the chief magistrate's functions. Several actions were taken against him, and heavy damages recovered. In one of these law suits one of our Market Cross gamblers figured as the plaintiff. A certain Michael Walsh, a dissolute character, but withal a genius, having experienced considerable annoyance from his worship's interference with his favourite pursuits, had the temerity to indite and sing amongst his associates in the market-place, some satirical doggerel reflecting on the mayor. The consequence was that the offended civic dignitary caused the author of the lampoon to be forthwith arrested, and had summary justice inflicted by whipping him at the Market Cross, and through the streets of the city. But Walsh ascertained the illegality of this proceeding, and soon turned the tables on the mayor by suing him for heavy damages, which, had not the corporation come to his rescue with the public purse, would probably have made his worship acquainted with the prison discipline to which he had himself consigned so many evil-doers. On the 30th of October, 1773, the corporation came to a resolution on this subject, which, although rather long, may not prove uninteresting in connection with the present subject. It is as follows:—

"Whereas Anthony Blunt the younger, Esqre, Late Mayor of this City, in the Execution of his office, Caused one Michael Walsh, a notorious Gamester and Idle Person, to be Whipped through the said City for Insulting and Abusing him; And Whereas the said Michael Walsh afterwards applied to his Majesty's Court of King's Bench to have the said Anthony Blunt attached for the same, which the said Court accordingly did, and which attachment Lies over the said Anthony Blunt, and is Daily threatened to be Executed with the Utmost Rigour. Now We, the Mayor and Citizens of said City, Duly assembled and convened in the new Tholsel of the said City, Well knowing the Good Behaviour, Activity and Justice of the said Anthony Blunt, During his Magistracy, and Convinced that the Punishment of the said Walsh, in the Manner in which it was Exe-

cuted, was Owing to an Error in Judgment only, and having taken the same into our consideration, Do (for the reasons aforesaid) order the sum of £300 to be by the Treasurer of this City advanced and paid to the said Anthony Blunt, to Enable him to free himself from said Attachment, and all the Costs and Expenses; and for which Sum this order shall be a sufficient warrant for our said Treasurer so to do. But this order is not to be Drawn into Precedent for the future, on any occasion whatsoever."

This, however, did not suffice to rescue Mr. Blunt from the legal embarrassments into which his over-zeal had brought him during the period of his mayoralty, and on the 23rd of April, 1774, the corporation voted him another subsidy of two hundred pounds, as they state in the resolution, "to extricate him out of his present difficulties." A local rhymster chronicled these curious doings—but not in "immortal verse," I regret to say, as I have been only enabled to pick up a few scattered fragments. The doggerel opened with a forcible picture of the dismay of the gamblers of the market-place on finding that the Cross had been taken down, observing that—

When a game they planned that was their stand—
Now they are at a loss
For a shelter'd "ken," for "five and ten,"
Like the poor old Market Cross.

A full description of the legal proceedings against the mayor was entered into; a stanza ran thus—

One Michael Walsh, a gambling blade,
Who gave his "clapper" bail,
Through Kilkenny town, both up and down,
Was flogged at the cart's tail.
He did incense, by his impudence,
His worship's pious wrath;
But the King's Bench has a knack to wrench
His worship's purse for that.

In a portion of another stanza we have allusion made to Blunt's mode of punishing females by the machine called the "whirligig," and a punning allusion to the removal of the Market Cross:—

What with flogging rogues and "spinning" jades
Blunt spends the Council's "tin,"
By paying his loss they haven't a cross,
Without doors or within.

The Cross was not entirely removed during Blunt's mayoralty. He contented himself with pulling down the upper portion of the structure, the arch of which had supplied shelter to the objects of his wrath. The late Mr. Michael Comerford, of King street, an old inhabitant, not long deceased, told me that he remembered, when a child living in the house of his mother's ancestors, the Langton family, opposite the Cross, to have seen the base of the structure, with a portion of the central pillar on which the arch had been supported, standing in the market-place for some years before it was finally removed. Alderman Blunt had laid sacrilegious hands on the

superstructure at a period antecedent to Mr. Comerford's recollection. There is no order set out in the books of the corporation for the removal of either the Market Cross or Croker's Cross, as is the case with respect to many of the city gates, towers, and other relics of ancient Kilkenny, which were swept away about the same period. When Croker's Cross disappeared, I have been unable to ascertain; but Dr. Ledwich, on the authority, it would seem, of the Rev. Mervyn Archdall, who had a drawing made of the monument ten years before its removal, states, that the Market Cross was taken down in 1771, so far confirming the account given by Mr. Buchannan.¹

We have preserved to us three different views of the Market Cross, in all of which the monument is represented as perfect, the artists taking the liberty of repairing the mischief done by Cromwell's soldiers. Of these, the drawing which belonged to the Rev. Mervyn Archdall, being simply a kind of architectural elevation, unaccompanied by any pictorial accessories, was engraved in Vallancey's "Collectanea," and copied into the first volume of the "Dublin Penny Journal." The two others were obtained by the late William Robertson, Esq., for the purpose of illustrating the work which he intended to have published on the antiquities of Kilkenny. One of these, taken apparently from the end of Chapel-lane, represents the

¹ Since this paper was read before the Society, one of the oldest inhabitants of Kilkenny, B. Scott, Esq., sen., Solicitor, has informed me that, although the Market Cross had been removed at a period antecedent to that to which his memory reached, yet in his early youth, when it may be supposed all the incidents connected with the destruction of the monument were fresh in the recollection of the townsmen, he often heard his father say that the intention of alderman Blunt and the corporation was, to have re-erected the Cross on the Parade, and that it was solely with the view of improving the city, by widening the thoroughfare in High-street, that it was taken down; but the lower order of people, knowing Mr. Blunt's inveterate hostility to the habits of the idlers who used to assemble at the Cross, incorrectly attributed its demolition to the object stated by Mr. Buchannan. The Minute Book of the corporation furnishes some evidence corroborative, to a certain degree, of Mr. Scott's version of the story. At a meeting of the council, held on the 5th of November, 1770, Anthony Blunt presiding as mayor, the following order was made—"Ordered, and it is hereby requested of the Gentlemen of the Board, that they will furnish in writing such schemes and proposals of works for the utility and ornament of this City as appear to them proper to be carried

into execution, that this Board may determine on them and be enabled to employ the surplus money in their hands for such laudable purpose." Whether any such proposals were laid before the body accordingly, does not appear on the Minute Book; but on the 29th of June, 1772, the following entry was made—"Whereas Mr. Anthony Blunt, late Mayor, has presented a Bill alledged by him to be due for several expenditures he alledges to be made for the use of said Mayor and Citizens, Ordered that the present Mayor (the Rt. Hon. Otway, Lord Desart) and Sir Wm. E. Morris be and are hereby empowered to examine and finally determine the balance due on said Bill, and they are hereby empowered to give him a draft on sight on the Treasurer for the amount of the same." Unfortunately the bill alluded to is not extant: it is probable that it contained an item for the removal of the Market Cross. Mr. Scott states that within his own memory the cut stones which had formed the monument were piled in the yard attached to the house of Mr. Blunt, in Coal Market; that it had been the intention to preserve them carefully and re-erect the structure on the Parade, but that the occurrence of Mr. Blunt's difficulties diverted his mind from the object, and, ultimately, the stones of this valuable architectural remain were made use of for common building purposes.

Tholsel and Langton's old house, now known as the Butter-alip, in the back ground; but the representation of the Cross is manifestly incorrect as regards the base, which is depicted with a flight of upwards of a dozen steps, whilst Motraye tells us there were but six, and Dr. Ledwich says only five. However, the other drawing of Mr. Robertson's (which was copied, I understand, from a painting in the possession of the late Mr. Purcell Mulhallen, of High-street) is by far the most beautiful and interesting of the three, being evidently faithful in the delineation, and not alone exhibiting the general effect of the monument itself, but also supplying a curious glimpse of the quaint old houses of the High-street as they appeared before the removal of the Cross, and some of them as they stood within my own recollection, preserving in detail the surrounding high-peaked gables, projecting penthouses, and picturesque bay windows which characterised the ancient urban architecture of Kilkenny. This interesting picture has lately been lithographed and given to the public by James G. Robertson, Esq., to whom the Society is indebted for permission to use the stone from which the graphic illustration accompanying this paper has been printed.

ON AN ANCIENT CEMETERY AT BALLYMACUS,

COUNTY OF CORK.

BY JOHN WINDELE, ESQ.

A controversy respecting the antiquity of supposed Milesian graves at Glенаish, near Cahirconree, in Kerry, originating in a communication from the Rev. John Casey to one of the Tralee papers, and brought before the Kilkenny Archæological Society by the Rev. Dr. Rowan, has, by reminding me of a discovery of similar ancient interments made by the late Mr. A. Abell and myself, at Ballymacus, induced a wish to place the particulars on record, accompanied by such facts and observations as may assist in elucidating the question at issue.

Ballymacus lies on the sea shore, between the estuary of Oyster-haven and Kinsale harbour, and within view of the Sovereign's Islands. No tradition exists at present referable to the place; but its sepulchral character is preserved in the name of *Park na Killa*, the field of the graves, forming part of the townland. Neither is there any vestige or memory of any church or Christian cemetery. The field has been long used under tillage, and the discovery of the graves was merely accidental. We caused *five* of them to be opened; they were all formed alike, and contained similar remains. They were constructed of flag-stones set edge-ways forming the sides and ends of oblong

kists, varying in length from 5 to 5½ feet, in breadth about 2 feet, and in depth between 12 and 18 inches. From these proportions we were induced to conjecture that they were either the graves of females, or of youths not grown up to manhood, or that the persons interred had not been laid out at full length. Certainly they belonged not to any of those gigantic children of Anak, said by the romancists to have formed the primæval population of our island; nor to those stalwart Fenii of whom Ossian sung and tradition delights to tell. On examining them, seriatim, few remains of mortality could be found, the larger portions of the skeleton having perished under the operation of time and moisture. Fragments of skulls and jaw-bones with teeth quite sound, and portions of the bones of the lower extremities, so brittle as to be easily reduced almost to powder where only a slight pressure was applied, were all that had survived the waste and injuries of many centuries. None of the bones appeared to have been subjected to the action of fire, or undergone cremation. We made close search for implements or utensils, weapons, beads of amber or glass, shells, trinkets, charcoal, &c., known to have been frequently interred with the body in ancient times; but were unable to find anything of this description. The flag-stones were also examined, with a similar result, for any traces of inscriptions. Nothing remained to tell the story of the tenants of those long-forgotten graves. The whole had been covered over with rude flag-stones, and they lay from north-west to south-east.

I have from time to time seen, in other places, remains of similar sepulture, which may be denominated field burial, as at Oughtehery, in the parish of Aghina, west of Cork, adjoining an ancient circular Pagan *kiel* or cemetery. Their upper outlines approach very near the surface of the soil. These (several in number) I did not myself examine; but the tenant to the farm, who accompanied and pointed them out to me, stated that he had himself opened many of them some years before, and finding nothing but skulls and bones he closed them up again. In like manner at Cahirachladdig, in the same parish, seven or eight oblong kists were found some time since by a cottier tenant in his cabbage garden, but finding human remains he quickly covered them in, lest his family should take a dislike to the place. He also assured me that he saw no relic of any kind in any of the graves. Again at Knockagrogeen, on the road between Dingle and Smerwick, in the county of Kerry, I was shown, in 1848, several stone graves, some of which had been cut through in constructing a new road. Here also bones were found. But graves of this description are not always devoid of extraneous articles. In the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. ii. p. 186, we have a record of a cemetery near Bray, containing several similar graves; in these, however, the bones crumbled away, although the teeth remained unaffected by the exposure. With these remains were found some Roman coins. In the *Archæologia* also (vol. ii. 632-33) a discovery

of a field of graves is described, in some of which, besides skeletons, urns and rings were found. These graves were situate near Mullingar, and had been opened in 1748.

In the absence of other evidence, we can only assume, on conjecture, founded upon the nature of the sites the contents of some and general analogy, that this form of sepulture was purely Pagan and of very high antiquity, and that, generally speaking, they were the graves of the middle and humble classes, whilst the monolith, the cromlech, the cairn, and the barrow marked the graves of the noble and distinguished. I can hardly subscribe to the opinion that such graves indicate a battle-field. They are too carefully and systematically formed, and too few, even where most numerous, to appertain to such sites. Judging from the absence of cremation in the Ballymacus graves, we should incline to assign to them a more remote date than those discovered at Mullingar, inasmuch as it is the received opinion of antiquaries, that simple inhumation, or burial of the body, was the original and earliest, as it was the most natural, form of sepulture, and preceded the practice of burning by many ages. The latter usage was not known to the Hebrews, Persians, or Egyptians, nor to the Carthaginians (notwithstanding that Virgil, by an anachronism, consumes the body of Dido on the pyre), until the time of Darius. Although burning was known to the Greeks at the time of the Trojan war, Pliny and Cicero expressly affirm, and the same may be inferred from Plutarch, that it was only introduced at Rome at a later period—probably not until the time of Sylla; but it went early out of fashion, and was superseded by inhumation burial in the 4th century.

The use of the funereal pyre prevailed in Britain many ages previous to the Roman invasion. The Gauls practised cremation in Cæsar's time. According to Olaus Wormius, inhumation and burning, as each obtained, marked a distinct period in the history of Scandinavia. We have sufficient evidence, however, in Ireland, from the examination of our tumuli, &c., that after the latter mode of interment had been introduced here, both kinds of burial were practised coevally. We have a very interesting instance of this in the exploration of the cairn at Cloghmanty, in September, 1851, by the Rev. Messrs. Mease and Graves, with Mr. Prim. The cairn, the leacht, the dumha, or mound, continued still to mark the external form of the monument, no matter what the mode of disposal of the body may have been. Some of our historians allege, that cremation had been abolished in Ireland by the monarch Eochaidh, some centuries before the Christian era, but I suspect this requires confirmation. The opinion which has also been advanced, that the practice, when adopted, was confined to the opulent and the distinguished, may have been better founded.

But a new test has been applied by Dr. Rowan, for the ascertainment of the age of ancient sepulchres, in the communication made by him to this Society at its last sitting, adopting which we should greatly

reduce the antiquity of many ancient monuments and their contents, hitherto regarded as belonging to very primitive periods. Unless, according to this gentleman's opinion, human remains, on exposure to the air, decompose and rapidly vanish, leaving not a wreck behind, they lose the character of any remote age: inasmuch as he declares his belief, that there is no recorded case of "dust unreturned to dust" for 2250 years; whilst the general evidence, he says, goes to contradict its possibility. Standing upon this conviction, he rejects the presumed age of the Glenaish graves of the Milesian invaders, and sustains the conclusion he has formed by the following facts and arguments:—

"In the Etruscan tombs," he tells us, "which are continually discovered in Italy, I believe the invariable effect of the admission of air is, that the remains found in them literally *vanish* from sight in a few moments, under the eye of the beholder. I myself can testify, that . . . being present at the opening of a tomb in the catacombs of that city [Rome], in a very few moments after the slab was removed, by which the air had been excluded for *at least* fifteen centuries, the remains enclosed, which at first presented the seemingly solid structure of a human skeleton, *disappeared*, and it was only by holding our tapers close to the floor that we could discern an outline of a human form traced out by a substance somewhat resembling cheese mould. . . . Now if the process of decomposition was thus complete in the dry air and puzzuolano soil of Rome, and in the case of bodies buried *within* the Christian era, when we weigh the probabilities of bones remaining unpulverized in our moist climate and soil for a much longer period, I fear the conclusion will be against your (i.e., the Rev. Mr. Casey's) conjecture." This rule, applied to the remains found in Irish graves, must at once comparatively modernize them wherever they resist the admission of air. We should be prepared at once to review all that has been delivered to us in connexion with ancient sepulture by British and Irish archæologists, and, examining them by such a test, reject many conclusions, inferences and speculations which our good easy explorers of Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Scandinavian barrows and monuments had with too unreflecting a facility enunciated. Such delvers and dreamers as the Bethams, the Roche Smiths, the Wrights, the Akermans, Lukises, Worsaaes, &c., who, we had imagined, had done service by the revelations which their researches had enabled them to make, would find that they had laboured under a species of hallucination, and had delved in ignorance of the true principles which should have guided them. Their speculations must be treated as myths, and as deserving of all repudiation.

But before adopting such extreme conclusions, it is necessary that Dr. Rowan's reasoning should be well and carefully weighed. For myself, from all the consideration which I have been able to give the subject, I am of opinion that he has too hastily generalized upon, and attached an undue importance to, partial and insufficient facts, which

should really be treated as merely exceptional. Had he carefully read Mrs. Gray's "Sepulchres of Etruria," he would have found that what he calls, "the invariable effect," must dwindle down, in Etruria at least, to a solitary instance, whilst, on the other hand, he would, at pages 85, 117, 304, 333, 336, find so many cases the other way, where no sudden decomposition had occurred, that he would see reason to hesitate before propounding any such canon as he has advanced. Indeed, Mrs. Gray has supplied him with cases of mouldering relics nearer home and of far more recent date, which, according to his view of the matter, would still further reduce the age at which bones could be preserved, if there was any validity in the test he had adopted. One of these was the case of a Staffordshire rector, buried only *three* centuries, whose remains, on the opening of his vault some years since, crumbled into dust. The other was that of a bishop, who died in 1400, and was buried in Dunblane cathedral. Dr. Rowan, for his argument, should not have gone behind these "modern instances." He might have held, that if a Scotch bishop's remains, buried only four hundred years, crumbled away on exposure, how could those of an invading Milesian, slain four hundred years B.C., escape a similar fate?—they should have been reduced to an impalpable dust at, or about, the Christian era. I do not at all deny, that human remains will, under certain circumstances, totally decompose, not only in dry but also in moist climates. Such, Layard states, has occurred under his own eye at Nineveh. Rich mentions a like occurrence at Ardel, in Koordistan, and Wilson, in his "Archæology of Scotland," speaks of several instances of the same kind in that country, but I do strenuously deny that it is an "invariable" rule in any soil or climate; on the contrary, I am convinced that the rule is the very reverse; and I am sure that when Dr. Rowan will have more deliberately considered the subject, his sterling good sense will induce him to abandon his strange paradox. I find, on rather a hurried examination of instances, an overwhelming predominance of discoveries in every latitude, in favour of the durability of osseous remains after exposure, and from a mass of cases shall submit a few for his and the Society's consideration.

Belzoni found in the pyramid of Chephren, in the great sarcophagus, the bones of a bull. A correspondent of Mrs. Gray (p. 341) mentioned, that in an ancient tomb opened in the plain of Athens, was found a quantity of ashes and bones mixed. In 1806, M. Fauvel discovered in the tomb of a priestess of Minerva, in the Via Sacra, near Mount Picile (Greece), a skeleton with several characteristic articles accompanying.—*Archæol. Library*, pp. 214-19.

In the Sardinian Nuragi, whose age is supposed to be between 3000 and 4000 years, human remains are occasionally found: also, in the Sepulturas, which are considered quite as ancient as the Nuragi, similar vestiges have been disinterred.—Madden's *Shrines and Sepulchres*, vol. i. pp. 233-41.

In Pompeii, the evidences against Dr. Rowan's theory, if they do not extend to his full limit of 2250 years, yet may be regarded as of a reputable antiquity. They are very numerous, but I shall content myself with referring to the discovery of the soldier whose skeleton was found at his post, still grasping a lance; and to another Pompeian, who, according to Gell, "apparently for the sake of sixty coins, a small plate, and a saucepan of silver, had remained in his house till the street was already half filled with volcanic matter." His skeleton was found as if in the act of escaping from his window. Two others were discovered in the same street.—*Library of Entertaining Knowledge, Pompeii*, p. 209.

In the north of Europe, in the British Islands, and especially in Ireland, the instances of undecomposed remains of great antiquity are of course most numerous. Worsaae, in his "Primeval Antiquities of Denmark," tells us that in examining such cromleacs as have remained undisturbed in that country, they are always found to contain the skeletons of one or more bodies. See pp. 84, 85, 89.

In the volumes of the *Archæologia*, and the *Journals of the British Archæological Association and Institute*, ample evidence will be found of the discoveries of skeletons, whole or in part, which, although entombed in Celtic, Roman, and Saxon barrows, and other graves, resist the atmosphere on exposure. In many instances they may become very brittle, but never pulverize. I would particularly refer, amongst these notices, to the researches of Mr. Lukis in ancient sepulchres in the Channel Islands.

In Ireland, the discoveries are particularly opposed to Dr. Rowan's views. In the kistvaen opened in the Phoenix Park some years since, two skeletons were found buried in a sitting posture, also portions of urns, and a quantity of marine shells, all, judging by analogical rules, of extreme antiquity. At Tullydruid, near Dunganon, a kist was found within a tumulus containing a skeleton also in a sitting posture, and at the knees an urn.

In a rath at Drumbuoy, county of Derry, a kist was opened containing a skeleton, and with it the teeth of the fossil elk. In another rath, that of Rathmoyle, county of Kilkenny, examined in 1851, by the Rev. James Graves, enormous quantities of human bones were found, indicating a Pagan cemetery. The lie of these remains was from east to west.

Another discovery, important in its bearing upon the question at issue, was made in the same year by the same gentleman, accompanied by Messrs. Prim and Mease. This was in the cairn of Cloghmanty, county of Kilkenny, in which two adult human skeletons were found in the kist enclosed within this cairn. I could find no evidence of the decomposition of these skeletons in the very interesting account of the opening of this monument, given at the meeting of the Kilkenny Archæological Association.

Again, in a cavern near Castlemartyr, county of Cork, a skeleton

was found in 1805, partly covered with thin plates of stamped or embossed gold, connected by bits of wire: "The bones of the skeleton," says Mr. Crofton Croker, in his *Researches in the South of Ireland*, p. 253, "were eagerly sought for by the superstitious peasantry, as those of St. Coleman, and carried away for charms."

In many of our ancient cromleacs, which are at once altars and tombs, bones have been found. See a very curious paper upon this subject, by Mr. John Bell, in the *Newry Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 234. Mr. Bell states, in reference to one of these discoveries, that in drawing a tooth from an under jaw, belonging to remains found in a cairn at Knocknanin, in the county of Monaghan, it was found red at the extremity of the fang.

Wright's "Louthiana," Rowlands' "Mona Antiqua," and Wilson's "Archæology of Scotland," abound with information on this subject, very much at variance with Dr. Rowan's "invariable" experience. I shall, however, close these collected instances by reminding the Society that in a great majority of the Round Towers, whose basements have been explored, human remains have been disinterred, which, in every instance, survived their exposure to the air after their long burial for many centuries. I have been myself at the exploration of five of these structures, and have in my possession at present, in as good condition as they were several years since when taken up, portions of several skeletons, found in the towers at Ardmore and Cloyne. Now, whether these buildings be Pagan or Christian in their origin—and I (and so, I am happy to perceive, does Dr. Rowan) believe they were the former—the antiquity of the remains found in them, and still retaining their tenacity, must be regarded as, in any case, of a remote period, and cannot be disputed. Their condition, certainly, will not support Dr. Rowan's position.

I presume that partial cremation has no preservative effect on animal remains, and yet nothing is more frequent than the discovery, in urns, of bones which had been partially burned. I have read of no instance in which bones of this description have crumbled away, and do not, therefore, think it necessary to dwell at any further length on this portion of the subject. Before quitting it, however, I would submit that from the facts which I have gleaned (and which I merely offer as an addition, perhaps not required, to a mass of most satisfactory and conclusive evidence, contributed by Mr. Cooke of Parsonstown, in a letter lately published by him in the *Tralee Chronicle*) I think it is indisputable, that the durability and integrity of animal bones do not depend on the dryness or humidity of *climate*; that they will be preserved or perish according to laws, which depend not upon latitude or longitude, or on the lapse of ages; and that their condition would be an unsafe test of their antiquity. What these operating laws or causes may be, are questions more for the physiologist than the antiquary. It may, however, be safely assumed that the exclusion of water is a principal requisite, and also that the skeletons of aged

persons, from the greater proportions of earthy matter, must be more calculated to resist decomposition than those of the more youthful.

Why, in one tomb of equal antiquity with another, the climate being the same, the remains will pulverize or become brittle, and in the other be unaffected under the action of the same disturbing causes, I am not prepared to discuss, nor can others more competent to the task, without a greater amount of specific information as to particular circumstances, details, and peculiarities, than we generally possess in regard to the opening of ancient tombs. Dryness, no doubt, as I have said, is the grand essential. We have Shakespeare's authority that "your water is a sore consumer." Kists overlaid with great tabular slabs and vast mounds of earth or stones, or humble graves protected by flags and stiff tenacious clay impervious to moisture, may, doubtless, thus secure the permanency of their contents. Some special sites also may possess antiseptic properties, such as the vaults of St. Michan, Dublin, and, to a certain extent, those of the church of St. Mary Shandon, Cork, in which the body of the Rev. Mr. M'Daniel, after many years' interment, was found in perfect preservation, although the coffin had mouldered away.

An interesting chapter in Irish archæology, on sepulture, has yet to be written. Dr. Madden, in his very curious and interesting work on "Shrines and Sepulchres," has collected together a good deal of information on the subject; but he has left much yet to be done. Few of our Pagan burial-places have hitherto been explored, and those that have, even imperfect as the examination of some of them has been, have shown how much they might reveal of the past condition, habits, and civilization of the primeval population of Ireland. We have yet to form a systematic arrangement, and, if possible, a chronological classification of our tumuli. For this purpose our ancient literature possesses much material in aid. The extracts given by Dr. Petrie from the "Leabhar-na-h Uidhre," the "Dinnsenchus," "Book of Lecan," &c., afford evidence of the value of their contents for this object, and throw much light on the sepulchral usages of the Pagan Irish. From these we gather the names of some of the particular forms of burial, although certainly not the whole, as Dr. Petrie would have us infer, and many of those names too are, indeed, now sufficiently obscure to prevent us from positively determining the exact character of the monument mentioned.

The quotation from the "Dinnsenchus" gives us the following denominations:—

Loŋg, translated the bed of Forann.

Lečt, the monument (vague) of the Dagda.

Mur, the mound of Morrigán. This word has certainly other meanings, as a wall, a walled enclosure.

Barc, (untranslated) of Crimthann Nianar.

Fert, the grave of Fedelmídh. Several of these *ferts* are men-

tioned, but what the particular character of this mode of sepulture was, we are left in ignorance.

CAPIH A11, the stone cairn of Conn of the Hundred Battles.

Cumot, translated the *commensurate* grave of Cairbre—a very undefined term indeed.

Fulaēt, the fulacht of Fiacha. This word means a concealment, or burial; but is quite vague, sufficiently so to mean any sort of interment, either in a magnificent or an humble grave. In another passage we have Imdae, translated also *bed* of the Dagda.

DA C1C, the two paps of Morrigan, (rather vague).

F11TC, the grave of Boinn.

Duma, the mound of Tresc.

DA CROC, the two hillocks of Cirr and Cuirrell.

DEPC, the cave of Buailcc.

CAPCAP, the prison (vague) of Liath-Macha.

GLENN, the glen of the Mata.

L1A5, the pillar (?) of Buidi.

LECC, the stone of Benn.

CAIPEL, the stone enclosure (vague) of Aengus.

At the cemetery of Rath-Croghan we have only one kind of monument pointed out—the *duma*, or mound.

Here, we are informed by an old poet, were fifty of those *dumas*. Dr. Petrie says, that the graves at Croghan when examined contained only *unburned bones*.—*Round Towers*, pp. 100—104.

The “*Senchas na Relec*,” or “*History of the Cemeteries*,” mentions only the chief cemeteries (p11m p1c1ce) of Ireland, *eight* in number. These were the burial-places only of the supreme monarchs and provincial kings of Ireland, Tuatha de Danann and Milesian—thus at Cruachan were buried many of these kings. Niall was buried at Ochain; Conaire at Fert-Conaire; a certain number of the Ulster kings at Tailltin, some of the Leinster kings at Oenach Ailbhe, and the Tuatha de Danann princes at Brugh.—*Id.* pp. 98, 99.

Dr. Petrie, who has a special object to attain in furtherance of his views in regard of the Round Towers, endeavours to show that the above enumeration of monuments, and of the *eight* places of royal interment, included *all* the forms and places of sepulture which had once prevailed and been used in Ireland, wherein distinguished persons had been interred, a conclusion of which a very little consideration must show the utter fallacy. There is not, indeed, a district in Ireland which does not contain a variety of sepulchral monuments, none of which are embraced within this limited category of eight; and there were other modes of sepulture, besides those enumerated in the catalogue (comprehensive as it certainly is) which I have above noted down. If we could only learn the precise signification of many of the terms given, they might possibly narrow the number of the forms of burial omitted, and perhaps even be found to in-

clude Round Tower interment, which it was Dr. Petrie's main object to show was excluded, because not known in heathen times. To sustain his position he should have proved, beyond any open for cavil or contradiction, that such terms, for instance, as long, imdae, mur, barc, fert, cumot, fulacht, derc, carcar, caisel, could not possibly apply to tower burial, and that no other form of burial prevailed; for this at present we have only his assertion; also that no burial of distinguished individuals, priest, ollamh, king or chieftain, could have occurred in any other than one of the eight particular localities. But he has failed to do any such thing, and he must excuse me for thinking, that the question has therefore been still left as he found it.

It is indeed vain to attempt to exclude Round Tower sepulture from amongst the forms of our ancient Pagan burial. To evade it by the allegation, that bodies were allowed to remain, by the architects of these structures, *under the foundation stones*, has more of ingenuity than feasibility about it. And, even were it rational to admit that architects could thus leave the remains of the dead undisturbed beneath their foundation stones, is it not presuming rather much on our credulity to ask us to regard such prior interments as Christian rather than Pagan? Adopting the monstrous imagining that any builder could leave a fragile skeleton in the way of his superstructure, we might ask what evidence have we tendered to us that the site was certainly a Christian and not a Pagan burial-place, or that the skulls of the population of Ireland in the year of the Incarnation, one, or 500, were so thick and infrangible as bravely to withstand, for eighteen or nineteen centuries after, the enormously crushing pressure of the innumerable tons weight of pillar towers placed upon them.¹

GLEANINGS FROM COUNTRY CHURCH-YARDS.

No. II.

NOTICE OF A SCULPTURED STONE IN THE OLD CHURCH OF ANNAGH, COUNTY OF KERRY.

BY RICHARD HITCHCOCK, ESQ.

THE ancient and now ruined church of Annagh is situate on the sea shore, in the parish of the same name, and at the foot of a lofty range of mountains. These circumstances, combined with the fact,

¹ Since inditing the foregoing I have seen the former gentleman recedes a little from an answer from Dr. Rowan to Mr. Cooke's his original position. In his first commentary upon Mr. Casey's statement, he laid observations, referred to above, in which

that the grave-yard is a well-peopled one, being a very favourite burying-place with the peasantry for miles around, impress it with a sort of melancholy solitude, which I have frequently experienced when wandering amongst the tombs there. How much more solemn must the place appear on a still moonlight night, when nothing is heard save the mountain breeze, the noise of the sea, if the tide is in, or the screaming of the sea-gulls—whilst the pale moonlight glances through the crevices of the ruin! Annagh church is also interesting to me from the fact of its being in the neighbourhood of my birth-place and the home of my youth.

The stone which is the subject of the present notice, and of which I have introduced what I believe to be a pretty accurate engraving (see *Kerry Antiquities*, plate 1), lies inside against the south wall of the church. It is a block of coarse red sand-stone, the same material of which the church is built, and which the adjacent mountain range furnishes; and measures, in length, eighteen inches at one side, and fifteen inches at the other; in breadth, sixteen and a-half inches at one end, and fifteen and a-half inches at the other; and the greatest thickness is about seven inches. On the face of this stone is rudely sculptured, in bold relief, the figure of a man on horseback, holding in his right hand something like a sword or dagger. What the other hand holds, I cannot exactly say, as it, as well as the greater part of the sculpture, particularly the two heads, is evidently unfinished. The hand, however, seems to be extended at full length, and not holding the horse's bridle. I think the leading idea of the figure that of a warrior pointing forwards, as if to encourage his followers to action; this agrees with the posture of the horse, which seems to be in motion. A sort of saddle, or saddle-cloth, appears under the horseman, but I can see no trace of stirrups, though, as just mentioned, I do a little of a bridle and mouth-piece. The dress is of the frock shape, mitred or seamed from nearly the waist downwards. The resemblance between this equestrian figure and that on the seal of Strongbow, engraved in our *Transactions*, vol. i. p. 503, may be worth mentioning here, although the latter is turned the opposite way.

A friend, writing to me on the old figure in Annagh church, says:—"The people have a foolish legend, that if the stone were re-

it down as an axiom, that there is no recorded case of dust unreturned to dust for 2250 years, and that the *invariable* effect of the admission of air into ancient tombs is the disappearance of the remains of the deceased, and that, therefore, a conclusion against the antiquity of the Glenshaish interments is warranted.

Dr. Rowan now, influenced by Mr. Cooke's evidences, relaxes so far as to admit that animal remains, under certain circumstan-

ces, such as being placed in "preserving matter" and "exclusion from the influence of climate or of the elements," may be preserved, and I presume survive the admission of air, although he does not expressly say so. I trust that the facts which I have gleaned from unquestionable ancient interments, may induce him still further to modify his incredulity, and convince him that the position he has taken up is untenable.

moved, it would be brought back again by supernatural means; but there is no real history attached to it, that I could ever learn." This, to my mind, makes the stone an object of greater interest for our speculations, believing, as I do, that the equestrian figure on it is of ancient date.¹

Of the history of Annagh church I have not been able to find any account, though I have made some search; but, judging from the style of the building, which in general is plain, and in which there is no lime mortar, though situate in the centre of a lime-stone district, it is evidently an ancient work. There is, however, a well finished Gothic south entrance doorway, of very good proportions. Like most of our old churches, this one at Annagh is built nearly east and west.² A little to the west, on a tongue of land, is "Tonakilla fort," apparently an obsolete burial-ground, in which are several graves and small gallauns, or pillar-stones. Traces of a *causeway* from the fort across the slob to the mainland are still plainly discernible. About the same distance from the church, to the north-west, stands another group of gallauns; there are also some forts in the neighbourhood of the church. The whole of these interesting vestiges are marked on sheet 38 of the Ordnance Survey of the county. Often have my eyes traced them on the beautiful map of nature, while sitting on a heathy hillock on the top of one of the mountains overlooking the entire scene.

The following is the only mention I have been able to find of the sculptured stone in Annagh church:—"About half a mile³ distant [from Blennerville] are the ruins of the old church, with the burial-ground, in which is a stone bearing a rude effigy of an armed horseman."—Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, article "Annagh."

It may be interesting to ascertain, if possible, what hero of old the monument in Annagh church commemorates. If conjecture is allowable, I would say that he was probably some old chieftain of the district—it may be a king; but, at present, conjecture is all that I can offer. If we could glean anything of the history of the church it may help us. Perhaps some other member of the Society, more competent to discuss the subject than I can pretend to be, would take it up, and be able to throw some light on it.

¹ I feel it but due to Mr. George A. Hanlon, the eminent wood engraver, of Dublin, to state that he has done ample justice to the sketches which illustrate this and the succeeding paper.

² I find the church marked in ruins on several old maps of Kerry, including that in Dr. Smith's history of the county. Smith gives no account of the parish; but he makes up for this rather unaccountable deficiency in his description and legend (celebrated in

Irish story) of Cahirconree, a circle of immense stones on the top of the mountain of that name, in the neighbourhood of the old church (pp. 156-160). In the list of parishes given by Smith in his chapter on the ecclesiastical state of the county, which is the only place where he mentions the church or parish, he mentions Annagh church as "in ruins" in his time (p. 69).

³ Annagh church is fully a mile from Blennerville.

NOTES ON

THE ROUND TOWERS OF THE COUNTY OF KERRY.

BY RICHARD HITCHCOCK.

At the January meeting of this Society, two very interesting papers, by Mr. O'Neill and Mr. Windele, were read, containing some remarkable observations on the Round Towers of Ireland, particularly the paper by Mr. O'Neill, which also contained a description of the Round Tower of Aghaviller—a tower which, I may passingly observe, has been strangely overlooked by our writers on these monuments.¹ Leaving the more serious question of the real origin and uses of the towers to persons better qualified for the task of discussing it than I can presume to be, I wish to confine myself to what Mr. O'Neill justly terms the "important work of giving a description of every pillar-tower now remaining (which, he says, Dr. Petrie has not yet done), as well as of the localities in which towers are known to have formerly existed." Having the honour to be admitted a member of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society soon after its formation, it has often occurred to me as strange, that the Society did not long since embrace, among its varied archaeological subjects, that most fertile one of the Round Towers. I am, however, glad to find that the Society is at length awakened to a sense of the importance of collecting and placing on record descriptions of the various towers now existing in Ireland, or as far back as it can obtain faithful accounts of them. I am assured of this, from the commencement made at the last meeting of the Society, as already referred to.²

The following excellent observations as to the importance of a systematic record of every Round Tower in Ireland occur at the end of a chapter on the Round Towers in a recent work on Ireland:—

"I would also suggest to the antiquaries of Ireland a humbler labour, but one of analogous import, and which might even prove, eventually, more conservative of the fame of these wonders of their country, than all that the hand of architecture could effect. This labour is—to get constructed an exact and minute description of every individual Tower, with careful measurements and accurate plans of the general structure of each, and of every individual part. This would not merely be a most valuable record of the actual condition of the Towers, at a particular epoch, but, by permitting a minute comparison to be instituted between each part of all of them, might even throw some considerable light on the great question of their origin and uses. It is surely discreditable to the spirit of Irish antiquarianism, that no such record as this exists; nay, that no attempt even to frame such a record has been made. As far as I know, Mr. Petrie's

¹ The fullest mention of it which I have seen is that in Tighe's *Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny*, p. 632.

² The Committee of the Society have always felt the importance of collecting accurate descriptions of our existing Round Towers (such as that now contributed by

Mr. Hitchcock), and will ever gladly place on record any new facts calculated to throw light on these mysterious structures. But the general question of their age and uses is one that demands a much more voluminous treatment than the pages of the Transactions could possibly afford.—Eos.

solitary description and delineation of Clondalkin Tower, is all that has been effected in this way. To undertake and complete a record of the kind proposed, in a spirit and style worthy of the subject, would surely be a labour of glory, and ought to be a labour of love for any Irishman. The author of such a work, when committing it to the immortality of print, might almost be justified in addressing the objects of his antiquarian love, in the language of the poet, when promising to his mistress the deathlessness of his own 'powerful rhyme':—

'When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
And broils root out the work of masonry,
Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn,
This living record of your memory.
'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of all posterity
That wear this world out to the ending doom.'"¹

It has occurred to me, that a few notes, which I happen to have by me, on the Round Towers of my native county, accompanied by sketches of the two which still remain to us, made about five years ago, may not be unacceptable to the Society. And here I am glad to be able to observe, that the county of Kerry is as rich in its quota of the Round Towers as it is in other primeval remains. Truly, the study of antiquities is a delightful one, and none can relish or love it so well as those who have been for some time engaged in collecting information by local researches.

I am well aware that few of our Round Towers have been oftener described than that of Aghadoe, which, I think, may be attributed to the circumstance of its being situate close to the far-famed Killarney. More or less accurate notices of it will be found in the following works:—Smith's "Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry" (1756); Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum" (1786); Vallancey's "Collectanea," vol. vi. (1804); Weld's "Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney" (1812); "The Traveller's New Guide through Ireland" (1815); Plumptre's "Narrative of a Residence in Ireland during the Summer of 1814, and that of 1815" (London, 1817); Smith's "Killarney, and the Surrounding Scenery" (1822); Bell's "Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture in Ireland" (1829); the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. iii. (1834-5); Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland" (1837); lady Chatterton's "Rambles in the South of Ireland during the year 1838," vol. i. (London, 1839); Hall's "Ireland" (1841); the "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland" (1844); Windele's "Historical and Descriptive Notices of the City of Cork and its Vicinity" (1848); "Annals of the Four Masters," by O'Donovan (1851); &c., &c. None of these books, however, contain any engraving of the tower; and my sketch (see Kerry Antiquities, plate 1) of, perhaps, one of the most dilapidated Round Towers in Ireland has chiefly induced me to accompany it with the present notes, believing that, if engraved in our Transactions, it may be the means of preserving to after generations the appearance of the Round Tower of Aghadoe in the year 1848. What remains

¹ Forbes' *Memorandums made in Ireland in the Autumn of 1852*, vol. ii. pp. 313-14.

to us of this tower stands at a distance of about sixty feet from the north-west corner of the old church, and in the same cincture with the church. The diameter inside is seven feet, but a great part of the facing of the outside having been taken away for one purpose or another, I did not measure its circumference. The highest part of the tower now standing is about nineteen feet from the present surface of the ground; but, as will be seen from an inspection of the sketch, the greater part of the tower is not so high. The stones of which it is built, as well as the style of masonry, seem different from those found in the adjacent old church, both being much superior. A learned friend has favoured me with the inspection of a sketch of a portion of the tower, made by him in the year 1846, showing the cyclopean structure of the exterior facing, and the rubble work of the interior. My sketch of the tower is on rather too small a scale to exhibit this feature with any effect, but still it shows it a little. It is to be regretted that the interior structure of the tower is the more visible from the fact of a deep *bohoreen* (a little road) passing close by it—so close, indeed, that it must have been the means of undermining some of it. The old church, like most of our ancient ecclesiastical edifices, is built almost east and west, and still exhibits abundant proofs of its former architectural beauties, particularly in the doorway.¹ It is composed of different kinds of stone, some of which must have been brought from a distance, as none like them are to be found in the neighbourhood. A little to the south of the church, in a square enclosure, are the ruins of a *round* castle, named the “pulpit,” having a flight of stone stairs in the thickness of the wall, and indications of there having once been an immensely strong floor of wood in the middle height. The whole of these interesting remains are marked on sheet 66 of the Ordnance Survey of the county. When a person lingers, even for a short time, to behold these monuments, particularly the remains of the pillar-tower, the mind is frequently carried away to by-gone times; and then what thoughts crowd upon it! We seem as if elevated above the noise and bustle of the present world, and carried back, step by step, to the patriarchal ages, where we find the origin of all forms of worship. One of the ancient Ogham inscriptions has been found in the immediate vicinity of the Round Tower of Aghadoe, and seems to have very early attracted the attention of antiquaries—see Vallancey’s *Collectanea*, vol. vi. p. 193; and several succeeding writers have also described it. This stone is still carefully preserved, though much mutilated, in lady Headley’s garden, at Aghadoe House, where I had much pleasure in examining and making a sketch of it, in February, 1848. It will, doubtless, be engraved and described by Dr. Graves in his forthcoming work on the Ogham character. It may be worthy of remark, that Ogham inscriptions have been found in connexion

¹ There is a good engraving of this doorway on the title-page of an interesting little

work on Killarney, entitled “Lake Lore.” Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1853.

with no less than *seven* of the Round Towers, viz.—Aghadoe, Aghaviller,¹ Ardmore, Clonmacnoise, Fertagh,² Scattery Island (*Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xli. p. 85), and Tullaherin; and for all I know there may be others.

In order to render my communication on the Round Tower of Aghadoe more complete, I shall now select and bring together such of the notices of the tower, contained in the works above enumerated, as appear to me to bear most on the subject, and to be the most remarkable. Smith merely mentions the existence at Aghadoe of “the stump of one of the round towers” (*Kerry*, p. 147); but in his “Prospect of the Lake of Killarny, taken from the North,” facing p. 122 of his work, he gives an interesting view (not a drawing) of “the ruin’d church,” round tower, and round castle. The tower does not here appear so dilapidated as it is now. It may be worth remarking here, that Smith, whether through mistake or not, represents numerous tombstones at the *north* side of the church. This is remarkable, as that side of a church-yard is not considered a favourite one for interments.—See “Notes and Queries.”³ Weld has written a good deal on the general subject of the Round Towers, but has very little on that of Aghadoe. He says—“the tower of Aghadoe was constructed with hewn stone; but, exposed during the lapse of ages, on the summit of a lofty hill, to the influence of the elements, it has yielded to the shocks of time, and at present is in a very perishable state. Its shattered remains are not more than fifteen feet in height.”—p. 65. In a “map of the Lakes of Killarney,” facing p. 317 of *The Traveller’s New Guide through Ireland*, the Round Tower, the church, and the “pulpit” (round castle), are marked. The Round Tower appears as high as the gable of the church; but in the accuracy of an engraving of so small a size, and of the date (1815), we must not place too much confidence. The tower, however, is not now so high as the gable of the church. Mrs. Plumptre says—“very near the church stands a small fragment of a round-tower, scarcely twenty feet in height, and appearing in such a state of decay that it will probably soon be entirely mouldered away.”—p. 298. Bell has the following short and inaccurate account of the tower:—“This tower is a mere stump or remnant, not exceeding twelve feet in height. The bottom of the door-way is nearly seven feet from the ground, and excepting a part of one side, is the only trace of it left. The portion below the door,

¹ Mr. Hitchcock evidently refers to the Ogham monument at Ballyboodan, which is nearly two miles distant from the Round Tower of Aghaviller.—Eds.

² The inscription found in the vicinity of this tower is that on the silver brooch now in the possession of the Royal Dublin Society. It is described by Dr. Graves in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. iv. pp. 183-4.

³ At the end of an old “Description of Killarney” (1776), which I have lately got from that enterprising collector of books relating to Ireland, Mr. John O’Daly, of Anglessea-street, Dublin, there is a beautiful little plate, containing another view of the remains at Aghadoe. Here, also, the Round Tower seems pretty perfect. The whole, however, seems to be a reduction of Smith’s plate above mentioned.

was either always solid, like that of Clondalkin; or the upper part, in its fall, has filled it with the fragments of the stones, until it has acquired that appearance. It stands within about twelve feet (!) of Aghadoe church."—pp. 93-4. The writer of the article on Aghadoe, in the third volume of the "Dublin Penny Journal," gives a pretty detailed account of the Round Tower there. Amongst other remarks, he says—"the turaghan or round tower, stands fifty-four feet from the north-west angle of the church, and is called 'the pulpit' by the peasantry: all that remains of this ancient structure formed only a part of the basement, not reaching even to where once stood the door. The height is about twelve feet. It measures in its outer circumference fifty-two feet; its diameter within the walls is six feet; and the thickness of the walls three feet and a half. Its masonry is greatly superior to that of the church; the stones are large, regular, and well-dressed. The cut-stone or facing of the north-west side has been all taken away for the erection of tombs in the adjacent burying-ground. Within and without, spoliation has been at work effectually, aided by those worst of pests, the gold-seekers; fellows whose unhallowed dreams are most fatal to our antiquities. This tower must have fallen before the last century, but no notice of it in its erect state has survived."—p. 222. Lewis thus mentions the tower:—"Near them are the ruins of an ancient round tower, of which about twenty feet are yet standing."—article "Aghadoe." The "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland" contains the following:—"The turraghan and the cathedral, at the mutual distance of fifty-four feet, crown the summit, or dot the table-land, of the hill; and are surrounded by a thickly tenanted burying-ground. All that remains of the turraghan—called the Pulpit only by the peasantry—formed but part of the basement, and does not reach even to the aperture of the door. Its height is about twelve feet; its exterior circumference is fifty-two feet; its diameter within the walls is six feet; and its thickness of wall is three and a-half feet. The stones of which it consists are large, regular, and well-dressed, and exhibit a style of masonry quite superior to that of the cathedral; but they have been peeled from the north-west face for transmutation into tomb-stones; and the whole ruin wails beneath the inflictions of 'the gold-seekers,' and other prosaic spoliators of ancient buildings. The tower, to which this melancholy fragment belonged, must have fallen before the commencement of the eighteenth century, but is not noticed, in its unfallen state, in any record."—article "Aghadoe." Mr. Windele gives a very satisfactory account of what remains of the tower:—"The Turaghan, or round tower, stands sixty feet from the N.W. angle of the church, and is called the 'Pulpit,' by the peasantry. All that now remains of this ancient structure is the basement, reaching from the sill of the door downward. The height is about fifteen feet. It measures in its outer circumference fifty-two feet, the diameter, within the walls, is six feet ten inches; the wall is four feet six inches thick, which measurement

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Sculptured Stone in the Old Church of Annagh.



Round Tower of Aghadac.

diminishes on the inside, above the level of the present floor, three inches. Its masonry is greatly superior to that of the church. The stones are large, regular, and well dressed. The greater part of the facing stone of the north side has been unfortunately taken away, for the erection of tombs in the adjacent burying ground. Within and without, the spoliator has been effectually at work, aided by those worst of pests—the gold seekers; fellows whose unhallowed dreams are most fatal to our antiquities. This tower must have fallen previously to the last century; but no notice of it, in its erect state, has survived. It has not hitherto, we believe, been excavated or examined. The labour of doing so, we apprehend would be very considerable, as it is quite filled up with the debris of the fallen part, but the effort, it is hoped, may yet be made.”—p. 382.¹ In this, and two of the three last extracts, I believe the term “pulpit” is incorrectly applied to the Round Tower. In all the old accounts, written before guides were so numerous and dishonest as they now are, we find it given to the round castle; and it is to this building that I myself have heard the name applied. Dr. O’Donovan has the following:—“*Achadh-da-eo*, i. e. the field of the two yews, now Aghadoe, an old church, near which are the remains of a round tower, situated about two miles to the north of Killarney, in the county of Kerry.”—vol. v. (at A.D. 1581), p. 1756, *note c*.

I visited the Round Tower of Rattoo in February, 1848, and made the accompanying sketch (see *Kerry Antiquities*, plate 2) and note of it: the dimensions are as follow—circumference outside, forty-seven feet; height of doorway from ground, seven feet; height of doorway, five feet three inches; breadth at bottom, outside, two feet one inch; inside, two feet and half an inch; breadth at top, where arch turns, outside, one foot eight and a-half inches; inside, one foot eight inches; diameter of tower inside, seven feet four inches; thickness of wall at doorway, three feet nine inches. Round the doorway, outside, is a cornice or ornament, and just over it is also some species of ornament, both, however, invisible from where I took my sketch. Inside are three stories, or sets of stones, all around, projecting, and between each of these stories are one or more single stones, also projecting, as if for assistance in ascending. There are four windows or apertures

¹ Since communicating this paper to the Society, I have learned that my friend Mr. Windele, of Cork, is the author of the paper on Aghadoe in the “*Dublin Penny Journal*” from which my extract is taken, and that the article in the “*Parliamentary Gazetteer*” has been copied from either it or the same reprinted, with corrections, in both editions (1839 and 1848) of Mr. Windele’s “*Notices of Cork and its Vicinity*,” without even mentioning the source from which the article was derived! I trust that the extracts will not suffer from their

introduction into the Society’s Transactions. My use of the three descriptions, almost consecutively and in nearly the same words, may appear to some persons absurd; but a careful perusal of each account will, I think, show that there are a few very important differences: indeed, one of my principal objects in compiling the notes on the Kerry Round Towers is, to endeavour to show how widely some of the published accounts of them differ, and the necessity which exists for a minute and accurate description of all our Round Towers.

at the top of the tower, facing the cardinal points, one of which and a smaller one under it appear in my sketch. The tower stands on a sort of platform of masonry, and in the building of the tower lime mortar is visible. The doorway, I think, faces the east. This tower is, indeed, a stately looking monument, and, with its mantle of ivy, is calculated to strike the beholder with a sort of awe, which he cannot soon forget. The tower does not now stand in the same enclosure with the adjacent old church, the ruins of which, a little to the south-west of the tower, are enclosed by a high wall, built, as I was informed, by Mr. Gun, the proprietor. The enclosing of the church ruins with a wall is certainly a very praiseworthy act on the part of Mr. Gun; but we cannot but regret that he did not also include within the enclosure the noble Round Tower, and so help to preserve it from any wanton injury it may receive. The sketch shows that some of the stones from the part a little below the doorway have been already taken out, probably to make steps for ascending! I say "taken," because I do not think they could have fallen out. Let us hope for a more careful conservation of this, I may say, the only remaining Round Tower of Kerry. The church is built east and west, and is apparently an ancient one. A little farther to the east by north are the ruins of an abbey, also built east and west. All these interesting remains are marked on sheet 9 of the Ordnance Survey of the county. One of my earliest recollections, and one which I can never blot from my memory, is that of my dear father helping me, when a child, to climb up to the doorway of the Round Tower of Rattoo, our sitting on a bench or seat then inside, my looking up to the top of the interior, and his again helping me down from the doorway. It is curious, how long and tenaciously the recollections of one's childhood scenes cling to them, and with what fondness they ever after think on them.

As this tower and the fallen one of Ardferit have not been so frequently and fully described as that of Aghadoe, I trust that the following notices of them, by different writers, will not be out of place here. Smith, in his *Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, p. 214 (1756), the author of a *Tour through Ireland*, p. 288 (12mo. Lond. 1780), Archdall, in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 306 (1786), and Seward, in his *Topographia Hibernica*, article "Rattoo" (1795), mention this tower as standing in the church-yard in their day, so that the shutting out of it by the wall before-mentioned must have been of recent date. Lewis, in his "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," thus mentions the Round Tower:—"There are no remains of the castle, but those of the abbey still exist, and, together with the adjoining lofty round tower, which is still entire and clothed with ivy, form an interesting and picturesque group."—article "Rattoo." The "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland" states, that "the pillar-tower is now partly dilapidated,"—article "Rattoo;" but this is truer of many other towers in Ireland, the tower of Rattoo being almost quite perfect, having lost only a little of its conical cap. Dr. Petrie, in his

splendid work on the "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland" (1845), gives a pretty detailed description of this tower, from which I extract the following:—"The Tower of Rattoo, which, like that of Clondalkin, is still perfect, is remarkable for being placed on a terrace or platform connected with a causeway, which extends in a line opposite its doorway, as shown in the ground-plan on next page. The Tower is formed of roughly-squared, hammered sandstone, the entrance doorway alone being chiselled. It measures forty-seven feet nine inches in circumference at its base, and ninety-two feet in height, the wall being three feet ten inches in thickness at the doorway. The doorway is semicircular-headed, the arch being formed of three stones, and it is ornamented with a flat band, nine inches in breadth. It is five feet four inches in height, one foot eight inches in width below the arch, and two feet one inch at the sill. The Tower is divided into six stories, that at the top containing, as usual, four large apertures facing the cardinal points. These apertures have sloping jambs, and are, externally, angular-headed, but are quadrangular internally. The intermediate stories between the uppermost and the second, or doorway story, are each lighted by a single aperture; but, in consequence of the Tower being enveloped in ivy, their exact situations cannot be determined, with the exception of one in the fifth story, lately exposed by a storm, and which is angular-headed, and faces the east. The lowest story is filled up to the level of the doorway. It will be perceived from the section above given, that between the floors of each of the stories, rough corbel stones project from the wall about the middle of its height; and this is not an uncommon feature in the interior of the Towers, such corbel stones, in one example—that of the Tower of Ardmore, in the County of Waterford—being sculptured with animal and human heads, and other ornaments. My late ingenious friend, Mr. William Morrison, suggested to me that these corbels might possibly be for the purpose of fixing ladders to join the stories, as shown in the annexed outline; but a more probable conjecture, to my mind, is, that they were intended as supports for shelves, on which to place the precious things deposited in the Towers."—pp. 395-6. To those who would take the trouble, it may be curious to note the difference between Dr. Petrie's measurements of this tower and mine; but of course his must be the most correct. Mr. Wilkinson, in his work on the Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland (1845), has the following tabular remarks on this tower, which he erroneously sets down as in the county of "Clare"!—"Usual height,—conical top nearly perfect,—four large openings at top,—angle-headed outside,—square-headed inside,—door circular-headed, usual size, and usual height above surface of ground." *Construction*—"hard quartzose sand-stone,—cut stone band round the door, 9 inches wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch projection."—p. 78. Mr. Wilkinson has some good general remarks on the Round Towers.

The Round Tower of Ardfert no longer exists, having fallen towards the end of the last century; but I trust that the few notices of it in its erect state, and since it has fallen, which I have been able to collect, will not be wholly unworthy the attention of the Society. Smith gives the following account of the tower:—"Opposite to the W. end of the cathedral *stands* one of the antient round towers, near an hundred feet high, built mostly of a dark kind of marble; which is the first I have met with, that was not composed of freestone. The door of this tower faces the W. entrance of the cathedral, that the penitents who were formerly inclosed therein, might receive the pardon, and prayers of the congregation, as they went in and out of the church."—*Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, p. 203. To show that the towers were built for places of penance, Smith then refers to his works on Cork and Waterford. The Round Towers of Ardfert and Rattoo are thus noticed by Mr. Peter Collinson in the first volume of the "*Archæologia*" (1770):—"In the County of Kerry, still remain two ancient ecclesiastical round Towers; one opposite the West end of the cathedral [of Ardfert], near an hundred feet high, built mostly of a dark kind of marble; the door faces the West entrance of the church. Another round Tower is now standing near the ruins of the cathedral at Rattoo."—p. 306. O'Halloran, in his "*General History of Ireland, from the Earliest Accounts to the close of the Twelfth Century*" (1778), has left us the following notice of the tower:—"St. Brenden, of the house of Ir, and the patron saint of the O'Connors Kerry, erected at Hi-Ferte, or the Territory of Miracles, commonly called Ardfert, or Ardart, a see. His successors were sometimes called bishops of Kerry. The remains of churches, abbies, and religious houses, with inscriptions, remarkable tombs, &c. at this day sufficiently proclaim its ancient magnificence. An anchorite tower of 120 feet high, the finest in Ireland, and standing near the cathedral, fell down in the year 1771; and as, in all human probability, it fell never to rise again! I leave this memorial of it: of this noble city, the ancient capital of Kerry, no other monuments but the above remain, except its being the seat of the earls of Glendower, an ancient family of this county."—vol. ii. p. 94. The author of a "*Tour through Ireland*" (1780) says—"opposite to the west end of the cathedral, are the ruins of one of the antient round towers; it was 120 feet high, a *great part* of which fell down in 1771. It was built mostly of a dark kind of marble, and therefore the more remarkable, as they are more generally of freestone."—p. 286. From this it would appear that only a part of the tower fell in 1771. Archdall, in his "*Monasticon Hibernicum*," says—"adjoining was a round tower 120 feet in height, and esteemed the finest in Ireland; but *being neglected*, it unfortunately fell to the ground in the year 1771."—p. 300. In Gough's "*Camden's Britannia*" (1789) we find the following:—"Opposite the west end [of the cathedral] stood one of the antient round towers, about whose use antiquaries are so divided.

It was 120 feet high, built mostly of a dark marble: the door faced the west door of the church. It was esteemed the finest in Ireland, but *being neglected* fell to the ground 1771. Mr. Smith imagines this tower was intended for lodging penitents. It is much more probable that it answered the purpose of a Turkish minaret before bells were introduced, or perhaps of a watch-tower."—vol. iii. p. 492. From these two extracts it appears that the tower had been "neglected"—a matter to be the more regretted, as almost all agree that it was the finest in Ireland. Dr. Beaufort, in his "Memoir of a Map of Ireland" (1792), says—"the round tower, which had stood there [Ardfert] for ages, fell a few years ago, tumbling at *one crash* into a heap of ruins."—p. 92. Here it seems that the tower fell all at once. At p. 141 he states that the tower fell in 1770. Seward, in his "Topographia Hibernica," says—"opposite the end of the church are the ruins of one of the antient round towers, it was 120 feet high; a *great part* of which fell down in 1770."—article "Ardfert." O'Halloran, in his "Introduction to and an History of Ireland," published in 1803, a quarter of a century after the date of his work before quoted, writes—"near this fine church [Ardfert] was a lofty anchorite tower, which *partly fell* to the ground some years since; but from the known taste of Lord Brandon, it can hardly be supposed that he will suffer so fine a piece of antiquity, and such an ornament to his improvements, to be lost, especially as all the materials lie on the spot."—vol. i. p. 85. Here, as well as in the anonymous Tour, and Seward, before quoted, we see that *only a part* of the tower fell in 1770, or 1771, for these two dates are given; but, alas! for the credit of my county, O'Halloran's sanguine expectation from Lord Brandon has never been fulfilled, and even "all the materials" do not now lie on the spot! Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his "Journal of a Tour in Ireland, A.D. 1806" (Lond. 1807), observes:—"But this venerable pile of monastic buildings [Ardfert cathedral] has lost much of its grandeur as well as interest, by the fall of a stately round tower [in the year 1771] of 120 feet in height, which stood near the west front of the Cathedral."—p. 63. Lewis, in his "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," published in 1837, says—"an ancient round tower, which formerly stood near the cathedral, fell about 60 years since."—article "Ardfert." If Lewis reckons from the date of his publication, this would make the fall of the tower to have taken place in or about the year 1777. In the "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland" we find—"near the west front of the cathedral stood a *slated* round tower, 120 feet high; but this fine adjunct of the edifice's grandeur and interest, and noble specimen of the unique class of antiquities to which it belonged, fell in 1771."—article "Ardfert." This extract is curious, as mentioning that the tower was *slated*. In an interesting article on the then apparently forthcoming, and indeed much wanted, new edition of Smith's "History of Kerry," which appeared in the *Tralee Chronicle* of May 4, 1844, the Round Tower of Ardfert is

said to have been as much as *thirty* feet higher than any of the measurements above given!—"At Ardfert, anciently the capital of West Munster, there had been one [Round Tower], which is supposed to have been the loftiest in Ireland. In the time of the late Sir Maurice Crosbie, it was found, by Dr. Pococke, to measure 150 feet in height!"¹ These widely differing accounts of this single tower, particularly of its height (100, 120, and 150 feet), show us, I think, how important it is to have, in the first instance, *correct* descriptions of all our Round Towers. One writer copies from another, and so error is often propagated. The "site" of the Round Tower of Ardfert is fortunately marked on sheet 20 of the Ordnance Survey of the county, a little to the *west* of the "cathedral," which is not built *quite* east and west, as most usual. In the same enclosure, or immediate vicinity, we find "Templenhoe" and "Templengriffin," and farther to the north-east, in the demesne, are the splendid ruins of Ardfert abbey.

It affords me much pleasure to have to state here, that active steps are now being taken for the restoration of the cathedral of St. Brendan, Ardfert, adjacent to which, as we have seen, one of the finest Round Towers in Ireland so lately stood; and were the men who have associated themselves for this laudable purpose in existence before the tower fell, I have no doubt we should not now have to deplore its loss.²

According to the map of Ireland published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in 1845, which I believe contains the best published list of the Round Towers of Ireland, Kerry had

¹ I have been unable to find out from whence this statement of Dr. Pococke is derived. As he was bishop of Ossory, I thought that either of the Honorary Secretaries of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society could help me; but upon the Rev. James Graves informing me that he was unable to supply the required information, I addressed the following letter to the editor of the *Tralee Chronicle*, which, with his obliging reply, appeared in his paper of March 4, 1853:—

"Trinity College, Dublin, Feb. 25, 1853.

"SIR—You will much oblige, if you can inform me from whence the statement of Dr. Pococke, bishop of Ossory, as to the height of Ardfert Round Tower, which appeared in the *Tralee Chronicle* of May 4, 1844, has been derived. I cannot find it in any of his works in the College Library.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very obedient servant,

"R. HITCHCOCK.

"[We regret that we are not at present

in a position to give the information required by our respected correspondent, who has devoted so much of his attention to our archaeological records. The article to which he refers was, if our memory serve us right, from the pen of our old and lamented friend, the late John T. O'Flaherty, whose papers, we regret to say, have either been scattered to the winds, or remain in the hands of parties who think they will enhance the value of the manuscripts by hiding them under a bushel. Probably, the library at Ardfert abbey contains some records giving at once the height of the Round Tower and the reference to Dr. Pococke.]"

² Time works changes! Whilst preparing these notes for the *Transactions*, I have learned that the praiseworthy design set on foot for the restoration of the cathedral has been abandoned! We yet want in Kerry a spirit similar to that which has originated and executed the noble design for the judicious repairs and preservation of the fine old ruins of Jerpoint abbey, in the county of Kilkenny.

formerly no less than *four* of these monuments—viz. Aghadoe, Ardfert, one on an island in Lough Currane, and Rattoo. The tower of Aghadoe is marked “s, only the stump;” Ardfert, “f, foundations only;” Currane, “i, imperfect;” and Rattoo has nothing after it. I can find no account of the Lough Currane Round Tower in any other work, nor have I noticed any remains of it on any of the islands in that lake when on some of them myself, in April, 1848. It was probably one of the “Round Towers of other days,” which can only be seen “in the wave beneath us shining.” Lewis, in his “Topographical Dictionary of Ireland,” article “Kerry,” in enumerating the Round Towers of the county, mentions only three there. His words are:—“It [Kerry] had formerly three of the ancient round towers, of which the one that stood near the cathedral of Ardfert fell in 1771; of another, at Aghadoe, there are about 20 feet remaining; and the third is still standing nearly entire at Rattoo.” The accuracy of the list published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge is questioned in Hall’s *Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 191, where it is said that it is “exceedingly incorrect,” and where a “revised” list of the “existing Round Towers” is then given, in which only *three* in Kerry are mentioned, viz. Aghadoe, Ardfert, and Rattoo. The “Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland,” however, seems to make further mention of a Celtic or pillar-tower on one of the islands in Lough Currane:—“Several islets variegate the bosom of Lough Currane; and on the largest of these, called Church Island, are some ecclesiastical ruins and the remains of what is termed a Celtic tower.”—article “Currane.” “One pillar-tower occurs at Rattoo; another in an island of Lough Currane; part of another at Aghadoe; and the site of a fourth in the neighbourhood of the cathedral of Ardfert.”—article “Kerry” (*Antiquities*).

With the exception of the list published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, above mentioned, I know of no one good list of our Round Towers. True, indeed, Ledwich, in *Vallancey’s Collectanea*, vol. ii. pp. 141-2 (1786)—Dr. Beaufort, in his *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, pp. 138-141 (1792)—the *Anthologia Hibernica*, vol. i. pp. 90-91 (1793)—Ledwich, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, pp. 167-8 (1804)—Hoare, in his *Journal of a Tour in Ireland*, pp. 288-292 (1807)—Bell, in his *Essay on Gothic Architecture in Ireland*, pp. 77-98 (1829)—Hall’s *Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 191 (1843)—and Wilkinson, in his *Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 69-81 (1845)—give lists of the Towers; but they are anything but complete or accurate. For instance, Hoare does not mention one at all of the Kerry towers in his list, and Wilkinson sets down Rattoo as in the county of Clare, &c. ! Some few years ago, I amused myself in compiling a list of all the Round Towers of Ireland, either existing or known to have formerly existed (which, according to the list of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, number no less than 118), adding a note of any remarkable feature belonging to

the respective towers. On submitting this list, in its rough state, to the inspection of my friend Mr. Windele, he was so good as to render it more valuable, by making some corrections and adding several interesting notes. I afterwards sent the list to Dr. Petrie, for the same purpose, but have never since got it back from him, he having, unfortunately, mislaid it. I hope, however, that he may yet be able to lay his hand on the list, and return it to me.

It only remains for me to apologize for the length to which these notes have extended, and to state that I have been compelled to throw them together in a very short time, and in the midst of other labours. This will, I trust, help to account for any errors they may contain, and it may also elicit correction, which I earnestly invite, from some of our Kerry members, many of whose names appear on the Society's list of members. At all events, if my communication, dry and uninteresting as I am sure it is, shall tend to keep the importance of collecting and recording *accurate* descriptions of the Round Towers of Ireland before the Kilkenny Archæological Association, and if it shall, in any degree, however small, help to produce other and better written papers on the same subject, the chief end which I have had in view in compiling the present "notes" shall have been attained.



ON CERTAIN OBSOLETE MODES OF INFLECTING PUNISHMENT,

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE ANCIENT COURT TO WHICH THEY BELONGED.

BY MARK S. O'SHAUGHNESSY, ESQ.

In a communication made some time ago to the Society, by one of the Honorary Secretaries, respecting the "Ancient Corporation By-Laws of Kilkenny,"¹ mention was made of resort being had, for the punishment of certain offences, to an engine therein termed the "tumbrell," and also the "swingling stool" and "cucking stool."

¹ *Transactions*, vol. i. p. 47. A comparison of the ancient Kilkenny corporation regulations with some of those old Scottish laws, to be found in Skene's collection, would repay the curious reader. Take, for example, "regulationes de panibus et piscibus vendendis—de regratariis (hucksters)—de brasiatore, carnificibus et pistoribus, &c.," among the *Leges et Consuetudines Burgorum*, editæ per D. David Regem Scotiæ ejus nominis primum apud Novam

Castrum super Tynam. In the *Statute Gilda* also, many similar regulations appear. The *Iter Camerarii* also contains regulations about fishermen, hucksters, cobblers, forestallers, &c., as do the *Statuta David II.* and the *Stat. Rob. III.* In the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, published under the direction of the Record Commission, the prices of cows, horses, and many other saleable commodities, are regulated.

It may not be without interest to the Society to have before it some information respecting this instrument and the old laws and customs which regulated its use. Such information may, perhaps, give some aid to a better understanding of old records, the examination of which cannot fail to present to the mind clearer views of the periods when the means of repressing social disorders were sought for principally in the infliction of bodily suffering,¹ even as the arbitration of every dispute was referred to physical strength;² and such inquiries will also enable us to watch how, as the spirit of early and fiercer times was passing away,³ a growing conviction of the unfitness of such punishments was perceptible in their gradual disuse, and will teach us to rejoice that our days have fallen in these later and wiser times—as Homer says—

Ἡμεῖς τοὶ πατέρων μεγ' ἀμεινωνες ἐυχόμεθ' εἶναι—

We boast to be far better than our fathers—

the spirit of whose penal legislation seeks more anxiously the reclamation of the offender than the satisfaction of the outraged, and wisely perceives that such beneficent ends would be utterly frustrated by modes of punishment which a brutal spirit of vengeance alone could dictate, and by which there must be aroused in the sufferer a fierce hatred of the power which inflicted such indignities upon him.

“Corporal punishment,” says Lambard, *Eirenarcha*, lib. i. cap. 12, “is either capital or not capital.—Not capital is of divers sortes also, as of cutting off the hand or eare, burning (or marking) the

¹ There is much curious information as to punishment in cases criminal in Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*, cap. 31.

² Although the practice of judgment by their peers, in the case of barons, is expressly stated in the *Grand Coutumier* (cap. ix. f. 19), and though Dugdale says that trial by jury was undoubtedly the most ancient form of trial, having been ordained by the law of king Ethelred, made at Wanting, yet, notwithstanding the inhibition of the church, as for example the popes Nicholas I. and Celestine III., we have Selden remarking—“but the English customs never permitted themselves to such clergy-canons, always (under parliament-correction) retaining, as whatsoever they have by long use or allowance approved, so this of the duel.”—*Original of Duels*, cap. 5. Brady (*Hist. of England*, book ii. part 1) asserts that the twelve thanes or free-men (mentioned in Ethelred's law as above) associated with the prepositus, hundredary or reve, were not jurymen but judges or assessors. As to “Trials by Combat in

Cases Civil,” see Dugdale, *Orig. Jurid.*, c. xxvi., &c., and in *Cases Criminal*, c. xxviii.

³ The institution, by Henry II. (as Dugdale believes), of the “Trial by Great Assize” in place of trial by combat in civil cases (on which see *Glanville*, lib. xxvii. cap. 7), is indicative of this; as is also the abolition by special precept, of trial by fire and water ordeal by Henry III., in the third year of his reign. See Montesquieu's views, *Esprit des Loix*, livre xxviii., especially in the chapter (17) entitled “Manière de penser de nos pères,” and some subsequent chapters in the same book. Sir Matthew Hale (*History of the Common Law*, chap. vii.) says—“in all the time of king John, the purgation per ignem et aquam, or the trial by ordeal, continued, as appears by frequent entries upon the Rolls; but it seems to have ended with this king, for I do not find it in use in any time after. Perchance the barbarousness of the trial, and persuasives of the Clergy, prevailed at length to antiquate it, for many Canons had been made against it.”

hand or face, boaring thro' the eare, whipping, imprisoning, stocking, setting on the pillorie, or Cucking Stool, which in old times was called the Tumbrell." And as to the causes of the arrangement of punishments, hear Hector Boëtius, quoted by Skene (*De Verb. Sign.*):—"Et merum imperium consistit in quatuor, sicut sunt quatuor elementa. In aere, ut hi, qui suspenduntur. In igne, quando quis comburitur propter maleficiū. In aqua, quando quis ponetur in culeo et in mare projicitur, ut parricida, vel in amnem immergitur, ut fœminæ furti damnatæ. In terra, cum quis decapitatur et in terram prosternitur."

In the 3rd Institute, under the head "Tumbrel," the following is to be found:—"Furce, Pillot et Tumbrel append, al. view de Frankpledge. And every one" (remarks the learned Coke) "that hath a Leet or Market, ought to have a Pillory and Tumbrell, &c., to punish offenders, as Brewers, Bakers, Forestallers, &c." It seems also that "for want thereof the Lord may be fined, or the Liberty seised."¹ Thus, in some cases, in the time of Edward III., of summonses for claims of view of frankpledge, we find the court inquire if the claimant had pillory and tumbrell, and in one case it is laid down that "Pillory and Tumbrel belong to the Leet, without which justice cannot be done to the parties in the View, for, to punish at all times by amercement is contrary to common law."²

Further it appears, that, unless there were prescription to the contrary, the expense of the pillory and tumbrell was to be borne by the lord, and not by the inhabitants of the liberty, but stocks, "not being to punish, but to hold," were to be provided at the charge of the town.³

"Fossa, ane pit or sowsie, Furca, ane gallous, in Latine cabalum, quhilk was first institute and granted be King Malcome, quha gave power to the Barrons to have ane pit, quhairin women condemned for theft sud be drowned, and ane gallous quhair-upon men-thieves and trespassours suld be hanged, conforme to the doome given in the Barron Court there anent."⁴

"Pillory, collistrigium, as it were collum stringens, and Pillorium, from the French 'pelori,' and that may seem to be derived from the Greek πῶλη, janua, a door, because one standing on the Pillory put his head, as it were, through a door; and ὀπᾶω, video—was called among the Saxons 'healsfang;' of 'heals,' a neck, and 'fang,' to take;" and Skene, referring to the "Leges Burgorum Scotticorum," says it was

¹ *Fleta*, lib. 2, cap. 12, § 29.—*D'Anvers*, ii. 289. Chitty's *Criminal Law*, i. 797.

² *Keilway's Reports*, fol. 140, 149, 152.

³ *D'Anvers*, as above, and authorities cited therein.

⁴ Skene, *De Verb. Sign.*: see also Spelman, *Gloss*; Blount; Cowel's *Interpreter*; Jacob; Cunningham. As to the distinction made between men and women cri-

minals, see a case in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland* (vol. iii. p. 594), in 1636, in which the men were hanged and the women drowned, except such of the latter as had children, and they were burned in the cheek.

⁵ Cowel; see also Jacob, &c., and that storehouse of varied knowledge, Ducange (*sub voce* Pilorium).

ordained for the punishment of baxters, (i. e. bakers); and he calls it also "jogs." Spelman, says, "Est supplicii machina ad ludibrium magis quam pœnam—inter fauces duarum tabularum ideo cavatarum collo spectaculum populo præbatur deridendum," but it is difficult to reconcile this notion of a joke, with the statement of Britton (*De Larcyns*, fol. 24.) that infamy resulted from the infliction of those punishments, and that the oath of the delinquent could no longer be received on juries, inquests, or in testimony; and so too Bracton, in the chapter, *De generibus pœnarum* (lib. iii. cap. 6), says, that those punishments were attended with infamy. Hence, the counsel of Coke (3 *Inst.* 219) that justices "should be well-advised before they give judgment of any person to the Pillory or Tumbrell;" and his cautious suggestion, "Fine and imprisonment for offences fineable by the justices aforesaid, is a fair and sure way."¹

Mr. Morgan, an editor of the fourth edition of Jacob's "Law Dictionary" (1772), mentions that he remembers to have seen, on the estate of a relative of his in Warwickshire, the remains of a tumbrell, "consisting of a long beam or rafter, moving on a fulcrum, and extending to the centre of a large pond, on which end the stool was to be placed;" and Brand ("Popular Antiq.") quotes a description from Misson's "Travels in England." In Baines' "History of the County Palatine of Lancaster," it is stated that, about the close of the last century, a cuck-stool complete stood over a pit, near Longton, on the road from Preston to Liverpool; and Tomlins ("Law Dict.") states that within the memory of persons living in his time, it was used at Banbury, in Oxfordshire, towards women of notoriously immoral conduct, the pool still retaining the name of the cucking-pool.² It seems to have been used by the Saxons, by whom it was called "scealfig stole;" and in Domesday Book it is styled "cathedra stercoralis." Later,³ we find it designated "trebuchet, turbichetum, tribuch, terbechetum," properly, (says Coke), a pit-fall or downfall; and Barrington (*on the Statutes*, p. 30, *in notis*), derives it from the Celtic, "tre," ville, and our common word, bucket, "which is likewise probably Celtic," whence it will signify, the town or village bucket. But Ducange has it "Catapulta species, seu machina grandior ad projiciendum lapides," &c.; and so Ménage, who derives it thus, "De traboccare, comme qui diroit in buccam cadere, tomber dans un trou."⁴ But it appears from Ducange, that there was also

¹ Those of the rank of gentleman, could not, according to the usage of the star-chamber, be whipped; the infliction of this punishment on Titus Oates was illegal.—Chitty's *Crim. Law*, vol. i. 796. As to punishment of witches in the pillory, see Tomlins' *Law Dict.* (4th ed.)

² Under a statute of James VI. (Scotland) A.D. 1567, cap. 18, entitled, "Anent the filthie vice of fornication and punishment

of the samin," the offender shall, for the third offence, pay £100 (Scots), be thrice ducked in the foulest pool of the parish, and be banished the town or parish for ever; and shall be treated in the like manner for every further offence.—Hume's *Commentaries on the Law of Scotland respecting Crimes*, i. chap. 21 (page 464, 2nd ed.).

³ Carta Joh. Reg. dat. ii., Junii, An. 1 Reg.

⁴ Hereon also see Trévoux.

a warlike machine called "tumbrellum,"¹ which name seems to have been that most commonly used for the instrument of punishment.

By Bracton it is styled "tymboralis," and in *Fleta* "tomborale." Coke tells us, in his day tumbrell was a word in use for a dung-cart; and later we have it used in this sense by Dryden,²

"My corpse is in a tumbrel laid, among
The filth and ordure, and inclos'd with dung."

The word took many shapes, as tumbrella, tymbrella, tymborella, and in a case reported by Keilway (8., *temp.* Edw. 3), "one John was summoned to answer for that he claimed view, waiffe, fourcher, pillory, and tumrell;" but this may be a misprint, as it appears frequently elsewhere in the book "tumbrell."

Jamieson, in his "Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language," questions the correctness of rendering "tumbrellum" by "cockstule," which he thinks the same as "pillorie;" for, he says, "kaak is a Dutch pillory, being an iron collar fastened either to a post or any other high place," although a derivation is given from the Teutonic "kolcken," ingurgitare, from "kolck," gurgles, vorago, vortex; and, he adds, that in latter times it has been used to denote the pillory.

Ramsay has the following allusion to this instrument of punishment:—

"The tane, less like a knave than fool,
Unbidden clam the high Cockstool,
And put his head and baith his hands
Throw holes where the ill-doer stands."

Brand, too,³ thinks the tumbrell different from the cucking-stool, founding his opinion on a claim (quoted by Cowel) made in Henry VII.'s time, in which a distinction is made between the offenders and the punishment, thus:—"punire ... braciatores (i.e. brewers) per tumbrellum, et rixatrices per *Thewe*, hoc est ponere eas super scabelum, vocat. a Cucking Stool;" and the derivation of cucking-stool given by Coke (under "the Trebuchet or Castigatory") would appear to fix that instrument as the punishment for scolds, but in so doing, carries its identity far away from the pillory on the etymological proofs which Jamieson thought perceptible. "Cuck or Guck, in the Saxon tongue signifieth to scould or brawl (taken from the Cuck-haw or Guckhaw, a bird, qui odiose jurgat et rixatur) and Inge, in that language (Water), because she was, for her punishment, soused in the water; and others fetch it from Cucquean, i.e. Pellex."⁴ So Coke.

It was also termed "goginstole" and "cokestool," and by some

¹ *Gloss.* In French, tombereau, from the verb, tomber, see also Junii, *Etymol. Angl.*

² See Johnson's Dictionary.

³ *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 441.

⁴ *Vide supra*, for its use in the county of Lancaster not long ago; and its identity with the custom which formerly obtained among the Saxons.

it is thought corrupted from choaking-stool, "quia hoc modo demersæ aquis ferè suffocantur."¹

The court-leet,² or view of frankpledge, said to be the most ancient criminal³ court in the land, had for its judge the steward ("who should be a barrister of learning and ability," says Tomlins), and the jury was composed of twelve freeholders. Dugdale says this court was originally that spoken of as "tryhing" or "lathe" (among the Saxons) in which the barons and freeholders of these parts were judges.⁴

The existence in England of the court-leet, with its other appellation of "view of frankpledge," seems to have sprung out of the institution of Alfred the Great, that all the freemen of the district should be mutual pledges for the good behaviour of each other;⁵ and

¹ Skinner's *Etymologicon*, *sub voce*, "Cucking Stool." Tomlins' *Law Dict.* (4th edition.)

² "Leta, from the Saxon "lite," i.e. parvus, quasi a little court; or from the German "laet," a country judge."—Jacob. "In Kent," says Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warwickshire*, "those divisions of the country are called Lathes, which with us are called Hundreds." See also 4th *Inst.* cap. 54. D'Anvers *ubi supra*. Tomlins says, "Though we do not meet with the word among the Saxons, there can be no doubt of the existence of the thing."—*Law Dict.*

³ "The Court-Baron being of no less antiquity in civil."—Tomlins. The ancient court-baron of the manor of Sunderland was revived by the earl of Durham, and opened on the 21st of July, 1840. See Richardson, *Local Historian's Table Book*, vol. v. p. 180.

⁴ *Orig. Jurid.* cap. 15. As to the tryhing or lathe, see cap. 12, in which instances are given of titles to land being tried in this court. See also "De trihingis et ledis" among the laws of king Edward the confessor in Lambard.

⁵ Blackstone, *Commentaries*, book iv. c. 19. Hawkins, *Pleas of the Crown*, book ii. c. 11. Alfred reigned from 871 to 900. In the laws of king Edgar, who reigned from 959 to 975, is the following: "This is the Ordonnance how the Hundred shall be held. First, that they meet always within four weeks: and that every man do justice to another. 2. That a thief shall be pursued If there be present need, let it be made known to the Hundred-man, and let him [make it known] to the tithing-men; and let all go forth to where God may direct them to go: let them do justice on the thief, as it was formerly the enactment of Edmund" (the commence-

ment of whose reign was in 940). But the origin of the institution would seem to belong to a much earlier period. The following passage from the "Esprit des Lois," ascribes it to the sons of Clovis whose death occurred in 511:—"Comme tous les hommes libres étaient divisés en centaines, qui formaient ce que l'on appelait un bourg, &c.

"Cette division par centaines est postérieure à l'établissement des Francs dans les Gaules.

"Elle fut fait par Clothaire et Childebert dans la vue d'obliger chaque district à répondre des vols qui s'y feraient. On voit cela dans les décrets de ces princes."—livre xxx. chap. 27.

"Nous avons remarqué en plus d'endroit, que de vieux usages perdus ailleurs se retrouvent en Angleterre, comme on retrouva dans l'île de Samothrace les anciens mystères d'Orphée."—Voltaire, *Dict. Philos.* art. *Clerc*, where some remarks on benefit of clergy, also will be found. See also Guizot's *Representative Government*, lecture 4, part i. Thierry (*Norman Conquest*, book ii. A. D. 878 to 885) says the custom of reckoning families as simple units, and then aggregating them in tens or hundreds to form districts and hundreds, is found among all people of Teutonic origin; and states that tythings and tything-men, hundreds and hundred-men existed among the Saxons and Angles, prior to their emigration, and that the system was adopted by Alfred. It appears that the institution exists in Russia now-a-days, where the great feature of the rural system is, that every head of a peasant family is a member of a *commune*, and as such has a right to a portion of land. At the head of each village is the *starosta*, who presides over a council called the *ten*. The election of councillors is made annually

the happy results of this ordinance are described by Lambard (*Perambulation of Kent*, p. 27) to have been "that if a man had let fall his purse in the highway, he might at great leisure and with good assurance have come back and taken it up again." In the leet all offences under high treason could be enquired into, its jurisdiction¹ being as extensive as its prototype, the gothic "*hæreda*," which "*de omnibus quidem cognoscit non tamen de omnibus judicat*;"² and ranging (in the words of Blackstone) "from common nuisances and other material offences against the King's peace, down to eaves-dropping, waifs, and irregularities in public commons;"³ or, in the more general description of Coke (accounting for the sheriff's tourn and the leet being courts of record, and not the courts of the county, of the hundred, and the courts-baron), "instituted for the Commonweal, as for conservation of the King's peace, and punishment of common nuisances, &c."⁴

But the particular articles which were to be given in charge by the steward were set forth in certain statutes, as, for instance, the 17th Edward II., the statute for view of frankpledge; the 51st Henry III.,⁵ "The Assise of Bread and Ale;" the 2nd Edward VI., cap. 10, for the punishment of any corruption in the making of malt for

by the peasants. The apportionment of the *odrok* (a fixed tribute to the lord), the distribution of land escheated by the death of the occupiers, the punishment of minor offences, and the arrangement of local disputes, form some of the offices of the council. Several villages form a district, over which is an officer called a *starchina*, who, with assessors, holds a court in which recruits for the army are levied. The *starchina* is elected by deputies sent from the villages of the district, a number of which districts form a *volost*, under a functionary also elected, who, with assessors, forms an higher court of more extended jurisdiction. Here may be traced the *tything* forming the court-leet, over which was the head-borough, or tything-man; then the *hundred-court* (under the bailiff), formed out of ten tythings; and, finally, the *county-court*, with the shire-reeve, or sheriff, presiding—(*Etudes sur la Situation Intérieure, la Vie Nationale, et les Institutions Rurales de la Russie*, par le Baron Auguste de Haxthausen, Hanovre, 1852). "The most remarkable approximation to our own institution seems to have existed at an early period in Russia for the trial of criminal cases. In the French translation of M. Karamsin's *Histoire de Russie*, we find the following: 'Le plus ancien code des lois russes porte que douze citoyens assermentés discutent suivent leur conscience les

charges qui pèsent sur un accusé, et laissent aux juges le droit de déterminer la peine.'"—Forsyth's *History of Trial by Jury*, p. 37, note; see also the same work (chap. iv. sect. 4) as to the different kinds of Anglo-Saxon courts.

¹ 4 Inst. 265. D'Anvers, ii. 290. *Jurisdictions, or the lawful authority of Courts Leet, &c.*, &c., written by the methodically learned John Kitchin of Gray's Inn, Esq., London, 1663.

² Bl. Com., b. iv. c. 19, quoting Stiernh. *de jur. Goth.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 4 Inst. 263. See the following, in *Haddibras*, as to "what base uses" it was turned to in the seventeenth century:—

"Be forced t'impeach a broken hedge
And pigs unring'd at *Vis franc* pledge.
Discover thieves, and bawds, recusants,
Priests, witches, eaves-droppers, and nuns;
Tell who did play at games unlawful,
And who fill'd pots of ale but half-full."

⁵ Are the advocates of the "rights of women" aware that to the parliament or council upon this occasion (A. D. 1266) held at Winchester, all the wives of the nobles who had been killed in war, or of those captive, were summoned? The word in the statute, as Barrington points attention to, is *braciatrix*, a woman-brewer; so the sex appears to have had a share, on this occasion at least, in legislating for itself.

public use, &c.;¹ but, after the passing of the statute of Marlbridge, 52nd Henry III., cap. 10, their business gradually devolved upon the courts of quarter sessions.² Nevertheless, that the court was resorted to, in queen Elizabeth's time,³ for the punishment of frauds in measures, seems evident from the following:—

“And rail upon the hostess of the house
And say you would present her at the Leet,
Because she brought stone jugs and no seal'd quarts.”⁴
Taming of the Shrew.

The class of offences for the punishment of which the pillory⁵ and the tumbrell, in connexion with the court-leet, were most commonly used, seem to have been the corruption of provisions and all such and other matters which could be accounted to be common nuisances. Thus, Dodridge, justice of the king's bench, says, in Trinity Term, 16th James I., “that such nuisances as the Leet had power to redress

The statute intituled *Assisa Panis et Cervisie* was 51st Henry III., stat. i. (anno 1266); that intituled “Judicium Pillorie” was passed in the same year, stat. vi. So much of the former as referred to the assize of bread was repealed by the 8th Anne, cap. 18. “There are also few sums or constitutions relative to the law, which tho' possibly not Acts of Parliament, yet have obtained in use as such; as Statutum Panis et Cervisie, Judicium Collistrigii, and others.”—Hale, *History of the Common Law*, chap. vii. temp. Henry III. It is perhaps not unworthy of mention (*à propos* of this doubt) that the curious collection of customs called *Regiam Majestatem* (date about 1154), are said by Lord Stair (*Institutions*, b. i. t. 1, s. 16) to have been compiled for the custom of England, and though mentioned in the Scottish Parliaments of 1425 and 1487, were only so mentioned as what may, on revision become law. This opinion is examined in Erskine's *Institutes*, b. i. t. 1, s. 32. The following occurs in Fabyan's *Chronicle*, temp. 12th Henry III.: “In processe of tyme after, the sayde syr Hughe (Bygotte) w^t other, came to Guylde hall, and kept his courte and ples there without all ordre of lawe, and contrary to the lybertyes of the Cytie, and there punysshed the bakers for lacke of syze by the tüberell, where before tymes they were punysshed by the pyllery, and orderynge many thynges at his wyl, more thā by any good ordre of lawe.”—Ellis' edition, p. 345. In the second year of Edward I., the following is recorded: “After the solemnytie of the Coronacion was ended, the king... ordeyned certayne newe lawes for y^e welth of the realme, whiche are to longe here to

reherce; amōge the whiche one was that bakers makynge brede, lackynge the weyght assygned after y^e pryce of corne, shuld first be punysshed by losse of his brede: and the seconde tyme by prysonnement: and y^e thirdly by the correccion of the pyllory. And myllers for stelyng of corne to be chaustyed by y^e tumbrell, and this to be put in execucion he gave auctoytie to all mayres, baylyffes, and other officers thorough Englande, and specyally to the mayre of London.”—Fabyan's *Chronicle*; Ellis' edition, p. 385.

¹ As to punishment for unreasonable victualling charges, victuallers conspiring, selling corrupt victuals, &c., see Lambard, *Eirenarch.*, b. iv. c. 4. As to restrictions on common brewing and baking in the fifteenth century, see Brand's *Newcastle*, vol. ii. 16.

² Blackstone, *ubi supra*.

³ But see hereafter the case of the *Queen* against *Fosby*, tried in Anne's time before the justices at quarter sessions and not in the leet.

⁴ “No sealed quarts.”—“Sub sigillo Burgi debent signari.”—*Leges Burgorum*, cap. 52.

⁵ “MR. BUTLER—My Lord, we insist upon it, that the pillory is the punishment of the cheat.

COURT—We know if Mr. Hurly be not able to pay the fine he ought to suffer corporal punishment.” “Trial of Patrick Hurly of Moughna, in the county of Clare, for perjury, and conspiring to cheat the Popish inhabitants of the county of Clare,” (A.D. 1701) in *Howell's State Trials* xiv.; see note at page 446, also page 1099, same volume. See also vol. iii. 401, vii. 1208, and xix. 809, *in notis*; also vol. xx. p. 781.

should be immediate and public nuisances ;"¹ and so there came under its cognizance, among other nuisances, that of being a common scold, which, in practice having long ceased to be the subject of prosecution,² may be brought forward to some little prominence. Two such cases, at least, can be quoted : one having been before the court of queen's bench as lately as in the time of Anne, and to the mention of them may be added, that though recent legislation has abolished the pillory as an ignominious punishment,³ some stern necessity may (but not, it is to be hoped, during the reign of the gentle lady—our present gracious sovereign) arouse again an old demand, to wit :—“ Reclaim the obstinately opprobrious and virulent women and make the Ducking Stool more useful.”

In Hilary Term, thirteenth year of James I., a question arose as to the justification of a constable under the following circumstances. It appeared that Margery, the wife of one Curteys, had been presented in the leet as a common scold, and the constable went as directed by the seneschal to punish her according to law. It is not wonderful that one of her disposition should have demurred violently to the proceeding, and an assault and battery ensued. It does not appear that Margery underwent the sentence, but this case decided the justification of the constable and his assistants in punishing common scolds upon a presentment in the leet.⁴

The second case was that of the *Queen* against *Foxby*,⁵ who it appeared had been convicted by the justices of the peace at their quarter sessions at Maidstone, upon an indictment that she was a common scold, and judgment was given that she should be ducked. A motion was made in the queen's bench, in Trinity Term, 1703, in arrest of judgment, that the indictment was, that she was *communis calumniatrix*, which is not the Latin word for a scold but *rixatrix*, whereupon Sir John Holt, chief justice, said, “ It were better ducking in a Trinity (i. e. May or June) than in a Michaelmas (November) Term.” Judgment was arrested in Michaelmas Term, and the case came again before the court, on a writ of error, in Trinity Term the following year, when affidavits were produced that she was so ill (a nervous attack in all probability, the ducking still impending) that without danger of her life she could not come up out of Kent, where she lived, to assign error in person, according to the course of the court; and the time was enlarged “ to see how she would behave

¹ *Dewell, v. Sanders and Tedder*, in ii. *Rolle's Reports*, 31.

² *Stephens' Commentaries*, iv. 336, (3rd edition).

³ The Act, 7th Wm. IV., and 1st Vic., (cap. xxiii.) enacts, “ that from and after the passing of this Act (30th June, 1837.) judgment shall not be given and awarded against any person or persons convicted of any offence, that such person or persons do

stand in or upon the Pillory.” It is then provided that by this Act the punishment of pillory alone is affected thereby. The 56th Geo. III., cap. 138, had limited its use to the punishment of perjury.

⁴ This was *Curtey's Case*, in *Moore's Reports*, p. 847. See also, for more on this subject, page 32, of “ *The Office of the Constable*,” London, 1791.

⁵ *Modern Reports*, vi. 11, &c.

herself in the meantime," the court remarking that "scolding once or twice is no great matter, for scolding alone is not the offence, but the frequent repetition of it,¹ to the disturbance of the neighbourhood, makes it a nuisance, and as such it has always been punishable in the Leet, and ideo indictable." The chief justice seems to have had other than merely legal reasons for enlarging the time, for he added, "ducking would rather harden than cure her; and if she were once ducked she would scold on all the days of her life."² Finally, the court did lean to the merciful side, construed the penal enactment strictly, and reversed the judgment (in Michaelmas Term), the indictment being, that she was *communis rixa*, instead of *rixatrix*. That, about Elizabeth's time, the instrument in question was of common use in such cases, seems very probable from the following, in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Woman's Prize:"

"MOKOSO—Do you hear the rumour?
They say the women are in insurrection,
And mean to make a —

"PETRONIUS—Let 'em, let 'em!
We'll ship 'em out in Cuckstools, there they'll sail
As brave Columbus did, till they discover
The happy islands of obedience."—Act ii. scene 1.

And that it had not gone out of use in the time of the "merry monarch" we may quote the learned and witty Samuel Butler:—

"So men decree those lesser shows
For victory gotten without blows,
By dint of sharp hard words, which some
Give battle with, and overcome;
These, mounted in a chair-curule,
Which moderns call a cucking-stool,
March proudly to the river's side,
And o'er the waves in triumph ride:
Like dukes of Venice, who are said
The Adriatic sea to wed;
And have a gentler wife than those
For whom the state decrees those shows."

Hudibras, part ii. canto ii.

A few extracts from some old laws may not be uninteresting before concluding.

That baking and brewing could not be carried on without permission of the authorities, is evident from a passage (in Cowel) from

¹ In *Withers v. Henley*, 1 *Rolle's Rep.* 241, Coke says, "The continuance of a nuisance is a new nuisance."

² Brand (*Popular Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 445), speaks of the "branks," another punishment for scolding women, used at New-castle-under-Lyme, preferable, he thinks to the "cucking stoole," "which not only

endangers the health of the party, but also gives the tongue liberty 'twixt every dip." He quotes an old poem which would corroborate his lordship's view as given above:—

"Down in the deep, the Stool descends,
But here, at first we miss our ends.
She mounts again and rages more
Than ever Vixen did before."

a MS. book concerning the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of the Free Borough of Mountgomery, from the times of Henry II.:—"Item utimer de Pandoxatricibus,¹ quod nemo potest brasiare sive pandoxare in villa et Burgo nostro, nisi..., si talis Pandoxatrix brasiaverit, ...debet capi per Ballivos, amerciari,...primo et secundo, et si tertia vice Assisam fregerit, debet capi per Ballivos, et publice duci ad locum ubi situatur le Gogingstole, et ibi debet eligere, unum de duodus, viz., an velit le Gogingstole ascendere, an illud iudicium redimere ad voluntatem Ballivorum."

That the ducking stool was not reserved for the especial use of the fair sex, appears from the following:—"Eif they trespasse thrise, justice sall be done upon them: that is, the Baxster (i.e. *Baker*) sall be put upon the Pillorie (or halsfang) and the Browster (i.e. *Brewer*) upon the Cockstule."--*Burrow Lawes*, c. xxi. sec. 3. Ducange has the latter, thus:—"Brasiatrix super Tumbrellum, quod dicitur castigatorium." Again, take the following from the "Law of Preston in Amoundresse, which they have from the Law of the Bretons."²—"If a Burgess shall be in mercy for Bread and Ale, the first, second, or third time, he shall be in mercy, 12d, but the fourth he shall go to the Cuckstool." And that north of the Tweed the women were not safe from this seat, appears from a law of queen Mary, 1555 (cap. 40), "The women perturbaturis for skefrie (i.e. extortion, or any unlawful way of getting money) sal be taken, and put upon the Cukstules of everie burgh or towne."³

In conclusion, the great antiquity of the modes of punishment which this paper has been intended to illustrate, may be shown by the following, from Sir Henry Spelman:—"Submersionis hic ritus pervetustus fuit apud Germanos majores nostros. Sic enim Tacitus in eorum moribus 'Distinctio pœnarum ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignaros et imbelles et corpore infames cœno et palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt.'" (Cap. 12, De Mor. Ger.)

¹ *Pandoxatrix*, an alewife that both brews and sells ale and beer.

So Shakespear—"Ask Marion Hackett, the fat alewife of Winton."—*Taming of the Shrew*.

² Baines' *History of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, vol. iv. p. 300.

³ For the punishment of forestallers and regrators, see Hume's *Coms.* (Scotland) i. ch. 25, p. 503.

AN ACCOUNT OF
SOME ANTIQUITIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF
BUTTEVANT, IN THE COUNTY OF CORK.

BY RICHARD B. BRASH, ESQ., ARCHITECT.

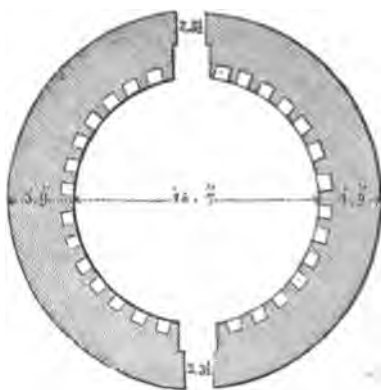
THE AUGUSTINIAN ABBEY OF BALLYBEG.—Ballybeg is about half a mile from Buttevant; the remains of the Augustinian abbey stand at the gorge of a winding and romantic glen, through which the turnpike road from Mallow to Buttevant passes; its situation must have been remarkably picturesque, when forests clothed the lofty and abrupt hill sides, when the horn of the hardy hunter woke the morning echoes through its rocky passes, as he chased the red deer by the banks of the gentle Mulla.

The present remains show it to have been once strongly fortified. Its massive belfry looks more like a castle keep, and the remains of stern looking towers, which formerly flanked the abbey enclosures, speak of troublous times and treacherous onslaughts; a portion of the east and west ends of the church, the cloister walls, ruins of two towers, and a columbarium, or dove-cot, are all that at present remain of this once splendid structure, the extent and magnificence of which is still attested by the fragments of walls, and sculptured stones dug up by the peasantry on the surrounding lands. Of the east end, fragments of the chancel walls alone remain; in Smith's time, the east window existed,¹ but there is now no trace of it; a farmer has built his house and offices across the centre of the church, and the west end is occupied as a cow-house! The west gable has a lofty Early English couplet of graceful proportions, with large inward splays; the lancets are divided internally by a very fine banded shaft having a moulded base, and a bold and richly carved cap of the peculiar foliage of the period. A strange feature exists in this portion of the building—four massive piers have been built at some period subsequent to the original erection, two of them in the western internal angles, upon which vaults are turned, converting this end of the church into a fortified structure. You can ascend to the top by a stairs constructed in one of the piers. The vaulting is ornamented with some grotesque heads; it crosses the couplet window, destroying its effect. There are circular holes in the vaulting, as if a peal of bells had been hung in the upper part. This tower, or belfry, was certainly erected sometime subsequent to the original building, as these piers are not bonded into the original masonry, but merely built against the walls. The cloisters were on the south side of the church, and appear to have been of large extent. The enclosing wall still exists, and retains the corbels

¹ Smith's *History of Cork*, 1774, vol. i. p. 324.

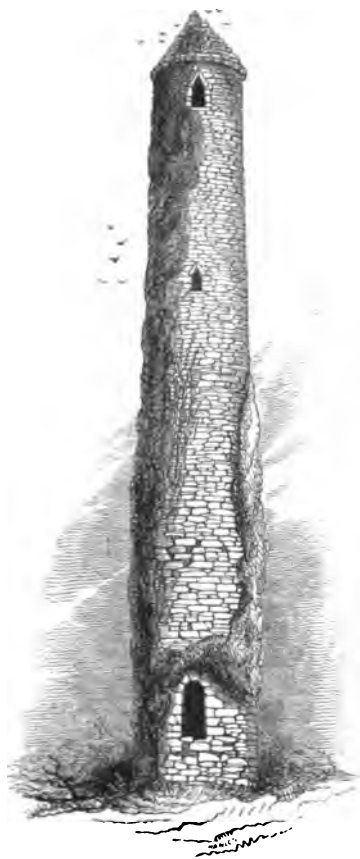
that carried the beams of the lean-to roof over the arcade, no portion of the masonry of which at present remains—neither cap, base, or portion of shaft by which I could determine its character. About twenty yards from the west end of the church are the remains of a lofty square tower, which was connected with the conventual buildings, and evidently built for defence. The walls were massive and of excellent workmanship; the lower story of a similar tower stands about forty yards from the east end, close to the Doneraile road; the finish of the quoins and a handsome pointed doorway evidence the care bestowed on its erection.

THE COLUMBARIUM.—About twenty yards from the south-east corner of the chancel is a low circular tower—of which the accompanying wood-cuts supply a plan and section—about twenty-eight

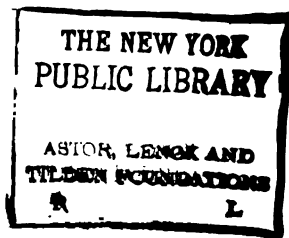


Plan of Columbarium.

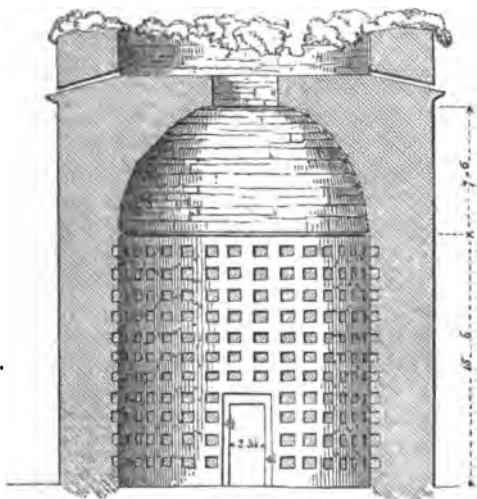
feet in height, the walls of which are perpendicular, having no inward inclination, or batter. Its internal diameter is fifteen feet seven inches; thickness of the walls three feet nine inches; its external circumference is seventy feet; it had two doors, one at the east and one at the west side—the west one is perfect, but the cut stone jambs of the east one, having tempted the cupidity of a neighbouring farmer, were abstracted and it is now an unsightly breach. The interior is exceedingly curious, the inside face of the wall having been built in square compartments and in regular tiers, one over the other, to a height of fifteen feet, where they are terminated by a projecting string-course; the first tier commencing at eighteen inches from the ground. There are eleven tiers of pigeon-holes, thirty-two in a tier, which each average eight inches square, and are from ten to eleven inches in depth; they are formed of small square stones, hammer-dressed, yet neatly fitted, and bonded well into the solid wall; between each tier is a course of stone, seven inches in thickness, and the small piers between are ten inches wide, the horizontal courses between the tiers are formed mostly of two courses of thin stone, and the diminu-



Round Tower of Rattoo.



tive piers of two and three small cubical stones; yet the whole is carefully bonded and well built, in fact it is the neatest and most curious specimen of hammer-dressed work I have ever met with, either ancient or modern. The height internally to the string-course is fifteen feet six inches, from which starts the beehive-shaped roof of masonry, the upper part of which is formed of flags overlaying one another, and leaving a circular opening of about three feet six inches in diameter, so as to give ingress and egress to its feathered inhabitants. This roof does not exhibit its domical form externally, as the walls are carried



Section of Columbarium.

above the top of the vaulting, a level platform being formed on the top, the raised wall forming a parapet round it, and having rude gurgoles to carry off the rain water; the whole height of the building externally is twenty-seven feet six inches. A curious external feature is an apparent mode of communication with the abbey buildings. About fourteen feet from the ground, at the north side, is a doorway which leads to the platform above mentioned; at one side of this doorway is a fragment of a wall projecting about four feet, and pointing towards the S. W. corner of the chancel; lower down there does not appear to have been any connexion with the tower, as the masonry exhibits no such feature, so that it would appear to have been a portion of a gallery of communication carried upon arches to some part of the domestic buildings. The interior appears to me to have been subjected at some period to the action of fire, as the lime-stone of which the whole is built exhibits a white and calcined appearance. I am at present personally aware of but one other specimen of this class of buildings existing in this country: it is adjoining the Cistercian abbey of Kilcooly, and presents some different features, both

as to design and construction from that at Ballybeg; but I have been informed of the existence of one or more of these buildings in the county of Kilkenny.¹ In the "Archæological Journal" is given an account of one at Garway, in Hertfordshire (accompanied by an interior and exterior view) from which I select the following description:—"The wall is of stone, and four feet in thickness, with twenty-one ranges of holes for pigeons. The holes are made wider within the wall by cutting away the stones which form the surface. On inserting the hand into one range of holes, they would be found to open to the left, while the range above would be reversed. The building is further strengthened by a course of solid stone between every two ranges. The house is covered by a vaulting of stone, presenting a concave surface internally and externally. A circular opening in the centre of the vaulting affords the means of ingress and egress to the pigeons, while two doors, at the north and south, give the same facilities to unfeathered bipeds."² The author of the paper, the Rev. William Dyke, of Cradley, further states that the date was on the tympanum of one of the doorways, as follows—"DNI. MCCC." and some defaced decimals. It will be seen by the accompanying drawings and description, that the internal construction and general features of these buildings are similar; the only difference being in the construction of the pigeon-holes, which at Garway open from one to the other, as above described, while at Ballybeg there is no communication; the similar features are the general proportions, circular form, vaulted roof, two doors, and circular orifice in the top. The most striking point of difference externally is the construction of the roof, which at Garway is a frustrum of a cone, surmounted by a circular blocking of masonry round the orifice. I find that some difference of opinion exists among antiquaries respecting the foundation of Ballybeg, which opinions I now subjoin.

Archdall states that Phillip de Barry founded a priory here for regular canons following the rule of St. Augustine, and dedicated it to St. Thomas, the favourite saint of that age. He endowed it in the year 1229, in remembrance of which his equestrian statue in brass was erected in the church.³

According to Ware, Ballybeg was a priory of regular canons of St. Augustine, dedicated to St. Thomas, founded by William de Barry, and endowed by his son David in 1237.⁴

The Abbe MacGeoghegan copies Ware to the effect that at Ballibeg, near Buttevant, in the county of Cork, a priory was founded for regular canons of St. Augustine, by William Barry, in 1237, and endowed by his son David.⁵

¹ There are ancient dove-cots at Wellbrook, Pottlerath, and Danesfort, all in the county of Kilkenny. Kilcooly borders on Kilkenny.—Ede.

² *Archæological Journal*, vol. i. p. 265.

³ Archdall's *Monast. Hibernicum*, p. 56.

⁴ Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 246.

MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 303.

Dr. Smith writes that at Ballybeg, on the other side of the river, a small walk from Buttevant, was a monastery of Augustinians, founded anno 1237, and dedicated to St. Thomas, by William de Barry, being endowed by his son David.¹

Both of these last statements are manifestly in error, for we find in Lodge's "Peerage" that David de Barry was possessed of the lordship of Buttevant at that period, and that he was not the son of William but of Robert, whom he succeeded. It is true that William was the eldest son and heir of Phillip de Barry; but, being a favourite of king John, he resided in England, and is supposed to have assigned his Irish estates to his younger brother, Robert, as is thus set forth by Lodge:—

"In 1229 he [Phillip de Barry] endowed the friary of Ballybegg, in the county of Cork, in memory whereof, his effigies on horseback was cast in brass and set up in the church there He left issue two sons, William and Robert; to the elder of whom king John confirmed his uncle's said gift of lands by patent, dated at Woodstock, 21st February, 1208; in which King's reign (it is said) he was one of the Recognitores Magnæ Assisæ for the county of Kent, and lived at the Moate there, where several of his successors, who were Lieutenants of Dover Castle, and Conservators of the peace in that county, had their residence.—If this be fact, he probably assigned his estate in Ireland to his younger brother, Robert de Barry, who appears to be possessed thereof by the bequest he made in honour of God, the blessed Virgin, and St. Thomas, of one Mother Church upon his land, and one carucate near his castle of Robertstown. . . He had issue two sons, David, his heir, and Phillip Barry."²

He further states that the above David succeeded his father Robert, and that anno 1235 he enlarged the revenues of Ballybeg, which had been endowed by his grandfather, Phillip.³

David de Cardigan was prior in the reign of king Henry III.

John de Barry was prior in the reign of Edward I.⁴

"On the Thursday next after the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, 35th king Henry VIII., the abbot was found seized of this priory, with a cemetery and certain buildings on the site, containing one acre, annual value, besides reprises, 6s. 8d., also sixty acres of arable land of the small measure and forty of pasture, being the demesne lands of the priory and situate in Ballybegg: annual value, besides reprises, 40s.; one hundred and twenty acres in the said townland, annual value, besides reprises, 60s., and the following rectories appropriated to the said prior; Ballybegg, annual value, besides reprises, 4l.; Kilkeran, Ardosoyle, and Rathbarry, annual

¹ Smith's *History of Cork*, vol. i. p. 323.

² Lodge's *Peerage*, revised by Archdall, vol. i. p. 287.

³ Lodge's *Peerage*, revised by Archdall, vol. i. p. 288.

⁴ Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 56.

value, besides reprises, 100*s.*; Ballycloghie and Ballycastell, annual value, besides reprises, 7*l.*; Drusmallyny, in M^cWilliam's country, annual value, besides reprises, 6*l.*; Carryketwohill, annual value, besides reprises, 6*l.*; Castlebeghan, annual value, besides reprises, 6*l.*; Kylcoryhin, annual value, besides reprises, 20*s.*; Kilemallaghe, annual value, besides reprises, 8*l.*; and Rossaghe, Downeraghill, and Cahirdowgan, annual value, 6*l.*, all sterling money. The said lands and rectories lie in the county of Cork."¹

An inquisition of the 5th of February, 3rd James I., finds "that 28th April, 16th Queen Elizabeth, a grant for a term of years was made to George Bouchier, Esq., of this priory and the demesne thereof, with certain lands in the town of Ballybeg, Ballykeran, Ardhoile, and Rathbarry, Ballyclogh and Ballycastell, Crustmalyny in M^cWilliam's country, Carricktwohill, Castlebechin, Kill—, Killnernalagh, Rosseghe, Downeragill and Cahirdowgan, in the counties of Cork and Mayo. To hold the same at the annual rent of 41*l.* 10*s.* Irish money."²

26th of James I., January 1, a grant from the king to Elizabeth Norreys, Cork county.³

Sir Thomas Norreys, lord president of Munster, having been slain in the service of queen Elizabeth against the rebels in said province, king James, on that account, and because the lands of his daughter and heiress, Elizabeth Norreys, were waste during the time of the late rebellion, remitted to her all arrears of the Crown; viz., in Cork county, for the abbey of Ballybeg, £81 10*s.* rent; Limerick county, the friary of the Holy Trinity in Athdare, called the friary for the Redemption of Captives, and of the friary of Saint Augustine, Athdare, the abbey of Monastir Nenagh, and the monastery of Saint Catherine of Killagh, £22 17*s.* 8*d.*; all remitted from Michaelmas, 39th of Elizabeth, to Michaelmas, 1st of James I.

14 February, 3rd of James I., No. 25. A grant from the king to Sir David Norton of Tystede, Southampton county, knight,⁴ *inter alia*, of the site of the dissolved abbey of Ballybeg, in the county of Cork, containing about one acre arable, and seventy acres pasture of the demesne thereof, and 150 acres arable and pasture belonging to Ballybeg.

13 May, 7th of James I. The king's letter for a lease to Sir John Jephson, knight, of the site of the dissolved monastery of Ballybeg, now in the hands of him, the said Sir John Jephson, knight.⁵

The lands belonging to this abbey contained 2060 Irish acres, and by a valuation taken in 1622 were only worth £60 a year; at the same time the glebe and tithes of it were valued at £200 per annum.⁶

¹ Archdall's *Monast. Hibernicum*, p. 786.

² *Id.*, p. 787.

³ Patent Roll.

⁴ *Id.*, No. 25.

⁵ *Id.*, No. 47.

⁶ Smith's *History of Cork*, p. 323.

Mr. Crofton Croker, in his valuable and interesting work, "*Researches in the South of Ireland*," in his notice of Ballybeg, has fallen into an error respecting the columbarium. He describes it as the "stump of an ancient round tower;" to which it bears no resemblance (except in its circular form), having no batter, being built of common rubble masonry, having two doorways on the ground level, and being of much greater diameter than our cloich-theachs.

The field in which this dove-cot stands is called, by the neighbouring peasantry, "the pigeon-field," a name sufficiently corroborative of the uses I have ascribed to this building. Many stories are here related of money-seekers and dreamers of "crops of gold," &c. One or two have been authenticated to me, and are given by Mr. Crofton Croker in his "*Researches*."

One of them relates to the discovery, in the pigeon-field, of a sepulchre, the interior of which was lined with slabs having figures of the apostles quaintly carved thereon, and containing a stone coffin. Of the remains of this tomb I could discover no traces. I heard that the slabs were thrown about and broken, their ultimate fate being to repair the road, and that the stone cist was many years used by a neighbouring farmer as a pig-trough!

The other story relates to a blacksmith, who dreamed three successive nights of "a crock of gold under a big flag in the abbey," and who accordingly commenced excavating among the mouldering remains of the ancient fathers until he exhumed a stone coffin, containing a skeleton, a cross, a bead of the precious metal, and a plate of the same, on which was incised a representation of the crucifixion. These valuable relics met the fate of most of our native antiquities, having been disposed of by the finder to a goldsmith in Cork, who remorselessly melted them down.

We find that the dove-cot or pigeon-house was a very general appendage to ancient religious houses. In the surrender of the abbey of St. John, Kilkenny, in the reign of Henry VIII., we find the last abbot, Richard Cantwell, seized among the other buildings, tenements, &c., "of a water mill, a pigeon-house,"¹ &c.

At the surrender of the Franciscan friary at Adare, we also find mention made of a pigeon-house.²

It is also specially mentioned, in the enumeration of lands and buildings in the surrender of the Crouched Friars at Ardee.³

At the suppression of the abbey of Louth, "by an inquisition taken on the Wednesday next after the Feast of St. Brandon, 33d king Henry VIII., the prior was found seized of the site of the priory, containing two castles, an hall, dormitory, bakehouse, pigeon-house and granary,"⁴ &c.

There is no doubt that much variety existed in the construction of

¹ Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 370.

² *Id.*, p. 416.

³ *Id.*, p. 447.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 474.

these domestic buildings, the only two that I have had the opportunity of examining differing considerably. The second, as already observed, adjoins the Cistercian abbey of Kilcooly, county of Tipperary, and closely resembles the one at Garway above-mentioned. In the inventory given by Archdall of the buildings, messuages, &c., of Kilcooly abbey the dove-cot is not set down.¹

TUMULI.—A little to the north of Buttevant, beyond the turnpike, the old road between Charleville and Buttevant strikes off in an easterly direction, crossing the Awbeg by a bridge partly ancient and partly modern, the arches at one side being pointed and the masonry of antique character and apparently coeval with the neighbouring monastery. At a late period it was considerably widened; but the arches of the modern portion are semicircular, which has an odd effect. A short distance from the bridge, on the height, in a field by the roadside, is "Knockane-na-m-buachaillidhe"—that is, "the mound or hillock of the boys"—an ancient, conical, earthen tumulus, about fifteen feet high and sixty feet in diameter. A deep excavation has been made in the west side of it, as we were informed, by gold-seekers. A similar tumulus, and of corresponding dimensions, stands a short distance from the above, called "Knockane-na-g-caillidhe," or "the mound of the girls," nearly half of which has been cut away in making a new road. These were, in all probability, memorial tumuli, erected to commemorate some bloody conflict and the fall of two chiefs or heroes.

At Killmacleannan, about two miles from Buttevant, is an immense mound of irregular outline, the remains of a once noble tumulus or barrow. The aged countryman who was my cicerone stated he remembered it in his younger days complete, with a moat on the top. The moat he explained as "a flat green little field." He said it was opened about fifteen years ago by the Rev. Mr. Connery, parish priest of Buttevant, who informed the people that he first heard of it in Paris. What was found in it "he was not sure"—that is, he was completely ignorant; but the gold-seekers came afterwards, and excavated and ransacked the whole mound, and the farmers now are carting away the materials of which it is composed. The original height of this tumulus is only conjectural; its present outline is broken and irregular; its greatest height about eighteen feet; the material of which it is composed, earth and small rubble.

Nearly in the centre is a rude cist, which is now entirely uncovered. It is rectangular, formed of four upright stones composing the sides and ends, with a massive table stone covering all. It at present rests but on two sides and an end, the other end having been forced out by the riflers.

The following are the dimensions of the stones:—No. 1 side stone, length nine feet, height six feet; No. 2 side stone, length

¹ Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 664.

seven feet six inches, height six feet; No. 3, end stone, length four feet, breadth six feet; No. 4, end stone, length four feet six inches, height five and a-half feet. The covering stone measures nine feet nine inches in length, by seven feet six inches in breadth; the average thickness of these stones is from fifteen to eighteen inches. What was found at the opening of this tumulus, I have not been able to ascertain. It is evidently sepulchral, and must have contained some primæval remains. I subjoin a few remarks on the subject of tumuli, which may not be deemed irrelevant.

Tumuli are generally either memorial or sepulchral, erected to commemorate a victory, the fall of a chief or hero, or as a sepulchral mound to enclose the remains of the noble or heroic dead. These monuments are distinguished from the rath or lios by their form and superior elevation; their figure being generally a frustum of a cone, whose base is of considerable proportion to its height. They are found of all sizes, from the small memorial hillock of a dozen or fifteen yards diameter, to the mighty sepulchral mounds whose bases are acres in extent, and whose bulk and altitude give them more the appearance of being the production of nature than formed by the puny hands of man, containing within their bosoms the cemeteries of dynasties who reigned anterior to Christianity.

That the custom of raising such memorials was general amongst the primitive tribes both of the Old and New World, we have the concurrent testimony of ancient authors and modern travellers. Of this description was the tomb of Patroclus, as set forth in the 23rd book of the "Iliad," and similar also were the monuments of Achilles, Antilochus, Penelaus and Ajax. Herodotus describes similar mounds as having been erected over the kings of Scythia; similar monuments are noticed by Adam Olearius in his "Travels through Muscovy and Persia;" by the learned and acute Keysler, as existing in Friesland and Westphalia; and by the laborious Pallas, as seen by him near Novogorod and all through the country of the Don Cossacks and Crim Tartary. The recent discoveries in Central America exhibit the prevalence of similar customs in a remote age; while the pyramids of Egypt and the dagoba of India are but the more refined expression of an observance almost as ancient as the world itself.

The remains of these monuments are numerous in the British Islands, whether designated as moats, carns, or barrows. In our own island they are frequently met with; in the counties of Louth, Meath, Roscommon, King's and Queen's Counties, Kildare and Tipperary, they are exceedingly numerous, and are generally by the peasantry termed moats; they are formed of various materials, being sometimes composed entirely of earth, also of earth and stones in various proportions, and in many instances exclusively of stones of various sizes. Mounds of this class are termed carns. Of this description are Knocknaree in the county of Sligo; Slieve Croob, county of Down; Carnbarn in the county of Armagh, Corran Thier-

na, county of Cork; Augh na cloch-mullen, county of Armagh; of this description is the enormous mound of New Grange, county of Meath, calculated by measurement to contain 200,000 tons of stones, the greatest proportion of which must have been conveyed a distance of several miles.

The moat of memorial is generally a simple mound, of the form and materials above described, with, in some instances, a pillar-stone on the top. It is impossible to distinguish it from the sepulchral tumulus, except by an examination of its internal structure, as their external form and character are identical.

The sepulchral moat is found of all dimensions, from the cistvaen of the single chief to the royal *brugh* or cemetery of a race of monarchs. The interior of tumuli of this class, when opened, is found to contain one or more sepulchral chambers, formed of unhewn stone and connected by low, narrow passages, according to the number of chambers. The simplest form of this sepulchre is the rude cist, composed, as in the Kilmaclennan tumulus, of four or more large stones set on edge, and forming the sides and ends, with one or more flat stones overlaying them and forming the top or cover. Within this cist, or rude stone coffin, were placed the remains of the chief or hero, with his warlike weapons, his gold, silver or bronze ornaments; the earth or stones were then heaped around, and over all, into a conical form.

That this was a favourite mode of interment among the Pagan Irish, there is abundant evidence in our most ancient manuscripts. I shall content myself, however, with one extract from the celebrated "Leabhar na h-Uidhre," as quoted by the learned and laborious Petrie in his erudite work on the "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland." It relates the death of Fothadh Airgthech, king of Ireland, who was slain by Cailte, the foster-son of Finn Mac Cumhaill, in the battle of Ollarba, A.D. 285. Cailte, addressing Finn, describes the death of Fothadh, and identifies his sepulchre at Ollarba, in the following words:—

"We were with thee, O Finn, said the youth. Hush! said Mongan [another name of the Fenian hero], that is not good [fair]. We were with Finn once, said he; we went from Alba [*recte* Almhuin]. We fought against Fothadh Airgthech here with thee at Ollarba. We fought a battle here; I made a shot at him, I drove my spear through him, so that the spear entered the earth at the other side of him, and its iron head was left buried in the earth. This is the very handle that was in that spear. The round stone from which I made that shot will be found, and east of it will be found the iron head of the spear buried in the earth; and the *uluidh* [carn] of Fothadh Airgthech will be found a short distance to the east of it. There is a chest of stone about him in the earth. There are his two rings of silver and his two *bunne doat* [bracelets], and his torque of silver on his breast; and there is a pillar-stone at his

car, and an Ogumis [inscribed] on the end of the pillar-stone, which is in the earth, and what is in it is, 'Eochaid Airgthech here.' It was Cailte that was here along with Finn. All these things were searched for by the youth who had arrived, and they were found."—pp. 105, 106.

In other examples the cists are of various dimensions; sometimes composed of enormous masses of stone, frequently with low, narrow passages formed of rough stone, set on end and covered with similar ones like lintels to bear the superincumbent earth. Some contain the bones of a single individual; in others are found the remains of children and adults, both male and female. Along with human remains are frequently found fragments of charcoal, implements of bronze, iron and stone, sometimes of gold and silver, articles of rude pottery, generally urns, glass, stone and earthenware, beads, pins and combs of bone, all evidently deposited with the bodies at their interment.

But by far the most extraordinary monuments of this class remaining in the country are the great mounds of Dowth, Knowth, and New Grange, which, with a vast number of moats, forts, raths, pillar-stones, &c., formed the great cemetery of Brugh na Boine, the burial-place of the Tuatha de Danann race of kings. In Mr. Wilde's very interesting and valuable work, "The Boyne and Blackwater," is an admirable description of this very remarkable locality, which he styles "the Irish Memphis."

I shall not here go over the oft-repeated description of New Grange, or that of the more recently excavated Dowth. Mr. Wilde gives a most careful and elaborate account of both, which I would recommend to the careful perusal of the student in this interesting class of our national antiquities.

A very curious and interesting account of the opening of a tumulus, on the banks of the Tour in Siberia, is contained in a letter from Paul Demidoff, of Petersburg, read before the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 5, 1767.

The Russian government having been informed of the existence of vast numbers of tumuli near Tomsky, which were opened and plundered of their contents by the neighbouring tribes, "sent a principal officer with a sufficient number of troops to open such of these tumuli as were too large for the marauding parties to undertake, and to secure their contents." This officer, upon taking a survey of the numberless monuments of the dead spread over this great desert, concluded that the barrow of the largest dimensions most probably contained the remains of the prince or chief; and he was not mistaken, for, after removing a very deep covering of earth and stones, the workmen came to three vaults, constructed of stones, of rude workmanship. That wherein the prince was deposited—which was in the centre, and the largest of the three—was easily distinguished by the sword, spear, bow, quiver and arrow which lay beside him. In the vault

beyond him, towards which his feet lay, were his horse, bridle, saddle and stirrups. The body of the prince lay in a reclining position upon a sheet of pure gold extending from head to foot, and another sheet of gold of the like dimensions was spread over him. He was wrapt in a rich mantle, bordered with gold and studded with rubies and emeralds; his head, neck, breast and arms naked and without ornament.

In the lesser vault lay the princess, distinguished by her female ornaments. She was placed reclining against the wall, with a gold chain of many links, set with rubies, round her neck, and gold bracelets round her arms. The head, breast and arms were naked. The body was covered with a rich robe, but without any border of gold or jewels, and was laid on a sheet of fine gold, and covered with another. The four sheets of gold weighed 40lb. The robes of both looked fair and complete, but, on touching, crumbled into dust.

A very coincident discovery was made in the year 1805, near Castle-martyr, in the county of Cork, as detailed in that interesting work of Thomas Crofton Croker's, "Researches in the South of Ireland." A skeleton was discovered in a cavern, partly natural and partly artificial, which was partly covered with a sheet of pure gold formed with exceedingly thin plates of stamped or embossed work joined by rivets of the same material. There were also found some beads of amber. One only of the plates escaped the crucible of the goldsmith, and is now in the possession of Mr. Lecky of Cork.

It is to be regretted that a vast number of these sepulchral tumuli have been destroyed, and their contents scattered and lost, through the ignorance or avarice of individuals. It would be desirable if this and kindred societies took more active steps to disseminate, among our gentry and farmers, the value and importance of monuments of this class, that, when their removal is unavoidable, they may be instructed as to the necessity of having a competent person on the spot to investigate and report upon them.¹

It would be also desirable if a fund could be appropriated for the examination of such of these tumuli as are accessible; or if one or more members took upon them the opening of one each every year, I am sure the results would be most gratifying to those concerned, and our museums would be enriched by many an article of ancient art, calculated to throw light on the dim past and to illustrate the history, habits and religion of the early habitants of our land.

Our ancient annals and literature teem with references to the sepulchres of the mighty dead, to the fields of conflict, to the spots where heroes and chiefs and kings have fallen. With such lights on his path, the well-directed efforts of the antiquary cannot fail of being crowned with success.

¹ The Kilkenny Archaeological Society pamphlet comprising "hints" on this subject.—*Eds.*

THE ANCIENT CROSS OF BANAGHER, KING'S COUNTY.

BY THOMAS L. COOKE, ESQ.

THE old church of Banagher, King's County, was heretofore known by the appellation Kill-Regnaghe, and the parish in which its ruins exist is still called Reynagh. This parish was situate in the diocese of Clonmacnoise. The names just mentioned were given to both the church and the parish in consequence of St. Regnach, *alias* Regnacia, sister of St. Finian who resided at Clonard, having founded a religious house here, over which she was abbess. St. Regnacia in all probability died about the same time as her brother Finian, who went to rest A.D. 563. The ruins of the church of Kill-Regnaghe stand nearly in the centre of the town of Banagher (celebrated for its fairs), and the walled-in space which encompasses them is used as the parish cemetery.

On a fine summer day, many years ago, loitering about the straggling, long, and unpicturesque street of Banagher, I happened to ramble into this church-yard, as well with a view to beguile time as for the purpose of examining any relics of antiquity which might there present themselves. The trouble of the visit was amply compensated; for I there found, prostrate on the earth, a stone, of which I send a sketch with this paper, showing it as *it then was*. In using the words "*it then was*" I do so emphatically, in order to contrast *its then* with its *present* condition; for the stone has since that time been sadly and wantonly damaged.

On first inspection it was evident to me that this remain of antiquity had served as the shaft of a once stately cross, of which the other component portions were no longer to be found. I made inquiry as to what had become of the remainder of this highly sculptured remain; but my inquiries proved unsuccessful. The only information I could glean was that the stone then and there lying humbly prostrate had, in former and more propitious days, stood erect beside a crystal spring, which once sent forth its limpid waters in the old market-square adjoining the church-yard, but whose abundant source was very many years stopped up. No person could be found to tell me the meaning of the carving on the stone, or why or on what occasion it had been carved at all.

I will now describe what remains of this very interesting antique. It is formed out of that description of greyish-brown sand-stone, which, when recently taken from the quarry, is so very soft as almost to cut beneath the pressure of an ordinary knife; but which becomes of adamant hardness after being some time exposed to the atmosphere. The sketch, which accompanies this paper, presents a representation of the front or principal face of what is extant of this

cross-shaft, from the lower part of which a piece has been broken off. This stone is five feet long, by one foot two inches in breadth at top, and one foot four inches at bottom. The sculpture on it consists of three compartments. On the uppermost of these we find a lion passant, three-tailed or *guived*, as a herald would express it. A small hollow about the place of the lion's shoulder was abraded into the stone when I first saw it. This has since been greatly enlarged.

Beneath the lion I have mentioned, and on the same compartment with it, is the figure of a bishop on *horseback*, and bearing his pastoral staff as emblematical of his sacred office. The crosier is of that plain form which indicates antiquity.

In the second compartment is a beast of the deer kind, and which is proved by the character of its horns to be the red deer (*cervus elephas*); an animal now, I believe, nearly extinct in Ireland. The poor creature is portrayed as in great pain, its head being thrown up in an attitude of anguish and distress, whilst its off or right fore-leg is found to be entangled in something resembling a trap. When I first beheld this stone the deer was quite perfect; but it has been mutilated by reckless and savage hands since that day.

The lowest compartment consists of four naked and ill-proportioned male human figures arranged around the central point of the compartment after the manner of spokes in a wheel. Their legs are hooked together, and the left hand of each figure grasps the hair of the figure immediately preceding it. Their respective right hands hold the beard of the figure immediately in rere.

The sides of the stone are ornamented with an interlaced tracery, some of which resembles serpents. This tracery it would be difficult, if not wholly impossible, to describe in words. The character of it is that of similar ornaments found in various carvings on stone of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

The most remarkable object on the back of the stone is some sort of mythic combination shaped like an animal, with a nondescript head, but rudely resembling that of a hawk. The ears seem to be represented by the heads of two serpents, whose bodies are twined into trinodal and circular forms of curve. The serpent, I need scarcely observe, was at all times acknowledged an emblem in religious rites. I do not remember to have met with anything like to this, excepting the figure on the little brazen talisman from Hindostan which I forwarded for inspection of the members of our useful Society. A sketch of this compartment of the stone is at B on the plate.

The stone, the subject of this communication, appears to have been part of a sepulchral or commemorative cross, set up at the Banagher well to record the death of bishop William O'Duffy, who was killed by a fall from his horse A.D. 1297. I read in the original English edition of Ware's "*Bishops*," published at Dublin, 1704 (p. 29, *Bishops of Meath and Clonmacnoise*)—"William O'Duffy, a Minorite, after two years vacancy, succeeded and was restored to the

temporalities, October 6th, 1290. He was killed by a fall from his horse in 1297." Harris, in his edition of Ware's "Bishops," quotes the Patent Rolls of Edward I. to show that he was bishop of Clonmacnoise. But the Four Masters say that he was bishop of Clonfert in the following passage at the year 1297—*Uilliam o Dubtoigh eḡp Clvna Fearta do tḡicim dḡa eac, i a ecc dḡa bḡicḡ;* i.e. "William O'Dubhtoigh (or O'Duffy) bishop of Cluain Fearta (*Clonfert*) fell from his horse and died in consequence of it." Perpetuated on the stone now being written of, is the record of that fatal event, for on it is to be seen a *bishop on horseback*. He is without (it is worthy of remark) either stirrups or saddle. Above his lordship is the lion, the hieroglyphic of strength and power, and being emblematic of the bishop's authority and character before the unfortunate accident befel him. Next to this we find the red deer taken in a trap and writhing in mortal agony and distress. This is plainly symbolical of O'Duffy's name and melancholy fate. The Irish word *damḡeḡḡ*, pronounced nearly as if written *Davefeei*, or *Duffy*, signifies a red deer. A letter written to me by my learned friend, the excellent Irish scholar, professor Owen Connellan, the 4th of October, 1846, in answer to one from me suggesting that the cross, of which this stone was a portion, had been erected in memory of bishop O'Duffy's sudden death, runs as follows:—"Whether the O'Duffy family derived their name from a person called *Dvḡac*, or from some celebrated hunter, who might from that circumstance have obtained the epithet *daḡḡeḡḡ*, is very difficult to determine;" and again, "the stone which you describe is very curious, and there is scarcely a doubt but that it refers to bishop O'Duffy, who fell from his horse as related in the Annals, and I have no hesitation in agreeing with you that the sculptor meant the deer, which appears on the stone, to have reference to the origin of the family name."

It is manifest that the trap in which the foot of the deer appears to be entangled is merely intended to record the accident which deprived O'Duffy of life. The words of the Four Masters do not lead us to believe that his death was instantaneous, for they only say that he died *in consequence* of the fall from his horse.

As to the carving on the lowest compartment, I own that I can form no certain conjecture respecting its meaning. I have met with the same sort of symbolic representation only once elsewhere, namely, on an exceedingly curious stone cover of a coffin in the ancient burial-ground at Kil-Corban, county of Galway. The four human figures are certainly typical, and may have been intended to remind the beholder of never-resting time, or of the succession of the four seasons of the year, ever going their mystic round in close communication, the one with the other,

Thus to remain
Amid the flux of many thousand years,
That oft have swept the toiling race of men
And all their laboured monuments away.

On this change of seasons the poet from whom I have just borrowed has also sublimely written—

These, as they change, Almighty Father, these
Are but the varied God.

It is very remarkable that Ware and the "Annals of the Four Masters" disagree as to the diocese of which this William O'Duffy was bishop, while both state that he died by a fall from a horse. The church of Kill-Regnaighe, near to which the cross now being written of stood, was in the ancient diocese of Clonmacnoise. The evidence of this interesting remain may prove of some value in deciding between these highly respectable antiquarian authorities.

After the lapse of some years from the time I first had the gratification to see the shaft of the Banagher cross, I discovered that it was going to destruction, owing to ill usage. I therefore obtained permission to have it removed from the reach of its brutal and Gothic foes. It is now once more standing erect and free from danger, in the enclosed gardens at the rear of my residence in Parsonstown. The true archæologist would of course prefer to have it preserved *in situ*. He, nevertheless, will probably join me in opinion that it is better it should be preserved anywhere rather than not be preserved at all.

NOTES MADE IN THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL COURT OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1853.

BY RICHARD HITCHCOCK.

THE collection of Irish antiquities brought together at Dublin in the Great Exhibition of 1853 was perhaps the finest ever presented to the view at one time; and such a collection will probably never again be exhibited in the same way.¹ The entire Museum of the

¹ In writing thus, we must not forget the highly important collection of Irish antiquities brought together towards the close of last year in the Belfast museum, on the occasion of the meeting of the British Association in that town. One permanent good, at least, has already resulted from this collection of antiquities into one place—I allude to the interesting and valuable "Ulster Journal of Archæology"—a publication which has now reached its eighth number, nearly completing the second vo-

lume, and to which every archæologist cannot hesitate to bid success. The descriptive catalogue of the Belfast collection of antiquities, now before me, is one of the most welcome of recent archæological publications; and I would earnestly recommend every lover of antiquities to secure a copy for himself. It is, as stated in the preface, "a permanent record of the existence of these curious objects [the antiquities shown at Belfast], and of the names of their present possessors."

Royal Irish Academy, of course, formed by far the greater part of this vast assemblage of Ireland's ancient art; and, under the judicious arrangement and care of its able curator, Edward Clibborn, Esq., was one of the proudest possessions of the Exhibition. I believe it is now almost universally acknowledged, that the collection of Irish antiquities belonging to the Royal Irish Academy is one of the most national and valuable in existence. Next in importance and tasteful arrangement in the Exhibition was the extensive contribution of Thomas L. Cooke, Esq.; being a portion of a collection which, I understand, Mr. Cooke has been amassing, at very considerable cost, for nearly half a century. Indeed, his mode of labelling and general classification were altogether models for collectors of antiquities. Perhaps I should also single out, as having much attracted my attention, the interesting and well-arranged contributions of George Petrie, Esq., LL.D., R. H. Brackstone, Esq., lord Talbot de Malahide, James Carruthers, Esq., the Fine Arts Committee of the Exhibition, the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Matthew J. Anketell, Esq., T. R. Murray, Esq., Thomas Tobin, Esq., &c. Other visitors, no doubt, felt much interest in the gold antiquities, and so did I; but my attention was principally directed to whatever struck me as most remarkable in the various collections, and to such objects as I thought, perhaps, would not again appear in Dublin. Few, I believe, besides those friends who know something of my archæological predilections, can picture to themselves my feelings when wandering amongst the immense number of precious relics by which I was surrounded in the antiquarian court of our Great Exhibition. They seemed to me like the fragrant flowers of some beautiful garden, whilst I, as it were, imbibed the sweets! At other times I felt transported with thought! And who, let me ask, with anything of a heart in his bosom, could look on the various objects of antiquity around him, and not *think*? For my own part, I could have spent entire days and nights amongst the treasures of ancient Irish art exhibited within the walls of that glorious Temple of Industry.¹ I paid several visits to the Exhibition, and during each visit, as may be readily supposed, added something in my note-book. The notes thus made soon grew too numerous for one middle-sized volume, and I had to provide another and another; each succeeding visit adding something new, or correcting or illustrating a former note. As the Exhibition drew near its close, on the 31st of October, I began to think of sharing my gains with others who, perhaps, had not the same opportunities for seeing for themselves that I have had. The Archæological Society of Kilkenny, in which I can truly say I feel the warm interest I express, very soon occurred to me as a fitting repository for a portion of my gatherings.

¹ I cannot here omit referring to an excellent article on the museum of Irish antiquities in the Dublin Exhibition of 1853, in the *Athenæum* of 22nd of October last.

I have accordingly made a random selection from my note-books, which I herewith send, to be used as the worthy Secretaries may think proper; for I am well aware that the "notes" themselves are not worth much, and cannot therefore claim a great share of attention. The only attempt at arrangement which I have made in the present selection is the bringing together, or near each other, the notes on articles of a similar nature, adding afterwards a few of a miscellaneous character. Should the "notes" in any way interest the Society, I may, with its leave, at some future, but I fear distant, time, make a further selection from my note-books for some one of its meetings.

1. A large stone celt, exhibited by Matthew J. Anketell, Esq., Anketell Grove, county of Monaghan, is nearly covered with lines, arranged so as to represent Ogham inscriptions. These lines, however, are not Ogham; but yet they are worth notice. Mixed up with them are a few letters of the common Irish character, which, to my mind, make the whole thing the more remarkable. It would, indeed, be very interesting to find a stone celt bearing an Ogham inscription; but, unfortunately for some of our friends, here we are disappointed.

2. A curious flint knife, with one end neatly and firmly covered with moss to serve as a handle, found in the bed of the river Bann, was exhibited by Lord Talbot de Malahide. This is probably the way in which many of the flint knives were mounted and used. Lord Talbot, who exhibited the knife in question at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy, on the 23rd of June, 1851, believes it is the only one of the description ever discovered in Ireland. See *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. v. p. 176, where an account of the knife is given.

3. Stone hammers, with handles in them, were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy and J. C. Bloomfield, Esq., Castle Caldwell, Belleek. The hammer shown by the latter is without a hole, and has the handle looped round it.

4. A number of large stone hammers, with indentations for an external handle, were shown by the Royal Irish Academy and R. H. Brackstone, Esq., 47, Wood-street, London. A very large specimen, found in the ancient mines in Ross island, Killarney, was given to the Academy by myself (*Proceedings*, vol. iv. p. 326). It may be worth remarking here, that in some recent American books which I have had the privilege of inspecting, I met with engravings of ancient mining implements found in the old mines of that country, exactly similar to the stone hammers above noticed.

5. Three stone heads, of barbarous types, were exhibited by R. Murray, Esq., Mullingar. These heads appeared to me to be modern, and I should not have here noticed them were it not that I consider them very remarkable. It may be interesting to know something of their history.

6. Several of the curious stone figures termed "Shela-na-gigs

were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy. Mr. Clibborn's interesting communication on some of these will be found in the second volume of the Academy's *Proceedings*, pp. 565-76. They are barbarous and perhaps indelicate figures, and are in all probability remnants of Pagan times. The finding of them in the neighbourhood of old churches does not invalidate this conjecture—on the contrary, it rather strengthens it; for we know that undoubted Pagan monuments have been found in close connexion with many of our ancient churches.

7. A number of hollow, boat-shaped stones were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy. They are remarkable, as being all nearly of the same shape; but what the use of them may have been it is difficult to say. Possibly they may have served as primitive baptismal fonts.

8. Twelve cinerary urns, being a portion of one of the most remarkable discoveries ever made, I believe, in Ireland, were exhibited by J. Richardson Smith, Esq. They were found, some time last summer, with many others of the same kind, in an ancient cemetery on the hill of Ballon, in the county of Carlow. The urns are of various sizes, and most of them are highly ornamented. There was one very large one, and an exceedingly small one, about the size of a small breakfast cup. A very interesting account of these urns was read by the Rev. James Graves at the July meeting of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, and to it (at p. 295 *post*) I now beg to refer the reader.

9. A collection of eleven Ogham stones, and a cast of another, were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy. Brief notices of five of these, and of some fragments of a sixth not shown, which have been rescued from destruction and presented to the Academy by myself, will be found in their *Proceedings*, vol. iv. pp. 271-2, and vol. v. pp. 401-3. Four more fine monuments have been presented to the Academy by The M'Gillicuddy of the Reeks, county of Kerry, an early notice of which will no doubt be placed on record in the "*Proceedings*."¹ The two remaining stones are—the celebrated "fragment," said to have been found in the base of the Round Tower of Ardmore, and presented by Edward Odell, Esq., Dungarvan,² and another fragment presented by Francis M. Jennings, Esq., Cork (*Proceedings*, iii. 231). The cast is that of a sculptured head-stone with two Ogham inscriptions, from Bressay, one of the Shetland islands, presented by Albert Way, Esq. (*Proceedings*, v. 323), and is remarkable as exhibiting the rare *fleasg* or medial line, only two

¹ A very important communication has been since made by Dr. Graves on these four monuments, and on the general subject of Ogham inscriptions, at the meeting of the Royal Irish Academy held on the 10th of April, 1854. See *Proceedings*, vi. 71.

² In an interesting little "Hand-book to the Holy Citie of Ardmore," published in Youghal, mention is made of two Ogham inscriptions found "at Ardmore;" but whether in the Round Tower, church, or cathedral, we are not informed.—p. 63.

other instances of the occurrence of this line being known. Of these twelve Ogham monuments, including the cast, only three are marked with the Christian symbol, and even the cross on one of these is very indistinct. There *was* a portion of another Ogham stone in the museum of the Academy, "found at Houseland Bay, Hook Point, county of Waterford, near the ruins of a small chapel, in September, 1845"¹ (*Proceedings*, iii. 136); but this has been long since removed by the owner, Hugh N. Nevins, Esq., Waterford, who, I dare say, thought it looked better in his own possession, imperfect as it is. This stone, when perfect, seems to have resembled the remarkable egg-shaped Ogham monuments at Ballintaggart, near Dingle.²

10. A portion of an ancient Irish tomb-stone, inscribed OR DO BR2IN J , was shown by the Royal Irish Academy. It is greatly to be regretted that the inscription seems imperfect, nor can I find any account of the stone in the Academy's "*Proceedings*." One great value belonging to most of these tomb-stones is, that they show the old form of the Irish letters; and it is remarkable what a general similarity there is between the letters on almost all the ancient Irish tomb-stones.

11. Two bronze *double-looped* palstaves were exhibited by lord Talbot de Malahide and the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. The latter was found at South Petherton, Somerset. These palstaves are exceedingly rare.³

12. The moiety of a unique stone mould for casting bronze objects of four various forms, celts, spear-heads and javelin-points(?), found between Bodwrin and Tre Ddafydd, on the western coast of Anglesea, was exhibited by James Dearden, Esq., F.S.A., Rochdale, Lancashire.

13. Several highly ornamented bronze celts and hatchets were exhibited by George Petrie, Esq., LL.D., Dublin. A pocket-celt, with a wooden handle, from Kinnefad pass on the Boyne, King's County, was shown by T. R. Murray, Esq., Edenderry.

14. Stone moulds for casting celts, hatchets, spear-heads, &c.,

¹ Hook Point, the eastern head-land of Waterford harbour, is situated in the county of Wexford.

² I am here reminded of mentioning a very valuable chapter on Irish antiquities, in Mr. Maguire's work on the National Exhibition of 1852, written, as we are informed in the preface to that work, by our distinguished member, John Windele, Esq. This chapter consists of a short article on the general subject of Irish antiquities, then on Ogham inscriptions, St. Patrick's bell, torques, brooches, ring-money, celts, trumpets, Ballydehob tube, coire, mether, cross of Cong, crozier, harps, Kilfane elliptic, Ita-

leigh, ancient seals, and a few miscellaneous antiquities. In the article on the Ogham inscriptions the writer seems to take a view, not quite warranted by the premises, of certain statements put forward by some of the "hierophants," whose opinions on these inscriptions are somewhat different from those of Mr. Windele; but, on the whole, the several articles are excellent in their way, and, coming from the pen of Mr. Windele, cannot fail to be looked upon as authorities.

³ For an engraving of lord Talbot's valuable specimen, see *Archæological Journal*, vol. ix. p. 195.

were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy, George Petrie, Esq., LL.D., the Belfast Museum, A. C. Welsh, Esq., Dromore, county of Down, &c. The finding of these moulds in Ireland is very important, as it proves that the arms used by the ancient Irish were manufactured in this country.

15. Examples of the bronze war-club, engraved in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. ii. p. 20, were shown by J. C. Bloomfield, Esq., James Carruthers, Esq., Belfast, and Edmund Getty, Esq., Belfast. Two fine bronze war-clubs, same as the above, were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy. These are very perfect.

16. A number of bronze blades were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy, Sir John Nugent, Bart., Ballinlough castle, Castletowndelvin, John Martin, Esq., Downpatrick, Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., and R. H. Brackstone, Esq. It was thought by antiquaries that these blades might have been formerly used for chariot wheels; but latterly it is considered more probable that they were originally fastened obliquely on a long handle, and so formed a very effective and dangerous weapon like a bill-hook.

17. In a tray exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy were three heavy adze-shaped bronze implements, supposed to have been used in the dressing of leather. One of these was found in a rath at Monegall, county of Tipperary. In a tray shown by T. R. Murray, Esq., was a similar implement, from Carberry, county of Kildare. These are very curious articles, and are no doubt very ancient. Finding one of them in a rath goes far to prove this. There is no hole in them for a handle.

18. Specimens of Irish bronze ring-money were shown by John Windele, Esq., Cork, who placed beside them some examples of the African ring-money, for illustration. The resemblance was certainly remarkable. See an excellent paper on Irish ring-money, by Sir William Betham, in the seventeenth volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,"¹ and papers by Dr. Cane and Mr. Windele, in our own "Transactions" for the year 1851—all beautifully illustrated with engravings of the specimens described.

19. Some specimens of the Roman coal-money, from Kimmeridge, Dorset, were exhibited by the Archæological Institute. An interesting paper on this species of so-called "money" may be seen in the first volume of the "Archæological Journal." It is doubtful whether it was ever used as money.

20. The remarkable and unique bronze instrument, found in a bog near Ballymoney, county of Antrim, in 1829, and figured in the

¹ Alas! for the uncertainty of human life. I had scarcely copied the above from my note-book when I heard of the sudden death of this eminent antiquary. The late Sir William Betham died at his house at Blackrock, on Wednesday, the 26th of October. His death will be a sad loss to Irish

archæology. Since writing the above I have had much pleasure in reading the honourable testimony which our Secretaries have borne to the labours of Sir William Betham in their annual report for 1853. See the *Proceedings and Transactions* for January, 1854, p. 4.

Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i. p. 324, was exhibited by James Carruthers, Esq. (See *Belfast Catalogue of Antiquities*, p. 18.) According to the *Belfast Catalogue*, p. 10, and *Appendix*, p. 12, the only other known example of this curious instrument is in the possession of F. W. Barton, Esq., Dungannon; but Mr. Carruthers' specimen is the most complete.¹

21. An iron sword, of the Danish type, from the county of Kerry, was exhibited by William F. Wakeman, Esq., Dublin. This is a fine sword, and probably did good execution in the hand of some ancient Dane. We know that Kerry was one of the last strongholds of the Danes.

22. A steel sword, found near the site of Sir Phelim O'Neill's castle, at Caledon, was exhibited by the countess of Caledon. When discovered, it was enclosed in a leather scabbard, tied with leather thongs. It is inscribed on the blade, "Sahagon," and is probably of Spanish manufacture.

23. The Queen's torque, the most beautiful of its kind in the entire collection, was found in Needwood forest, in 1848, having been scratched out of the ground by a fox making a fresh earth. A beautiful engraving (size of the original) and an account of this precious relic of antiquity will be found in the thirty-third volume of the "*Archæologia*."

24. A curious gold torque ring, found in Ireland (from Dr. Nelligan's collection), was exhibited by W. W. Wynne, Esq., M.P.

25. Crescent-shaped gold ornaments were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy, lord Londesborough, lord Rossmore, and Thomas Tobin, Esq., Ballincollig. One of Mr. Tobin's ornaments, of which he was so good as to send me a beautiful drawing, coloured in imitation of the original, represents the zigzag pattern in a very perfect state. There are various opinions as to the use of those beautiful articles; but the most generally received one seems to be, that they were worn as neck collars by persons of rank. Some are of opinion that the Druids and Brehons wore them.

26. Some of the ornaments found near Largo, North Britain, in 1848, were exhibited by Robert Dundas, Esq., of Arniston. See *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi.

27. Two beautiful torque armlets, of pure gold, found in 1831, near Egerton Hall, Cheshire, were exhibited by Sir Philip de Malpas Egerton, Bart., M. P. One is engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 401. A similar armlet was found at Ropley, Hants.

28. A bronze fibula, bought at Perugia, in Italy, and exhibited by the archdeacon of Ardagh, is remarkable for the resemblance it bears to some of our Irish specimens.

29. A fibula, decorated with the "*opus Hibernicum*," found at

¹ This curious instrument has since been fully described by Mr. Carruthers, with an

illustration, in the *Proceedings and Transactions* for March, 1854, p. 64.

Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, was exhibited by lord Talbot de Malahide.¹

30. An ornament of gold, with terminal cups, *unique* as found in England, weight 5 oz. 3 drs. 10 grs., found in 1815, at Swinton Park, North Riding of Yorkshire, was exhibited by captain and Mrs. Danby Harcourt, of Swinton Park.

31. Thirteen gold beads, a half bead, and three bits of gold wire, found in a turf bog near Malin, county of Donegal, were exhibited by John Harvey, Esq., Malin Hall, Carndonagh, county of Donegal.

32. A silver bracelet was exhibited by the Royal Dublin Society, which much resembled one or two models of another in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy.

33. Two beads, an ancient silver stand (supposed) for salt cellar; an ancient amulet, against and in the form of the *conad* or murrain caterpillar, dug up near Timoleague, county of Cork, April, 1843; an ancient gold ring, weight 5 dwts. 15 grs., found in the county of Kerry, November, 1850; an ancient silver relic case, with a corrupt Latin inscription, found in the county of Cork; a brooch found at Kilmallock, in 1786; and a small silver crucifix;—exhibited by the distinguished numismatist, John Lindsay, Esq., Cork.

34. The dean of Clonmacnoise exhibited a large thimble, found at Bective abbey, county of Meath; brooches and bead; three small spoons; ancient buckles; and a spur; all found at Trim, county of Meath.

35. A curious silver ornament, found in the county of Cork, in 1853, along with English coins of James I., were exhibited by Richard Sainthill, Esq., Cork.²

36. A collection of curious jet beads, found with many others of the same kind, in the spring of 1848, at the depth of seven feet below the surface, in Moyne bog, Queen's County, were exhibited by J. F. Shearman, Esq., Kilkenny. (See the *Transactions* for 1849, p. 32).

¹ A similar fibula, but with the additional ornament of "wolves' heads," is in the possession of Edward Hoare, Esq., Cork, who has given a very interesting account of it, accompanied with a beautiful lithographic illustration, in the *Proceedings and Transactions* for 1854, pp. 10-11.

² Whilst fitting these notes for the "Transactions," I met with the following paragraph in the *Tralee Chronicle*, of March 24, 1854:—

"**DISCOVERY OF GOLD.**—On Thursday three labourers who were at work at Ballykilty, county Clare, upon the property of Mr. Blood, through which the Limerick and Ennis Railway is to run, accidentally turned up with the spade, a large quantity of valuable antique Irish gold ornaments, of which they eagerly possessed themselves, and one of the parties who filled his hat with the

precious metal, sold it to the first who offered in Newmarket, whither he ran with his booty, for £30. The gold is of the purest description, consisting of armlets, ringlets, bracelets, collars, &c., and worth £4 per ounce: The lot which the man sold in Newmarket for £30, weighed 110½ ounces, and is valued by Mr. Wallace, of Limerick, at £400."

This account, if true, needs no comment here; and I am informed that, instead of its being an exaggerated statement, it underates the quantity, variety and value of the golden ornaments found! I understand that Dr. Neligan, of Cork, has got possession of one of the torques, and a friend who has seen it informs me that it is of "a most curious spiral pattern." Let us hope that none of these truly Irish relics will pass out of the country.

A few similar beads were in a case belonging to the Royal Irish Academy, forming, I believe, part of the same set.

37. A number of ancient shoes, of leather, and bronze or brass, were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy, A. C. Welsh, Esq., lord Rossmore, Dr. Petrie, Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., and Matthew J. Anketell, Esq. Some of these, particularly the collection shown by the Royal Irish Academy, are curiously carved and ornamented. — See *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. v. pp. 27-9.

38. A number of white Chinese seals, found in Ireland, were in the collections of the Royal Irish Academy and the duke of Northumberland. I believe the questions of how those curious seals came into Ireland, and of the reading of the inscriptions on them, have not yet been satisfactorily settled; everybody, seemingly, not being quite satisfied with Mr. Getty's treatment of the subject.¹

39. Several of the ancient cauldrons, or brazen vessels, were amongst the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. One of these, found on the lands of Laharan, near Killorglin, county of Kerry, is of the dish shape, and slightly ornamented at the inside. It was found in the year 1849, under a turf bog seven feet deep, and resting with the mouth up, within about a foot of the clay sub-soil. A much larger vessel, of the same shape, was exhibited by J. C. Bloomfield, Esq. A large pan-shaped bronze vessel, found about six feet deep in the bog, in the townland of Carn, two and a-half miles from Newbliss, was exhibited by Matthew J. Anketell, Esq. (?) This vessel, which is of a beautiful gold colour, is supposed to have been used for making beer. A small vessel was found beside it. The story of the vessel having been used for brewing purposes reminds me of the anecdote given in the second volume of the *Dublin Penny Journal*, pp. 347-8; the tradition mentioned in which, I may observe, is current in almost every part of the South of Ireland—the small circular enclosures in the heathy districts being pointed out as the places where the Danes made beer from the heath. Cauldrons of different shapes, and some beautifully ornamented specimens, were shown by other exhibitors, particularly the Royal Irish Academy, and Royal Dublin Society. A good example of these is engraved in Shirley's work on the *Territory or Dominion of Farney*, p. 185.²

40. A large assortment of antique pots, of various sizes, were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy. A few bear dates. One very large one has "E. H. 1640," and a pipe or spout at the side.

41. The curious mether, or ancient drinking vessel, engraved and described in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. ii. p. 249, was exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy, along with many other curious vessels of the same kind. This mether bears the name and date of

¹ "Notices of Chinese Seals found in Ireland. By Edmund Getty, M.R.I.A." 4to. Lond. 1850.

² A magnificent specimen of the caul-

dron, found in a bog near Urlingsford, was presented by Mr. M'Evoe to the Society at its meeting of July, 1854. See *Proceedings and Transactions* for 1854, pp. 131-2.

"Dermot Tully, 1590;" and also exhibits some rude carving. Mr. Windele, in his paper referred to in the note at p. 284, has some good remarks on the mether. Some of these vessels are furnished with four handles, the use of which appears to have been for the greater convenience of passing the cup round from one drinker to another. The use of the mether seems to have been universal in Ireland, for it is found in the bogs in all parts of the island; and, judging from the great depth at which it is often discovered, its antiquity must be extreme indeed. Mr. Windele says that the present wooden "mugs" in use amongst the peasantry seem analogous to the ancient mether, save that the form is rotund, and better adapted for drinking out of.

42. A horn of tenure, richly carved in ivory—*temp.* thirteenth century—and formerly belonging to Dr. Samuel Hibbert Ware, was exhibited by Daniel Wilson, Esq., LL.D. If I mistake not, I have seen an engraving and full account of this curious horn in some book, the name of which I cannot just now remember.

43. A silver can, found thirteen feet deep in the Bog of Allen, was exhibited by the Royal Dublin Society. It may be desirable, if some of our members who are connected with the Royal Dublin Society could furnish us with some account of this antique can. As well as I could see, it bears some family arms on one of its sides.

44. Two antique glass bottles, each inscribed on the side, "J. Swift, Dean, 1727," were exhibited by a lady. These bottles were given to the late Miss Molloy by Mr. Theophilus Swift, together with a small needle-book, worked by Stella, which contained a bit of dean Swift's hair. The latter has been unfortunately mislaid. There is not the slightest doubt but that these bottles belonged to the late dean Swift. They have been valued at three pounds for the pair. Several bottles of the same old-fashioned shape were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy and Thomas L. Cooke, Esq. If my memory serves me, I have seen a few such bottles in the Royal Cork Institution—an Institution, by the way, the contents of which are less known than they deserve, for want of a catalogue.

45. The dean of Waterford exhibited pieces of hurdles or wattles, formed of hazel rods, used for centring of arches in early times, probably prior to the Norman Conquest, found in the roof of a crypt at Waterford. There was also a view of the crypt exhibited, drawn by D. Frazer, Esq., R.E. See our *Transactions* for 1851, p. 413.

46. A piece of ancient carved oak, part of a rood-screen of the fifteenth century, found built up in a brick partition in a cellar at the deanery of Waterford, March, 1851, was also exhibited by the dean of Waterford.

47. An oak spade, bound with iron at the edge, found near Caledon, was exhibited by the countess of Caledon.

48. Two large three-pronged wooden implements, like spades,

were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy. These must be of great antiquity.

49. An ancient oak chest, inscribed on the front, "com not in hest to open this chest," was exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy. On the lid are the letters "I. W." and the date 1616.

50. Fragments of an ancient book, made of tablets of beech-wood covered with wax, and inscribed with Latin words, found in a turf bog near Maghera, were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy. The Rev. Dr. Todd's account of this valuable, and, in Ireland, perhaps unique relic, with accurate and beautiful engravings, will be found in the twenty-first volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy."

51. A great number of ancient smoking pipes, commonly called "Danish pipes," were exhibited by the dean of Waterford, the Royal Irish Academy, and Thomas L. Cooke, Esq. (See *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. iv. p. 29). I always like to see those pipes. They remind me of the green fairy raths, in which, on fine summer evenings and moonlight nights, the "good people" are said to be quaffing their *dudeens*.

52. A very large bowl of a pipe was exhibited by the Royal Dublin Society; but it does not appear to be very ancient, or of Irish manufacture.

53. An earthen jar, found in a mountain near Malin, in the parish of Clonca, county of Donegal, containing, when found, fourteen silver coins, was exhibited by John Harvey, Esq.

54. Three medallions, struck at the royal mint, from pieces of Irish gold ring-money, and exhibited by Richard Sainthill, Esq., are curious from this circumstance; though I confess I should prefer the original ring-money. They seem to be of the purest gold.

55. Medallions, chased in bronze and gilt, of the duke and duchess of Marlborough, and a medallion of Cromwell, carved in pine-wood by Gibbons, were exhibited by Aquilla Smith, Esq., M.D., Dublin.

56. A fine collection of ancient Irish encaustic tiles was exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy, many of them bearing curious devices. Two of these represented an animal like a boar devouring some other animal. Two tiles, the one shown by J. C. Bloomfield, Esq., and the other by John Martin, Esq., also represented animals. Tiles were also exhibited by the dean of Waterford and lord Talbot de Malahide, some of which were glazed. See Oldham's excellent treatise on "Antient Irish Pavement Tiles" — I believe the first written on the subject — and a paper by the Rev. James Graves, in our *Transactions* for 1849, pp. 83-8.

57. Twenty-three old documents of the seventeenth century,¹ be-

¹ The catalogue (1894) says, "with dates from A. D. 1597 to 1700;" but I could not find so early a date. Indeed the MSS. were placed in a very unreadable position.

longing to The M'Gillicuddy of the Reeks, and comprising royal and other distinguished autographs of that period, were as follow :—

	A.D.
1. Parchment rent roll	1631
2. Licence for firelocks	1651
3. Do. for pistols	1666
4. Ormonde's certificate of good conduct	1661
5. Lords Justices' regrant of lands	1661
6. Clancartie's certificate of good conduct	1661
7. Lords Justices' certificate of the peace	1694
8. Charles R. passports	1661
9. List of lands in Dunkerron from a Sheriff	1635
10. Charles R. passport	1661
11. Privy Council letter with salmon fishing proclamation	1686
12. Inchiquin's certificate of the peace	1661
13. Council warrant from Bunratty	1646
14. Clancartie's certificate of the peace	1661
15. Privy Council regrant of lands	1661
16. P. Ferris's letter from London	1688
17. Privy Council pass to remain in London	1673
18. Return to account of Lord Ranelagh	1674
19. James R. warrant to county Cavan	1690
20. William R. warrant to serve in Germany	1689
21. Scomberg's letter to do.	1689
22. Baronial return of beeves charged to Co. Kerry for the King's use	1691
23. Coat of Arms	1688

58. The dean of Waterford also exhibited some curious original documents, with autographs of the seventeenth century. These were :—

1. Order of Lord Lieutenant and Council, directing the Mayor and Corporation of Waterford to deliver up to the Dean and Chapter sundry vestments, plate, &c., belonging to the Cathedral Church, Waterford. Dated May 25th, 1637.
2. Order of Lord Lieutenant and Council, referring petition of the Dean and Chapter of Waterford, in reference to repairs of the Cathedral, to the Lord Bishop of Derry, to inquire and report thereupon. Dated May 6th, 1639.
3. Order of Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, directing the Mayor and Corporation of Waterford to repair the Chapel of Our Lady, in that city. Dated May 3rd, 1675.
4. Lease with the seal of Dean and Chapter of Waterford. Dated 1549.

59. A small portrait of the Old countess of Desmond was exhibited by Joseph Huband Smith, Esq., Dublin. A great deal has been lately written in "Notes and Queries" and other publications on this celebrated old lady; and I believe good portraits of her are very scarce. An article in the "Quarterly Review" for March, 1853, settles the question of her identity in a conclusive manner, and establishes the fact that a well-authenticated portrait of her is at Muckross, the seat of Henry Arthur Herbert, Esq., M.P. for Kerry. I possess two portraits of the old countess, which I am told are very fine. The impression of the plate of one measures fourteen and three-eighth inches long, by nine and a-half inches broad at one end, and nine and three-eighth inches at the other, and bears the following inscription :—"Catherine Fitz-Gerald (the long-lived) Countess

of Desmond. — From an original family picture of the same size painted on board, in the possession of the Right Honourable Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Knight of Kerry, &c. &c. &c.; to whom this plate is most respectfully dedicated by his very obedient and much obliged humble servant, Henry Pelham. This illustrious lady was born about the year 1464, was married in the reign of Edward IV., lived during the entire reigns of Edward V., Richard III., Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, and died on the latter end of James I. or the beginning of Charles I.st reigns, at the great age (as is generally supposed) of 162 years. Published as the act directs, at Bear Island, June 4, 1806, by Henry Pelham, Esq. Sold by Edw. Evans, No. 1, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields." At the right hand corner at top is also, "Engraved in Cork by N. Grogan." The other portrait which I have is a small one, probably a copy of that shown by Mr. Smith, about three and three-fourth inches long and three inches broad, with the corners bevelled off, and inscribed at the bottom, "Catherine Countess of Desmond, 140 years and upwards." It also bears the name of "Neele, sc. Strand," and the paper on which it is printed exhibits the water mark, "1815."

60. An original miniature of king Charles II., transmitted as a gift from that prince in the Whyte Baker family, Ballaghtobin, Callan, and fitted up in its present state by the late Mrs. Whyte Baker, was exhibited by Abraham Whyte Baker, Esq.

61. A one hundred pound note, No. 2538, dated London, October 10, 1603, exhibited by T. R. Murray, Esq., is a very curious object, and in fine preservation. Mr. Murray had it neatly framed.

62. An ancient map of Galway, A.D. 1650, and an old municipal map of Galway, commencing A.D. 1484, were exhibited by Edward Berwick, Esq., Queen's College, Galway. These maps are curiously bordered with the various coats of arms of the old families of the district.

63. Beautiful drawings of the royal Tara brooch; sculptures and inscriptions on Magrath's tomb, in the cathedral of Lismore, county of Waterford; Ross castle, Killarney; doorway of Aghadoe church, Killarney; ancient market-cross of Kilkenny (and part of the High-street); east side of Killamery cross, county of Kilkenny; west sides of two of the crosses of Kilkeeran, county of Kilkenny; west side of the south cross, Kilklispeen, county of Kilkenny; and of the west side of Killamery cross, county of Kilkenny, were hanging round the antiquities court—the exhibitors being, the Royal Irish Academy and Henry O'Neill, Esq., Kilkenny—an able artist, who, I am glad to perceive, is now publishing a series of detailed and elegant views of the ancient stone crosses of Ireland, with descriptive letter-press. Would that the many, fast-decaying ruins in Ireland had an O'Neill to copy them ere they altogether vanish from us!

¹ Since the above was written, two parts of Mr. O'Neill's work on the ancient stone

64. A drawing of a curious silver pin, found near Cavan, in the possession of the Rev. Richard Butler, Trim, was exhibited by him.

65. Bagpipes, said to have been made in the year 1786, and to have belonged to lord Edward Fitzgerald, were exhibited by Mr. George Tuke. The Irish Union pipes were exhibited by Dr. Morrisson, Dublin; and another set of Union pipes were shown by lord Rossmore.

66. In a little case exhibited by the countess of Caledon were two "fairy lasts;" while in a case belonging to the Rev. George H. Reade, Inniskeen rectory, Dundalk, was a stone mould, vulgarly called a "leprechaun's coffin." Both these articles are not, of course, what they are stated to be.

67. Three glass balls, the use of which I do not well know, were exhibited by the Royal Irish Academy and lord Rossmore—the latter found in a bog. The balls are clear as crystal, and perfectly round. Montfaucon remarks, that it was customary in early times to deposit crystal balls in urns or sepulchres. Thus, twenty were found in Rome in an alabaster urn; and one was discovered in 1653, at Tournai, in the tomb of Childeric, king of France, who died A.D. 480. These instances would seem to show that such balls are of some antiquity.

68. Two ivory balls, with the alphabet inscribed on them, were exhibited by Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., and archdeacon Saurin, Seagoe, Portadown. Mr. Cooke's ball was found two or three feet under ground, at Philipstown castle, King's County, in 1836. The use of these balls seems to me rather a puzzle, unless it were to teach the alphabet.

69. A monstrance, silver gilt, of David Rothe, Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory in the seventeenth century, with the following inscription, was exhibited by the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory:—"Ecce Tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus et habitabit cum eis." Round the base—"David Roth, Episcopus Ossorien. me fieri fecit. Ano. 1644. Ora pro clero et populo diocesis Ossorien."

70. A number of Irish bears' skulls, many of them discovered by that indefatigable collector of Irish antiquities, Mr. James Underwood,¹ were exhibited by Abraham Whyte Baker, Esq. See *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. iv. pp. 416-20.

crosses have appeared, comprising some of the finest from the county of Kilkenny; and, if I were allowed to judge, I would say, that his beautiful copies of these richly-sculptured monuments of the piety of the ancient Irish are as creditable to the talented artist who has produced them, as to the county which may so well feel proud of possessing the originals.

¹ It is much to be deplored, that this useful servant in the cause of Irish archaeology and zoology is still suffered to pine away in comparative indigence. A very touching appeal to public sympathy on his behalf has been well combined with an interesting "Reminiscence of the Dublin Exhibition of 1853," written, I believe, by a member of this society, and published in

71. Casts of the skulls of the ancient bear of Ireland (*ursus arctos*), identical with the black variety at present found in Scandinavian forests, were shown by Robert Ball, Esq., LL.D., Dublin. Much valuable information on the animals which have disappeared from Ireland during the period of authentic history will be found in a paper by Dr. Scouler, in the first volume of the "Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin." The doctor seems to think that the bear was not a native of Ireland.

I fear I have long since sufficiently exhausted the patience of the meeting in hearing my dry notices of a few of the antiquities shown in our Great Exhibition this year. I confess my inability to make them interesting without illustrations; and it is evident that, to make many of the notes even intelligible, they should have been fully illustrated with engravings. I shall, therefore, for the present end with my seventy-first note; but may, at some future time, as already stated, make a further selection from my note-books. If ever I should, it will probably be on the ancient stone crosses, doorways, and other architectural objects, of the antiquities court of the Great Dublin Exhibition of 1853.

One remark now suggests itself—at least to me—namely, that it is greatly to be regretted that antiquaries are not supplied with a few more details of the history of each relic of antiquity discovered than is generally given in the proceedings of archæological societies. We seldom or never find more than the bare mention of the article presented and the donor's name, even though the same donation may afterwards turn out to be one of great importance; and where are we to look for information respecting those articles when the donors are dead and gone? Now, the person imbued with anything of an archæological or inquiring spirit who reads the few preceding random notes, cannot but feel the want of some little history of several of the objects mentioned. For instance, how desirable would it be, if we had some data, on which to reason, for Nos. 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 20, 31, 35 (partially), 36 (but something is known of these), 67, and 68. I am persuaded that full, faithful, and accurate accounts of the finding of certain antiquities are very often as valuable as the antiquities themselves. I would, therefore, beg most respectfully to impress upon the finders of antiquities, or those presenting them to learned societies, the great utility of collecting, and sending with their donations, all the information they can obtain concerning the discovery, the circumstances attending it, and many other matters, which will readily suggest themselves to the intelligent—in short, all that is known of the object. It will then be for the more practised antiquaries to separate the wheat from the chaff, and to record carefully

the *Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator*, of December 20, 1853; but as yet poor Mr. Underwood is uncared for! Many of the visitors to the Great Exhibition of

1853, in the Irish antiquities department of which Mr. Underwood was most usefully employed, must have heard of him, if they have not seen him there.

whatever part of the interesting history may appear to them most worthy of being preserved. Very often, every word thus collected and sent with an antiquarian donation is as so much gold, and ought to be scrupulously printed and preserved. How deeply interesting, for instance, to know that golden torques and other regal ornaments have been found on Tara Hill. How interesting, too, to all who love to read of Ancient Ireland, will it be to know something more of the discovery of the extremely valuable and perhaps unequalled hoard of golden ornaments mentioned in the note at p. 287. I have said "unequalled," because I believe the "find" exceeds all previous ones, both in value and number. Numerous instances might be mentioned, where the bare name of the locality and the circumstances connected with the discovery add very considerable interest and value—nay, sometimes its whole interest and value—to the article discovered. On the other hand, when an interesting antiquarian relic is presented to a learned society, which is supposed not only to preserve it with the greatest care, but also to give some account of it in its publications; and when, moreover, the donation is accompanied with a full history of the discovery, &c., how very discouraging to the donor, and, what is worse, injurious to the science of archæology, if no account or part of that history is given to the public! Our archæological science is far behind in this respect; and we have not, by any means, sufficient printed matter in proportion to the numerous, valuable, and truly national antiquarian treasures existing in Ireland.

THE PAGAN CEMETERY AT BALLON HILL, COUNTY OF CARLOW.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B.

OF the unwritten history of the far back past, few pages have been so little read, and yet not one is so full of important and deeply interesting lore, as the sepulchres of the dead. Often, it is true, have the barrow, the cist, or the tumulus, been rudely torn open by the hand of the spoiler, or the idly curious; but how seldom have they been intelligently examined? It reflects but little credit on the archæologists of Ireland that no systematic attempt has ever yet been made to read this page of its "prehistoric annals"! Why have we not a society established with such an object for its aim? We have very properly associated ourselves to investigate the general antiquities of the island; to print its ancient literature, its music, and its romances;

why not have a club of "delves," an exploration society, with its corps of engineers, draughtsmen, and scientific observers, whose business it should be to examine the primæval sepulchres of the country, not idly, not irreverently, not as desultory diggers—but with due care, circumspection, and caution; noting down every peculiarity, making accurate measured drawings, and depositing, in a central museum, the *crania*, the *arms*, the *implements*, and *ornaments*, sure to be discovered in abundance? Here is work for energetic men to do—ay, and good work, too. In the meantime, no opportunity should be lost of placing on record the results of private explorations; and, in furtherance of such a desirable object, I beg to claim the indulgence of the Society, whilst I endeavour to describe the particulars of one of the most curious and important discoveries yet made in the field of Irish sepulchral remains—I allude to the exploration of the ancient Pagan cemetery on Ballon Hill. And I must the rather ask for this measure of indulgence, because I have not been myself present at these successful "diggings;" having, however, visited the locality, and seen the matchless collection of fictile vessels which have rewarded the exertions of the enthusiastic and lucky explorer, Mr. J. Richardson Smith, I may be allowed to have a voice in the matter.

Ballon Hill—situated about midway between Fenagh and Tullow in the county of Carlow—is remarkable for its regularly-formed conical shape and isolated position; rising, as it does, from the level and richly-cultivated tract, of which that portion of Carlow is composed. Although of no very great altitude, perhaps not more than about two hundred and fifty feet above the surrounding plain, it is a most conspicuous object; and its summit commands an extensive view—nine counties being said to be visible from it. Geologically speaking, the hill consists of granite, protruding, as I am informed, from, and insulated by, a tract of lime-stone. The surface of the granite, which forms the hill, is covered by a "bearing" of yellow sand and earth, of depth varying from about four feet to twelve inches. On the summit, where now stands a small pile of modern masonry, were formerly large and curious intrenchments, locally known as "the walls of Troy." These (the hill having been until lately a common) have from time to time been all carted away by the neighbouring farmers for manure, so that not a trace of them now remains. The fact of the hill having been formerly a common, should not be lost sight of, as it tends to show that some feeling prevailed in the neighbourhood as to the sacredness of the spot—a feeling akin to that which happily saves many a rath and tumulus from wanton destruction. At present the greater part of the hill is the property, and forms part of the demesne, of John Lecky, Esq., of Ballykealy. As far back as the memory of the present generation reaches, discovery had been made, everywhere over the surface of the hill, of what the peasantry called "pans" or "crocka," which, containing nothing but calcined bones, were invariably broken, when the usual incantations

did not change the bones into gold. Large numbers of fictile vessels had been destroyed in planting the trees with which the hill is now partially covered. One man said he had smashed four perfect urns in a day, another (a quarry-man) reported that he had broken *eleven* found close together in the quarry opened on the top of the hill.

In consequence of these reports Mr. Smith (then staying with his brother-in-law, Mr. Lecky, at Ballykealy) commenced a systematic exploration of the hill on June 14th, 1853; his labours have been resumed, at intervals, down to January, 1854, and the result has been the most wonderful collection of ancient fictile vessels to be found in Ireland. The "diggings" commenced at a large block of granite, resting on the hill side, immediately over Ballykealy house. This boulder measures nineteen feet by twelve in its largest dimensions; it is of a pyramidal shape, rising about eight feet above the surface, and extending three feet beneath it. This stone has been known from time immemorial amongst the peasantry by the name of Cloghan-na-marabhan, i.e. the stone of the dead. Mr. Smith states that it proved to be supported by granite blocks at each end;¹ and, on clearing away the soil, three human skeletons were found beneath it, huddled together in a small space not above two feet in length. The skeletons presented no trace of cremation. On further excavation, to such a depth that one could sit upright beneath the great covering stone, four large blocks of granite were turned over; and, at a considerable depth, a bed of charcoal was discovered, with broken urns of four distinct patterns. At another spot, also, a fine urn was found embedded in sand, but it could not be preserved. At a subsequent period, when I myself was present, similar fragile remains of fictile vessels were turned up, at the end of this boulder stone, externally.

I am informed by Mr. Smith that he next commenced operations on the top of the hill, where a large bed of charred wood and burned bones was struck on, two feet under the sod. In the neighbouring quarry search was made in spots where the "bearing" had remained undisturbed, and there an urn was found, laid on its side in the sand: it was quite hard and perfect, and presents an ornamental pattern of much interest. Many bones were found around this urn, and a few within it. The site of the old rath was then examined; here digging proved most difficult, as it was paved with great blocks of stone, set on end, and fitting close together. Great quantities of burned bones and charcoal appeared between the stones, and under the pavement; here half of an urn was found, and fragments of two others. The excavation was carried on to the depth of six feet, bones being

¹ So far as an after examination would allow one to judge, I am inclined to think that this boulder, one of many that are scattered over the hill, is untouched by

man, either as to shape or position. It has, however, evidently been excavated beneath and used as a place of burial in very remote ages, and, perhaps, by different races.

still found at that depth, but no urns. As the digging proceeded, on June 23rd, a large urn was uncovered, resting in an inverted position, and quite perfect. The sod, or *scraugh*, which had been used to cover the mouth of the vessel, and prevent the bones which it contained from falling out, still held together. This urn is rudely decorated with an impressed chevron pattern, and two nearly equidistant raised hoops or rings: it measures fifteen and a-half inches in height, and nearly fourteen inches in width, and is accurately represented in the accompanying plate (plate 1, fig. 3). It was not enclosed by a cist. Near it was found another of large size, and strong pottery, but broken. After various trials on other spots, which resulted in the discovery of many beds of bones and charcoal only, the work was resumed on the site of the rath, where a great layer of burned bones and charcoal was lighted on: at length a large slab, weighing about two cwt., appeared, and, on turning this over, a cist was discovered, two feet long by one foot wide, its longest direction lying north and south: it was filled with fine sand, in which lay an urn of very elaborate pattern, which, from having been squeezed in on one side while soft, would appear to have been placed in the cist in an unbaked state, a circumstance which, perhaps, may serve to indicate that the fictile vessels, found in such profusion on the hill, were fabricated on the spot. In the course of further investigation a five-sided chamber was found, walled in with long slabs in a workmanlike manner, and covered by a large stone. When the latter was removed, the cist appeared filled with sand. A portion of a thin lamellar javelin-head, or dagger-blade of bronze, lay near the top. It is very much corroded, but is curious, as presenting the only example of weapon or implement found during the entire operations on the hill, although bronze spear-heads of the usual form have been frequently found in the neighbourhood, two of which, dug up near the base of the hill, are in Mr. Leckey's possession. Deeper in the sand was found a fictile vessel about the size of a large tea-cup: it contained some very small bones, was as fresh as when made, and presents an example of carefully finished tooled work. It has been lithographed at full size (plate 3, fig. 13). At a greater depth in the sand was found a larger urn inverted, of less striking form and ornamental design. On raising this larger vessel from its inverted position, beneath it were seen, placed in a triangular position, three small smooth pebbles, surrounded by a few pieces of burned bones, and a little impalpable white powder; of the pebbles one was white, one black, and the third (which is much smaller than the other two) of a greenish tinge, spotted with a darker shade. All appear to be sea-shore pebbles, and numbers of a character similar to the speckled one, described above, may be picked up on the Wexford coast of the Waterford harbour, near Duncannon. I believe the markings on both to be derived from magnetic iron-ore. These stones were probably valued as charms or amulets. It is a remarkable coincidence to find

the following passage occurs in the detail of a recent examination of a "Pict's house," at Kettleburn, in the county of Caithness, Scotland, lately communicated to the "*Archæological Journal*" by Mr. A. H. Rhind:—"Smooth stones of various shapes and sizes, such as may be picked up from the sea beach, were found in several of the chambers, amongst the ashes and shells. . . . With these may be mentioned a prettily variegated and polished pebble. . . . It is somewhat curious that a pebble of precisely similar appearance, though larger, possessed an extraordinary reputation as a curative agent, until very recently, among the more superstitious of the Caithness peasantry. It has remained in the same family for many generations, having been handed down as a valuable heir-loom from father to son."—*Archæological Journal*, vol. x. p. 221. This ancient veneration for polished stones receives also a highly interesting illustration, from the fact of a crystal ball, supposed to be possessed of infallible curative virtue with regard to the murrain in cattle, being still preserved at Curraghmore, the residence of the marquis of Waterford; it was exhibited amongst the many valuable objects which crowded the Antiquity Court of the Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853, in Dublin, and is still resorted to by the peasantry in cases of murrain, being placed in running water, and the cattle allowed to drink of the stream which flows over it.

So far I have drawn the leading facts of this most curious and important exploration from information received, personally, from Mr. Smith, during a visit which I made to Ballykealy in the month of June, 1854, aided by an account of the diggings since given before the *Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, at its meeting of February 3rd, 1854, by the Rev. William Turner, vicar of Boxgrove,¹ derived, I believe, from a copy of the journal of operations, up to this point, kept by Mr. Smith. I had hoped to be able to embody so valuable a record in this paper, but am informed that having lent it to a friend, he has never since got it back. I am able, however, to supply this deficiency as to subsequent explorations, having been kindly furnished by Mr. Smith with a copy of his diary from that time. On July the 19th the diggings were resumed, and Mr. Smith writes:—"This morning with a friend I re-commenced digging by the rath, and have never discovered more extraordinary remains. Early in the day we found two large cists, in one of which was an urn, above thirteen inches in height, quite hard, and in great preservation, with the mouth turned down, and almost full of bones. Late in the day we came upon the largest walled-up place that I have yet found, three feet two inches long, by two feet four inches wide, and about a foot and a-half deep, covered by an enormous flag which (I am told) weighs sixteen hundred weight. It took five men with

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi. pp. 75, 76.

crows to turn it. When the flag was turned there was a large hollow space, the bottom being filled with burned bones—from the large size I conceive mostly of animals." Subsequently, Mr. Smith having proceeded to his residence in Scotland, operations ceased; returning, however, to Ballykealy, in December, he commenced work again, and chronicles his diggings as follows:—

"December 20.—Began digging at the north side of the rath, where most of the urns were found in June and July last; the ground appeared to have been moved before, and nothing worthy of notice was found.

"21st December.—Discovered the remains of a small fire.

"22nd December.—Same negative result from a deep digging lower down.

"23rd December.—Tried the west, or upper side of the rath, and soon found traces of great fires, and two very deep pits. The charcoal lay in deep beds; we found an urn seven inches high, of a curious pattern, and ornamented by six raised hoops. It was in a very soft state, and differed from the others in having been embedded in charcoal instead of fine sand.

"24th December.—Proceeded with the excavation, which was carried to a depth of five feet; found many more pits, with many bones and deep beds of charcoal—no urns.

"2nd January, 1854.—Resumed diggings, charcoal still abundant; in the afternoon found the rim of an urn of a very handsome pattern. It stood reversed, but that portion of it which had been uppermost was gone; as the rim seems too solid to have decayed away, this interment was probably disturbed before. The part of the urn, which remained, was filled with large bones and charcoal.

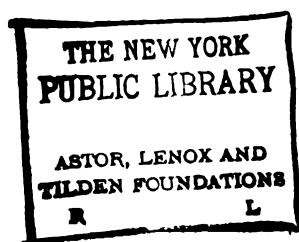
"3rd January.—Still found traces of great fires, with deep pits, which may have served either for burning human bodies, or sacrifices, or perhaps both. Early in the day a rotten fragment of an urn was found near the surface; in the afternoon a very large fictile vessel was discovered beneath the roots of a fir tree, which had grown completely through it in every direction; got the tree taken down, and filled a large tray with the fragments of the urn, which are in too mutilated a condition to be ever put together; but there can be no doubt it was the largest yet found.

"4th January.—Charcoal and pits—no urns.

"9th January.—Commenced digging again at the upper side of the rath—found a large cist most carefully built, and covered with a flag. The cist contained only large bones and charcoal. Replaced the covering flag.

"10th January.—Traces of fires.

"11th January.—Fires and pits—but no urns. I have formed the idea (judging from the quantity of charcoal found, together with pits, and cists full of the bones of animals and birds, with no human remains distinguishable) that a large number of the cists contained





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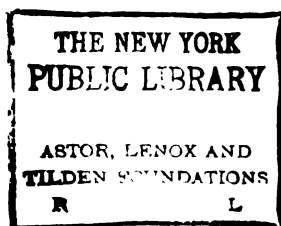




Fig. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

Fig. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

Fig. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

Fig. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7





only the bones of the sacrifices, the remains of some great Pagan solemnities, for it is difficult to suppose that the bones of animals merely used for food would be thus carefully buried. That the sacrificers had few bronze implements appears clear; for from the large space excavated, and the number of cists explored, some traces of metal (besides the solitary spear-head already noticed) would have turned up, if implements, ornaments, or arms of bronze were in common use.

"16th January.—Having been prevented yesterday from going to the hill, the men worked by themselves, and at night brought me down by far the most perfect and beautiful urn yet found. It is impossible to give an idea of the rich beauty of the patterns which adorn this splendid work of art. In shape it differs from all the others, resembling two urns, one placed on the top of the other.¹—The men, having been left to themselves, went back to the rath, and in a little strip between the trees they found a cist of an irregular form, four feet wide, and covered with large flags; in the west corner, filled in and embedded with sand, this urn was found reversed. Three small fragments of bone were found in the cist, none in the urn.

"17th January.—Being encouraged by their find of yesterday, the men worked again in the rath, and soon discovered a very large urn filled with bones and charcoal. The condition of this vessel was so fragile that nothing remains but a trayful of fragments. From indications I have seen to-day I conceive that there may be another layer of urns in the rath, under a second or lower pavement."

Mr. Smith's notes end here; but I trust that he will at some future time continue his explorations, and test the validity of the conjecture above given. At all events, he has succeeded in obtaining a matchless assemblage of examples of the fictile art of the primitive inhabitants of Ireland. Of this collection thirteen have been drawn on stone from the originals, for the Society's "Transactions," by Mr. Henry O'Neill, and the beauty and faithfulness of their execution are worthy of the pencil of the author of that truly national work, the "Ancient Crosses of Ireland."² Mr. O'Neill has grouped the urns³ into three plates, those numbered 1 to 11 being drawn to one-fourth the size of the originals, and the remaining two at full size. It will be sufficient to direct attention to the beauty of ornament and elegance of shape presented by those marked 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, and 13. The plates render further description unnecessary; but I may be allowed to quote some observations contained in the notice contributed to the Institute

¹ It is hoped at some future time to give illustrations of this and other fictile vessels not comprised in the accompanying plates.

² "The Most Interesting of the Ancient Crosses of Ireland, carefully Measured, Drawn, and Lithographed, by H. O'Neill." Large folio: London.

³ It may be of interest to remark that twelve of the singularly beautiful fictile vessels, represented in the accompanying plates, were sent by Mr. Smith to the Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853, forming one of the most interesting groups of the many which adorned the Court of Irish Art.—See p. 283, *ante*.

by Mr. Turner, already alluded to:—"The workmanship of these examples of ancient pottery is far more elaborate than that of the Celtic urns with which we are most familiar in England. The ornaments are not simple scorings, zig-zag, or other patterns, but tooled or chiselled, so as to present portions in high relief; amongst the forms frequently occurring on Irish urns are lozenges and escalloped patterns, with strongly projecting ribs, much decorated; the inside of the mouth of these vessels is usually ornamented with much care. In these particulars some analogy may be noticed amongst the sepulchral vessels found in Northumberland, preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, and that formed at Alnwick Castle by the Duke of Northumberland. A certain resemblance may also be traced in the urns found in North Britain."¹

In many cases the fictile vessels discovered on Ballon Hill were merely sun-dried, and mouldered away when exposed to the air. Most of the urns were but half baked, and to preserve them Mr. Smith found strong size to be very useful; he dipped the vessels into the size and then allowed them to dry. Many of them had neither top nor bottom, being merely hoops or circlets. It will be recollected that the remains of large fires were found all over the hill, the charcoal being of oak timber in general. In one place a well-like circular hole, faced with large stones, three feet in diameter and five feet deep, was found. This hole contained quantities of charcoal mixed with bones, and amongst them a fragment of a remarkably large human jaw bone. Amongst the calcined bones preserved by Mr. Smith are many of the species of deer, and others of the lower animals, mixed with human remains.

The invaluable collection formed by Mr. Smith, I made an effort to procure for the Society's Museum; however, naturally enough, the finder seemed very loath to part with the result of his "diggings." It is to be hoped that the collection, wherever deposited, will be preserved intact and unbroken; if separated and dispersed up and down amongst private persons it would lose half its value to the student of primæval antiquity; as seen together an inspection of the various remains lays bare a page in the history of the far past such as had never perhaps been before opened to the archæologist in Ireland. The imagination can picture to itself this sacred hill lighted up by vast sepulchral fires, conspicuous from afar; the assembled clan; the funeral feast on the sacrifices; the inurnment of the ashes of the dead—here, too, is seen the skill of the olden people of Ireland in fictile art, and as it is probable that these vessels were not manufactured especially for sepulchral uses, but formed the every day furniture of their dwellings, here we see also a glimpse of their domestic life. We learn that at the period when these urns were deposited they had a few bronze weapons, but that such expensive articles were scarce, and perhaps

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi. p. 75.

only distinguished the chieftain. The three polished pebbles, as before observed, were probably amulets.

Nothing is known of the history or ancient name of Ballon Hill. I have applied to that generous assistant of every student of Ireland's history and antiquities—Dr. O'Donovan, but in vain. He has never met a notice of the spot, but is of opinion, that, from its proximity to Dunrigh, a royal residence of the kings of Leinster, it may have been the cemetery of the Pagan princes of that district of Ireland.

FOLK-LORE.—No. I.

PORCINE LEGENDS.

BY WILLIAM HACKETT, ESQ.

THE old Irish manuscripts which circulate amongst the better class of our peasantry are generally collected into books bound after a rustic fashion, each volume being supplied with a list of its contents. In examining these lists, the title of one particular composition will frequently meet the eye, and must, therefore, have been highly prized by the transcribers. This is one, which, as it embodies and localizes a section of oral legends which prevail throughout the south of Ireland, may form a suitable introduction to the subject of folk-lore. The tract to which I allude is divided into two parts, of which the first (though sufficiently voluminous) is only an introduction; it is called the "Adventures of Toraliv M'Stairn." The second contains the achievements of the three sons of that hero, and is technically called the "Triur Mac," or the Three Sons. The substance of the whole story is this:—Toraliv was a nephew of the king of Denmark, and having become enamoured of a lovely woman, of whom he caught a casual glance, goes in search of her to various countries, and at length finds her in Ireland, at Tara, in the reign of (our Haroun al Radschid) Cormac Mac Art. She is daughter of a Tuatha de Danann nobleman, and is married to Toraliv, by whom she becomes mother, at one birth, of three sons—Crohan, Sal, and Daltheen. The father and mother go from Ireland in the "good ship" called the Mermaid, formerly the property of Mananan Mac an Lir. Toraliv having conquered many kingdoms and empires, loses his wife, becomes tired of war, and ends his days as a hermit. His wife, Fionabhartagh, dies, having given birth to a daughter in the land of the Amazons. Meantime the three sons are sent to be reared in Kerry, under the charge of the Gruagach of Slieve Mis. When they have finished their elementary course,

the Gruagach looks about for a suitable college ; and here begins the mythic portion of the tale. We are told that when the Fir Volgans reigned in Ireland, the land was overrun with pigs, which committed vast depredations. The Tuatha de Dananns on conquering the country extirpated all these animals, except one furious herd which devastated the maritime districts of the county of Clare by day, and retired at night to an island in Malbay, called Muc Inis, now Mutton Island. To root them out of this place of resort, was found beyond the human energies of the Tuatha de Dananns, who at length had recourse to magic, and so raised a violent convulsion of the elements, by which they finally succeeded. For a time, however, one ferocious boar withstood all their efforts; his name was Matal; his abode was on an island, now Mattle rock, almost denuded of earth by the enchantment brought to bear on it, when Matal was swept into the waves. The Tuatha de Dananns having relieved the country of the presence of these dreadful boars, selected their great resting-place as an eligible site for a college, on account of its seclusion, and for other advantages which it possessed. To this college at Mutton Island, all the young noblemen of their race resorted for many ages, and thither went Gruagach of Slieve Mis, with his three pupils. Like all heroes they excelled their school-fellows in the quick acquisition of all natural and supernatural learning; finally they became better informed than their masters. On leaving college, their old guardian of Slieve Mis gave them one strict injunction, which was, that neither of them should attempt any achievement singly; all three should meet danger and glory together. They went in search of adventures, and having travelled (as we perceive by the maps, about nine miles) as far as Bhuaile na Greine, they found a congregation of sun-worshippers offering sacrifice at an altar—the spot indicated by the MS. is exactly where a “leaba Diarmuid” now stands, lower on the mountain than Lough Bhuaile na Greine, which lies between it and the celebrated Ogham inscription on Callan mountain. They appear to have joined in the sacrifice, and whilst so engaged, a huge boar made its appearance, walking slowly up the hill, to his usual haunt on the summit of Slieve Collain (this animal had his den or sty at a place called Poul-Gorm-liath on the north side of the mountain). The day was very warm, and so the animal walked slowly; when he came abreast of where the sacrifice was going on, he perceived the smoke and smelt the blood of the victims. He turned his head in the direction of the assembly, whereupon they were all thrown into utter consternation; but the animal continued his course without molesting them. This was a favourable opportunity for the young heroes to signalize themselves, for the boar was as destructive as any of those already disposed of—they followed, passed him, and turning round confronted him, with their three spears pointed at him. They slew him, and when the sun-worshippers perceived their success, they crowded round the three sons, but were afraid to look at the boar

though dead—he must have been as hideous an object as the Erymanthean boar. They soon so far recovered that they all joined in bringing the dead body to the altar, and making of it an offering to the sun. The three sons soon heard of another nuisance which infested the country. This was a frightful dragon, whose den was on an islet in the lake called Doo-Lough, south of Bhuaile-na-Greine. They also destroyed this frightful monster, an ollaphiast, with sixty legs at each side of her body. Her name was Farbagh: she was one of the three sister dragons, whose names were Dabran, Farbagh, and Cathach, the offspring of the all-devouring sow; their father having been gate-keeper of the infernal regions. The red demon of the west of Ireland was their nurse. This Farbagh had been placed at Doo-Lough, by a Fir Volgan druid, to guard an enchanted palace in the bottom of the lake, then inhabited by a king, his family, and a large concourse of courtiers. (There is a Dun Farbagh on the Arran islands). The elder sister dragon was a guardian round Leim Cuncullion, now Loop Head, of whom hereafter. The youngest sister, Cathach, had her abode on an island in the Shannon, named from the dragon Inis Cathig, now Scattery Island. The three heroes are now called upon to free the country from another dreadful scourge, the wild cat of Craig-na-Seanean, near Doo-Lough. This animal had across its forehead a figure of the moon, at the extremity of its tail was a sharp nail; it devoured hundreds of human beings, whose bones formed a mound outside the den. When the three sons appeared beneath the cliff in which the den was, the cat, on smelling them, looked down, and, determined on killing them, precipitated herself from the height, and was received by the heroes on the points of their spears. They then brought the body to the ground, and cut it into small particles. The congregation, judging of the success of the champions, repaired to the spot and burnt the fragments of the wild cat, for fear of a plague. They all return in happiness to Bhuaile-na-Greine, where the heroes remain to partake of the hospitality of the people. Meantime their fame spreads through all Ireland and reaches even the ears of the monarch. The three sons now determine to visit their grandfather, who resides in the island of Cove; the first night they rested at the island of the Calf, now called Ennis, passing across the Ballyhoura mountains they arrived at the seat of their maternal ancestors. Here they meet with a most joyful welcome, and are visited by all the Tuatha de Danann nobility. After some time it was agreed upon by all parties that the heroes should travel in search of their parents. They took shipping in the enchanted vessel already mentioned, and, after many exploits, returned to Ireland loaded with riches, and bringing with them, from the Amazons, their sister, who was named Aonmna (*recte* Aonbhean, the only woman). They go to a great meeting at Tara, where Aonbhean is seen by Diarmuid O'Duibhne, who, as was his wont, falls in love with her. The Tuatha de Danann race have a horror of the Fenians, and the young heroes determine on concealing

their sister from his pursuit. For this purpose they repair to the south-west point of the county of Clare, and here they erect three forts, one for each brother, and another for the sister, to whose protection they mean to dedicate their lives; and, still further to secure her, they place the dragon, Dabran, round her abode, so as that no one could land without being devoured by it. Meantime, Diarmuid, not being able to meet with the fair Aonbhean, falls into a state of despondency, and repairs for comfort to Aongus, of the banks of the Boyne, the great philosopher and necromancer of the age, who anticipates his tale of woe, prescribes a remedy, informs him where the object of his love is concealed, gives him a ring and a square wax candle, tells him to go to Brandon Head, in Kerry, opposite the Leim Concullion, where the lady's fort is built, tells him to watch the ring day and night, shows him a precious stone of a red colour set in the ring, tells him of the danger of encountering the serpent, and charges him not to venture on his enterprise of abduction until he shall see the colour of the ring change from red to green.

Diarmuid takes his departure, retires with one companion, an attendant, watches for the usual space of a year and a day at Brandon Head, the ring changes colour, he betakes himself to a small skiff, crosses the Shannon, lands on a rock, now called Diarmuid and Grainne's Rock, lights his square wax candle, whereupon, according to Aongus' prophecy, the serpent falls asleep; the brothers are absent on an expedition against certain remnants of the Fir Volgans; he surprises Aonbhean, whom he seizes and bears to his skiff, bringing with him the magical missile of Lughadh Lamhfada, which, like the boomerang, returned to the hands of the person throwing it. When half-way across the Shannon's mouth the square wax candle burns out, Dabran the ollaphiast awakes and pursues him, he throws the magical ring into her yawning throat, which, as Aongus foretold, deprives her of one-third of her strength; still she pursues—he wounds her repeatedly with the magical missile, and, finally, she is killed, and her enormous corpse extends along the ocean, a prey to multitudes of sea birds. The dragon sister at Scattery perceiving that Dabran had been killed, proceeds to lay waste the country on both sides of the Shannon from the sea to where Limerick now stands, and for a whole year no boat or ship dare venture on the Shannon. When Crohan, Sal, and Daltheen returned in triumph from their expedition against the Fir Volgans, they found what had happened, and such was their grief that they walked down from the cahir of Aonbhean and precipitated themselves into the sea over the cliffs.

Such is the tragical finale of the three sons. Nothing is said of the subsequent career of Diarmuid, after this episode, in his biography, nor do we know how long his attachment to Aonbhean lasted; or how soon after these events the prophecy was fulfilled which had been uttered at the time of his birth, namely, that he would be killed by a boar. It is scarcely necessary to point out to the Irish archæologist

the coincidence in the particulars of the deaths of Adonis and of Diarmuid, each killed by a boar, contrary to the injunctions of his goddess or lady love.

If any interest is found in the story of the three sons, it is necessary to explain that one fact connected with its authorship is calculated to dull its archæological effect. A correspondence with a clergyman in the county of Clare shows that this celebrated romance was written not more than one hundred years since, by a Mr. Comyn, of Milford, in that county. This information is conveyed in a letter from a learned antiquary, the Rev. E. P. Barry, P.P. of Kilmurphy.

The foregoing sketch is, however, divested of any incidents which are not in some measure corroborated by their similarity with well known oral legends of other places, from which it may be concluded that this romance is formed from the folk-lore of the county of Clare. The topographical terms, at least, exactly correspond at this day, as may be seen in all instances, and, particularly, in the names of Cahir Crohan, Cahir Saul, Lis Doon Dalheen, and Cahir-na-heanmna, as they appear in Sheet No. 71 of the Ordnance Survey Map of the county of Clare. These forts, and the other places named, were probably associated in oral tradition with some fables similar to those wrought into Mr. Comyn's story. The stories of the boar, the dragon, and the cat prevail all over Ireland, in the main features identical with the details in the "Three Sons." One instance suggests itself, of which the following is a brief sketch: There was once a king whose name was Olioll oll mucaid, that is, Olioll of the great pigs (he could not have been a monarch, as we have not the name in our chronological list, though we have *Ængus Ollmucka*); the reason why this king was so called, was, that in his reign there prevailed all over Ireland a remarkably large breed of pigs, which remained for many ages, "till at long last" the people got tired of them, and they were driven out from every place but Imokilly (this barony runs west from Youghal Bay to Cove Harbour, having the ocean in the south). Imokilly is said to have been called "Gorm Liathain" (which would remind one of the Poul Gorm Liath, the den of the Sliabh Collain boar). Some *seannchaidhes* say its right name was Ibh Muck Olla, a name given it by the people of other parts of Ireland, because it was the only place where the great pigs were preserved (a kind of Irish *Bœotia*, where the preservation of the sacred ox seems to have elicited the ridicule of Greece, the "learned Thebans" being residents of the city of the heifer). The first of the great pigs that came to Imokilly gave name to the glen through which he came from Ibh Liathain, it is called Glen O'Leihe, which we are told is the glen of the liath or boar. In the course of ages all the great pigs were at last driven out of Imokilly, except two sows and a hog. One sow had her lair or sty at a place thence called Crobally (cro, a sty), the hog resided at a hill called Cnock-an-Chullaig (from collach, a hog), a road is pointed out by which he walked every day to meet the sow at a spot

called Kilamucky. "Between himself and the sow the country was devastated and spoiled. People's lives were not worth having through the means of them." The story goes on to say that matters continued in this state until the arrival of the Geraldines, the first of whom determined to kill the monster. In this encounter the circumstances have certain features of resemblance with the story of the three sons; but, after he had killed the boar, he left the dead animal on the spot, and the decay of the carcase caused a pestilence which swept away thousands of people; at length an effort was made, and the body was buried in a coffin made of large stones (this was a megalithic monument, erased in 1844) at Kilamucky, near Castlemartyr, the ancient seat of the Fitzgeralds of Imokilly. After the boar was buried at Kilamucky, the sow disappeared from her sty at Crobally, and was never more seen. But the other sow, whose sty was at Cnock-an-na-Mbhainbh (the mound of the sucking pigs), "could not be rooted out," she used to go about "wasting the country far and near," until at last the people "put their heads together," and watching their opportunity, one day when the sow was ranging the country, they made a mess which was eaten by the young pigs, and by which they were poisoned. When the sow returned in the evening and saw the bainbhs all dead, she "made off with herself in the direction of Lismore" and was never seen after. As to the Imokilly Geraldines, though the slayer of the boar was known to have thereby done great benefit to the country, a certain undefinable horror was attached to the deed, which obtained for him the name of Madra-na-Folla (the blood-hound); his descendants are to this day identified as the Fulla family; their crest is the boar's head, conspicuous on their monument in an old church in Castlemartyr demesne.

Whether there be any association with the foregoing fables in a practice which formerly prevailed cannot be ascertained; but it is not many years since, on Samhain's eve, 31st October, a rustic procession perambulated the district between Ballycotton and Trabolgan, along the coast. The parties represented themselves as messengers of the Muck Olla, in whose name they levied contributions on farmers; as usual they were accompanied by sundry youths, sounding lustily on cows' horns; at the head of the procession was a figure enveloped in a white robe or sheet, having, as it were, the head of a mare, this personage was called the *Lair Bhān*, "the white mare," he was a sort of president or master of the ceremonies. A long string of verses was recited at each house. In the second distich were distinctly mentioned two names savouring strongly of Paganism, the archæological reader will understand what they were. Though they did not disturb the decorum of the assembly, they would not have been permitted to be publicly uttered elsewhere; for those people, and, indeed, all our peasantry are very free from any coarse expressions. The other verses purported to be uttered by a messenger of the Muck Olla, in which it was set forth, that, owing to the goodness of that being, the

farmer whom they addressed had been prosperous all his life, that his property would continue as long as he was liberal in his donations in honour of the Muck Olla; giving a very uninviting account of the state into which his affairs would fall should the Muck Olla withdraw his favour, and visit him with the vengeance certain to follow any illiberal or churlish treatment of his men. Whether it was owing to the charm of the poetry or the cogency of the appeal, the contributions were in general on a liberal scale, every description of gifts was bestowed, milk, butter, eggs, corn, potatoes, wool, &c. To distribute the accumulated store, it was the regular practice for a sort of rural merchant or two to await the return of the group and purchase the whole stock, distributing his share to each according to a conventional arrangement of their respective ranks. These scenes were enacted at night. Could such contributions have been levied in the open day, aided by physical force and the use of weapons? In such a case the "laying waste the country round" becomes an intelligible expression. Could the Muck Olla have been a deity, exhibited, as in Egypt of old, as a living animal? Can the rural merchant be a substitute for some lingering druid, who maintained his ground long after the establishment of Christianity?

To enter on such queries would lead to too long a digression from the subject of folk-lore. It must be observed, that as yet we are without a history of Pagan Ireland, or any work upon the subject, but we read that Ireland was once called Muck Inis, and for aught we know, it might have been then ruled by a hierocracy of a religion bordering on, if not identical with the worship of Vishnu in his Varaha or boar incarnation. We read in the 8th volume of the "*Asiatic Researches*," p. 302, that Varaha-Dwipa was Europe. Why it was so called is given at p. 361, where we read that "Vishnu resides in Europe in the shape of a varaha or boar, as the chief of a numerous offspring (or followers) in that shape."

However out of place it may appear to introduce such a quotation into the humble subject of folk-lore, it must be remembered that our oral legends tell some facts or other in a language which we do not profess to understand, and that it is, therefore, pardonable to seek in every quarter for means of rendering them intelligible.

The extract from Major Wilford's essay on the sacred islands of the west, has a startling resemblance to the Imokilly legend of the Muck Olla. Could the space allotted to this paper permit a minute comparison of our oral legends with those which were once manifestly "folk-lore"—the mythic adventures of classic demigods—many equally startling coincidences would appear. Hercules slew the Erymanthian boar. We find Fionn, in our oral legends, slaying boars all over Ireland: at Glen Turkin in Imokilly he killed a monstrous Turc, whence the name Glen Turc Fin; during his sojourn at Bally Fin, a few miles to the east on the same coast, he freed all that neighbourhood from the devastations of those animals. Having cleared the coast of

Imokilly from them, he went across Cork harbour, and landing in Kinalea, took up his abode at Rath Fin, now Rafeen. His successes here were triumphant, for all his warriors assembled at Fathach-na-Laoch (now Faha Lay) and assisted him in his exploits. He then went along the coast into the maritime barony of Carberry, and fixed his residence at Dun Fin (now Duneen), where he slew a frightful boar at Muckross. In Greece, Meleagar and his contemporary warriors assembled for the purpose of slaying the Calydonian boar.

Can all these myths have one meaning? Do they point at a suppression of a heathen sacerdotal rule, which had rendered itself intolerable to the age? One more extract may be permitted, it is from that popular work, *Household Words*, in No. 67, 5th July, 1851, p. 351, we read a minute description of a Chinese temple, after which the writer proceeds—"Our guide next conducted us to the sanctuary of the Holy Swine—for the animal which the Mohammedan holds in utter detestation, the Chinese deify. The interior chiefly consists of a handsome stone hall; . . . The holy swine are so watchfully tended and abundantly fed, that they are usually killed with kindness and die a premature death. At the time of my visit the sanctuary contained only one happy pair; and I was informed that there are seldom more than six of the animals living at a time." Tedious as all these references may appear, they are only a few specimens of what might be given on this curious subject.

As regards Irish folk-lore, it may be necessary to remark that our topographical terms go hand in hand with it. Of this the curious reader may easily satisfy himself, if he will merely ascertain the various Irish names of the boar genus, and then cast his eyes over the Ordnance Survey maps.

Returning to Mr. Comyn's romance of the Three Sons of Toraliv, it is needless to say of the dragons that those animals are associated with traditions at almost every mountain lake in Ireland; but it is not generally known that similar fables will be found amidst the "busy haunts of man" at those spots in our rivers where the tide-waters end. Such places are called "Poul-a-choire" (Anglicised, Poul-a-Kerry). "Choire" is a cauldron, for the story says that such an utensil is there turned down upon a great serpent which is constantly endeavouring to release itself.

On the south coast the furious wild cat is very familiarly known, and in many places his den is pointed out. In a word, the romance of "the Three Sons" comprehends most of the animals which "laid waste the country round." If the details above given respecting them should be found interesting, it is to be hoped that the "folk-lore," relative to the beneficent animals which "give milk to all the country round," will prove still better worth attention.

FOLK-LORE.—No. II.

BOVINE LEGENDS.

BY WILLIAM HACKETT, ESQ.

IN a paper read at the May meeting of this Society, a connexion between our oral legends and many topographical terms was alluded to; a MS. was cited as embodying details of a character harmonising with folk-lore in general, and reference was made to certain Hindoo and other traditions. The present paper purports to follow out the subject on a similar plan, and a MS. of the class known as *Tain Bo*, is selected. This tract is called *Tain Bo Cuailgne*. It commences with the familiar sentence, "once upon a time," and tells of a king and a queen. To enter at length on the details of the *Tain Bo Cuailgne* would be incompatible with the space allotted to this paper; let it suffice that the tract in question is extremely mysterious, undoubtedly ancient, and, if it were fully translated, would prove highly interesting in a literary point of view. Although the manuscript occupies 138 closely-written quarto pages, a few words will afford what may be necessary to the present object. The queen, *Meiv*, of *Connaught*, hearing of a certain renowned bull in *Ulster*, sends to make sundry large offers, and tenders pledges, in order that she may obtain even the loan of this wonderful animal for one year; not attaining her object by fair means she determines on having recourse to force, collects all the *Connaught* troops, obtains the assistance of *Meath*, *Leinster*, and *Munster*, and ascending her war chariot marches at the head of her forces into *Ulster*; thus all *Ireland* is engaged in a war, which lasts seven years. Many lengthened details of the exploits of various warriors is given, after which the story ends with an account of a single combat, not between two heroes, but between two bulls; one, the *Connaught* bull, is named *Fionn Banagh*, the other and more renowned, is named *Donn Cuailgne*. The battle is fought in the presence of all the troops, for the space of an entire day, on the plains of *Hae*, it is continued in almost every spot in *Ireland* during the night, and next morning *Donn Cuailgne* returns loaded with the ponderous carcase of the vanquished *Fionn Banagh*. Irish topography appears to have received many additions from this nocturnal conflict; places with the following names, for instance—*Clodh-na-d-Tarv*, *Drom-na-d-Tarv*, *Rath-na-d-Tarv*, *Bearna-na-d-Tarv*, *Magh-na-d-Tarv*. The conquering bull arrives at the spot of the previous day's conflict; all the warriors allow him to pass quietly. On the plain, the *hae*, or lungs of the dead bull, fall from him, hence the place is called *Magh Hae Fionnbanagh*. Whether the warriors accompany him on his way to *Ulster* does not appear. The bull proceeds thither, drinking two rivers dry, of which one is no less

than the Shannon at Athlone. Various places on his road are named from the scattered limbs of the dead bull; a river called Fionn Leithe, from the *leithe*, or shoulder, having there fallen, whilst Donn Cuailgne was stooping to drink; Athlone, from the *luan*, or loins; Trim, from the *druim*, or chine. The archæological reader need not be here reminded of the various scattering of limbs which abound in oriental and other mythology. Finally, the renowned Donn arrives at his own territory of Cuailgne, where, overcome with all his hardships and sufferings, he falls dead. Various attributes are ascribed to this wonderful animal. He was possessed of human intelligence. The Irish tongue he understood perfectly well; but whether his knowledge extended to foreign languages does not appear. Two somewhat similar fables occur in Irish history, in the reign of Dermud Mac Fergus Cearbheoil, which monarch slew his eldest son for forcibly taking a cow from a female hermit, and on another occasion he waged a furious war against Guaire, King of Connaught, for taking a cow from a religious recluse. This monarch ascended the throne, A.D. 538, and if the transactions had any foundation in fact, they would read as if he protected a lingering form of idolatry, although professing himself a Christian. But the probability is, that the two stories are folk-lore incidents pressed into the service of history, and that they belong to the same category as the Tain Bo Cuailgne. Now whether all may find a parallel in Hindoo mythology, can be judged by a comparison with the following extracts, premising that both in the Tain Bo Cuailgne and in the story of the king's killing his son, much stress is laid on a hospitable entertainment and sumptuous repast.

In Moore's *Hindoo Pantheon*, p. 160, we read that the 41st section of Ramayana details an entertainment given by Vashishta to Viswamitra and his whole army. "But Viswamitra not contented with the entertainment, coveted also the donor (a cow), and after endeavouring in vain to purchase the cow, took her from Vashishta by violence;" hence, curses and battles between these two sages and their adherents, as detailed at tiresome length in the 42nd and following sections of the Ramayana. In page 190 of the same work is the following:—"Iamadagni was entrusted by Indra with the charge of the wonderful boon-granting cow . . . and on one occasion regaled the Rajah Diruj in so magnificent a manner as to excite his astonishment . . . he demands the animal from his host, and on refusal, force and stratagem were employed, which ended in the death of Iamadagni, but without success as to the acquisition of the desired animal, which disappeared."

If these coincidences are deemed insufficient to elicit further enquiry, the details, if given at full length, would supply the deficiency. Supposing a strong coincidence to be exhibited, the first question it would suggest would be—did the Irish obtain their fables from the Hindoos? It is not probable that they did, but that both are vestiges

of what we may term the original oral legends of the patriarchal world.

A specimen of folk-lore is now submitted which has not been noticed in any of those manuscripts which circulate in the south of Ireland. The story is told in that land of legends, the barony of Imokilly. Here, on the strand of Ballycroneen, as a few fishermen were strolling along, they observed a "berugh," or mermaid, sleeping near the edge of the ocean. After some deliberation they resolved on capturing this inhabitant of the sea. Upon her awaking and seeing that she could not escape, she ordered them to procure a cloak or covering, and gave directions that she should be conveyed to a farmer's house adjacent. There she took up her abode, and being placed beside the hearth, received every mark of respect, not only from the farmer's family, but from all the people of the country round, who came in crowds to visit her. She remained with them for some time, giving every kind of good advice, and foretelling future events. At length, on a May-eve, she gave directions that she should be conveyed back to the strand. Accordingly she was removed, and a great concourse of people went to witness her departure; she continued talking to them, prophesying to the last moment, when she finally told them all to assemble on that same spot on the following May-eve, for that then the three cows would arrive out of the sea. Accordingly, on that day twelve months, all the people of Ireland assembled on the cliffs, and waited from the dawn of day, expecting the cows. At mid-day they began to despair of their arrival, but about an hour afterwards they observed them lifting their heads from beneath the waves, at a short distance from the beach. They swam in until they were able to walk, and then they stood on the beach, shaking the water from their bodies and gazing on the people, who were all shouting with joy at their arrival. At this time, says the legend, there were no roads in Ireland. The cows stood for a time as if deliberating, and the people observed that one was white, another red, and the third black. After a short time all three walked abreast up from the strand, and great was the wonder of the multitude on observing that a fine broad road was already formed for them to walk upon. They continued walking abreast until they had gone about a mile from the sea, where they found two other roads; here the three cows parted, the white cow going to the north-west, towards the county of Limerick, the red cow turning to the west, by a road running all round the coast of Ireland, and the black cow going to the north-east, towards Lismore, in the county of Waterford. The roads are pointed out in many places at present, and are known as "Bohur na Bo Finne," the road of the white cow, "Bohur na Bo Ruadh," of the red cow, and "Bohur na Bo Duibhe" (pronounced "dee"), of the black cow. The legends appended to this landing of the three cows are so numerous that, if each were distinguished by a separate title, a list only of them would occupy too much time. A singular coincidence presents

itself in this legend and the following extract from the apocryphal Book of Enoch. The writer there allegorically describes Noah as a white cow, who became a man, and who taught the other cows a mystery. The man who had been a white cow now builds a ship, the deluge is described, after which the man, again termed a white cow, goes out of the ship and with him three other cows (chap. lxxxviii. v. 13).—"One of the three cows was white, resembling that cow, one of them was as red as blood, and one of them was black, and the white cow left them." In the eighteenth verse of this extraordinary chapter we read of a white cow bringing forth a black wild sow and a white sheep; but, as these animals do not pertain to the section now treated of, they need not be further alluded to here. The book of Enoch, the prophet, in which these details appear, was translated from a manuscript Abyssinian bible by the erudite Dr. Lawrence, archbishop of Cashel, who satisfactorily proves the time in which it was composed to have been shortly after the first promulgation of the gospel. The apostle Jude quotes the traditions of Enoch, the prophet, but it does not appear that the quotation is from this book. The apostle was familiar with the traditions; perhaps all Jews were generally acquainted with them, and the author of the apocryphal Book of Enoch, evidently a converted Jew, embodied it in a work whose object was to set forth the prophecies of the incarnation, if possible, in a stronger light than they are exhibited in Holy Writ. Does not the coincidence between the oral traditions of the Jews of old and those of the Irish give an insight into the mysteries of folk-lore? Do they not appear like oral descriptions of symbolic delineations familiarly understood in the original patriarchal state of society, and and from that period transmitted in all directions through the whole human family? Does it not go further and show, that most, if not all, systems of Paganism are but abused perpetuations of ancient symbolism, originally conveying the truths of revealed religion? How can we better reconcile the many features of strong resemblance in various systems of Paganism, not only with each other but with original revelation, however depraved the ultimate perversion may have become?

That these traditions were general throughout Ireland is very evident almost from topography alone. Numerous are the lakes, islands, and pastures of the white cow—Lough Bo Finne, Inis Bo Finne, &c. The mystic bed associates them with idolatry, as the bed of the white cow, *Leaba na Bo Finne*, so of the other cows. Writers heretofore ascribed these terms to the fertility of the soil where they occur, but many of these terms are applied to sterile lands which never were fertile, and this process fails in accounting for the names of the numerous rocks of the bull, cow, and calf, which pervade all our coasts, and with most of which are corresponding local legends. Some of these are evidently fables, conveying moral precepts, nevertheless they savour strongly of mythology. The fame of the *Garlach Coilleanach*

has spread from Connaught throughout all parts of Ireland where the national language still lingers. This story commences by stating that he was originally a farmer's servant employed to mind cows. One bright sunny day, having charge of a large herd, he observed "high up in the air" a small black cloud which descended rapidly towards the earth, at the same time he heard a voice in the air, which said "this is the Tarv Connaire, he will descend on one of the cows; whoever drinks the first milk of that cow will have the gift of prophecy." The Garlach Coilleanach adopted the suggestion, in due time drank the milk, left his master, and "travelled the world, giving knowledge in all parts." Of a similar tendency is the story of Carrul O'Dawla. He was also originally a cow-herd; attending to his task one misty morning, he could scarcely see one of his cattle; on a sudden the mist appeared to close in from all sides until it became a small black cloud, settling over a furze bush, through which it disappeared. Watching attentively, he observed one of the cows, which was grey, walk at once and browse upon the furze. This struck him as so singular, that he went and waked the farmer, who was still in bed, the farmer rejoiced at the intelligence, gave him a piggin, ordering him to fill it with the milk of the Bo Riagh. Carrul drank the milk, and told his master that he had accidentally spilled it; the master, in great agitation, sent him out a second and third time with a like result. So the farmer discharged him, and he went about the world, as Garlach Coilleanach did either before or after.

Fables with a very different moral are more general. The cow, Glas Gowlawn, according to the traditions of the country, presented itself every day before each house in Ireland, giving a plentiful day's supply. So she continued until an avaricious person laid in a quantity for traffic, whereupon the Glass Gowlaun, left Ireland, going into the sea off the Hill of Howth. Numerous roads called Boherglass are ascribed to this valuable animal. This cow is remembered, by tradition, in Glen Gavlin, county of Cavan, where her udder, as she passed along, formed a gap called Berna-na-Glaisè. She is said to have gone to Scotland. Similar legends, in the south of Ireland, describe the cows as going to Wales; and the peasantry of Imokilly are aware of the fact of the bones of the cow being preserved in Redcliff Church, Bristol; these, they say, belonged to a cow which, being struck with a spencil and cursed by a red-haired woman, swam over to England, where she was kindly received, every respect shown her, and when she died they kept her bones (similar supposed bones of the dun cow are preserved in Mulgrave and Warwick Castles). But of all cows the most famous is the Glas Gaibhnach, part of whose history may be seen in a note to O'Donovan's edition of the "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i. p. 18, *note* " which Mr. Getty has faithfully quoted in the second number of the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," in his admirable paper on Tory Island. The Glas Gaibhnach, or, as the name is expressed frequently, Gaibhneach, is known

in many parts of Ireland, where all other enchanted cows may have been forgotten; she, too, dispensed milk to "the country round," until a woman, having filled all her vessels, at length produced a "dilldarn," or sieve, on perceiving which the Glas Gaibhneach gave no more milk. Avarice, on the one hand, and imprudence on the other, are two vices frequently pointed at in Irish folk-lore; whilst a firm reliance upon Providence for our daily sustenance is principally inculcated.

At the river Deel, in the county of Limerick, is a legend of a cow which frequently came out of the river and fed on its banks. The farmer at last intercepted her and drove her into his dairy. If she were milked one hundred times a day she would each time fill a can. The farmer built a house, using the milk in making the mortar; the rafters of his house were made of iron. When the woman who had been in the habit of milking her died, another, who was red-haired, was put in her place; at her first milking, the cow kicked and spilled the milk—"Bad luck to you for that same," said the red-haired woman; immediately off went the cow into the river, and was never more seen. In that part of the river where the cow disappeared there is always a "Billeog Vaite," or Lotus, twisting round and round. An eel, like a serpent, rises there every seven years and gives three screeches like a duck. It is an unlucky spot, the peasantry say, and they tell that a Mr. Casey was hunting there and his horse leaped in and was drowned with his master.

At Innislinga, in the parish of Inniscarra, in the county of Cork, is a legend which embraces a section of country about eleven miles north and as many south. The ancient name of this place was Ionad Coinne, the place of meeting; for here a bull came every day from near Bandon to meet a cow which came from the plain near Drimineen Castle on the banks of the Blackwater, west of Mallow. The place of meeting is pointed out by two low banks of earth, the almost erased fences of the old road called the Bohureen-na-Bo-Ruadh (road of the red cow). Some legends say that another bull accompanied the cow from the Blackwater, as may be seen in an extract from a communication made by one of our most eminent Irish scholars, it is dated June, 1853:—"Last year I was able to trace the Bohur or course alluded to; it runs south of Dripsey river, in Cummer-na-Bo, to the feeding place near the Blackwater. I perambulated through the parishes of Grenough and Donoughmore; from several persons I heard of this 'Bo Ruadh,' pronounced by some 'Bo Ruach.' The legend and corresponding localities are very well known, especially about Tobar-Lachteen; the road is described as having passed through Bleain-a-goul, by the Rev. Mr. Cotter's, by Bohureen-an-aiffrinn, Forenought, &c. The bull and the cow always moved together, the cow stopped to give milk to all the people who wanted it, and the milk was a great 'cure.'" Then follows the story of the sieve, ending by saying that when the cow saw the milk spilling "she fretted

and gave no more." On making enquiries at the spot mentioned, near the Blackwater, the road is pointed out as running from Glantane to Drimineen Castle. The scenery here, and indeed throughout the district involved in this legend, is eminently romantic.

A short legend is given relating to a locality a few miles lower down the Blackwater, opposite Castle Hyde. Here a spotted cow grazed at Glen-na-Bo, but, like the Bo Ruadh, she disdained to drink from the adjacent river; every day she walked through where the town of Fermoy now stands, to drink from a well on a rock called Carrig-a-Bric, which, according to the legend, obtains its name from this Breac, or spotted cow. Whether the ancient name of the river Blackwater has any association with these legends, may be difficult to ascertain. In the life of St. Mochuda the river is called Nimh, a word which signifies poison. Another cow resorted near the scene of the last legend, at a place called Currach-na-Druiminne, the bog of the white-backed cow. This animal did not yield her milk for the benefit of the "country round;" it was the exclusive property of the giants, or Fenians, and they were nourished by it for many years, when on a sudden the milk ceased. The perplexed giants, unable to account for this sudden stoppage of their supply, resolved on sending for Fionn. For a short time after his arrival, he was equally at fault, so he determined to watch the cow by night. He thus discovered that a great serpent emerged from a river and abstracted all the milk of the white-backed cow; he attacked the animal, which escaped, and for a time evaded his pursuit, but he finally detected it, in the shape of a ferocious four-legged beast with enormous teeth and blazing eyes. This animal's name was Lun, he had his abode near the summit of Carran Tierna, at a place still called "Leaban Lun." Here he made a formidable resistance, but was finally killed by Fionn and his dog. After this the white-backed cow gave milk enough to the giants. Near the town of Bantry is a lake called Lough-na-Bo-Finne, of the white cow; the legend runs that a white cow emerged from this lake, and having met a bull they both walked together to Dursey island. Here they rested, and the cow having calved, gave abundance of milk, but upon being cursed and struck by a red-haired woman, bull, cow, and calf rushed into the sea, and were drowned, where the rocks, so called, now appear above the waves. Another oral legend embraces a large topographical range, no less than from Tober Gowna, in the county of Longford, to Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal. This district comprises Lough Gowna, upper and lower Lough Erne, with the outlet-river Samer. (It may be incidentally remarked of this river that it has its name from a dog killed there by Partholan, an early colonist of Ireland; and in Hindoo mythology we read that the deity Krishna had a dog with the very same name). The legend is one very generally met with, of a woman who had charge of a calf carefully locked up in a house, with strict injunctions that the door should be always closely

watched, lest the calf should escape. It so happened that in the same house was a well¹ to which the woman resorted for water; on one occasion, whilst so occupied, she heard her child cry, and running to it she unfortunately forgot her duty. Too late she perceived that the calf had escaped, and through the door volumes of water were rushing out. The calf was skipping and leaping from side to side of a then valley, now lake Gowna; the water rose to the height of the calf's track. Onward danced the calf "across and athwart" the valley, now upper Erne, and so northwards to lower Lough Erne, through the vale, now the river Samer, finally leaping into the sea, over a cliff at Ballyshannon, now the cataract known in history as Eas Aodha Ruaidh (pronounced Ass Ay Rua), like Thalassa Erythros, a hero of the same name, having been drowned in Arabia, as Ay Ruadh was here. All the region round this scene of action, and many of the islands in the lakes correspond with this Arkite tale, a term which cannot be withheld from it by any one who has ever perused the erudite writings of Jacob Bryant or the Rev. George Stanley Faber; the latter venerable personage still lives, and if Irish mythology be developed by competent literary research, he may survive to see the most ample corroborations of those portions of his writing, which have been too much overlooked by Irish archaeologists. One theory of the former great writer would closely identify the name of Lakes Erne here and in Scotland with the mysterious worship termed Arkite, as may be seen in his *Analysis*, vol. ii. p. 251, of the quarto edition.

The story of these Irish Ernains forms a sort of episode in Irish history, and the first incident respecting them is plainly a druidical religious ceremony, dressed up in a not very edifying manner, in the reign of the monarch Aonghus Tuirveach, or the shameful.

In addition to what has been said of the red cow, it may be remembered that when the white cow left her she commenced perambulating on the Bohur-na-Bo-Ruadh, which extended all round the coast of Ireland. This road is said to have been made three casts of a dart from the high-water mark. Some have ascribed the making of this road to the celebrated Brien Boru; it is, however, probable that the king's title and the name of the road have their mutual origin in the source of our oral legends. Brien enjoyed two titles, which are frequently confounded. He was styled Brien Boirmhe, from his numerous tributes; and Boru, from the most remarkable spot adjacent to his palace at Kincora. This place is still called Ball Boru, a name which it probably enjoyed before even Brien's ancestors had landed in Ireland.²

¹ This legend, as we are informed by Dr. O'Donovan, was taken down by that gentleman at the well, and was communicated to Mrs. S. C. Hall by Major Larcom, from one of Dr. O'Donovan's letters.—Eps.

² History and tradition both assert, according to Dr. O'Donovan, that this is the place where Brien kept the Borumeen tribute of Leinster. This would seem to account sufficiently for the name.—Eps.

In my paper on Porcine Legends one passage in particular, probably, appeared somewhat more singular than well sustained; that was the allusion to the Hindoo name of Europe, which, according to major Wilford, was "*Varaha Dwipa*," the region of the boar. The same highly ingenious and equally ingenuous scholar, tells us (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 361) that the pronunciation of the word is "*Warapa*," closely resembling the word Europe. Supposing that derivation untenable, let the former section of our folk-lore be deprived of it, and let us, in obedience to classical etymologists, ascribe the origin of the word to Europa, the daughter of Agenor. In that case what is taken from the former paper must be added to the present, for the sentiment of the Phœnician princess finds an apt parallel in that of the Connaught queen, Meadhbh.

Whether all these legends tend to commemorate a once prevailing system of worship, how far the animals mentioned may have been considered sacred, are questions beyond the scope of this paper. Allusions, however, have been made tending to elicit attention to that view of the subject, and, in conclusion, may be offered the passage from the ingenuous, though not over ingenious, Geoffry Keating, in which he says, "that one of the objects of worship of the ancient Irish was a golden calf, as mentioned in the reign of Cormac Mac Art." *History of Ireland*, vol i. p. 429.

From the neglected state in which our national muniments now exist has arisen a general impression, that to develop the former and early features of Irish Paganism would be a hopeless undertaking. But if a full collection of oral legends were obtained, and that they were collated with corresponding extracts from our manuscripts, doubtless much light would be thrown on the subject. A reference for this purpose to a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin, entitled *Tain Bo Fliv-dhaise*, would be valuable, as also to that curious work, the *Leabhar na Huidhre* (pronounced Heera), or book of the Dun Cow.

OLDEN POPULAR PASTIMES IN KILKENNY,

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

THE investigation of the popular sports and amusements of a country or a district, at various periods of its history, and the changes in the pastimes of the people as civilization crept slowly forward—marking so well the spirit of each generation—must be a subject of much interest to the antiquary, the historian, and even the political economist; for statesmen have, from the earliest times, recognised the necessity of in some degree providing for and superintending the recreations of the humbler classes. There is no branch, indeed, of the science of

ancient lore that has been made more entertaining or instructive than the study of the popular amusements of our ancestors, and nothing can give us a clearer illustration or more vivid idea of their manners and customs.

To the sojourner amidst the manifold resources of this wonderfully progressive nineteenth century, with its varieties of amusements, both physical and intellectual, what a miserable blank must the middle ages present, and how barbarous must appear the few means for pleasure they afforded. The intellectual world of that period closely resembled the material, and equally rude were the means for recreation of both. Within the precincts of the monastery, and in the demesne of the feudal castle, some taste and cultivation did doubtless exist, but around the cottage of the serf no garden smiled, and his physical and intellectual amusements were rude indeed; even the wealthy burgher of the walled town fared little better; for, before the invention of printing, the precious manuscript did not leave the aristocratic hall of the castle or the blazing hearth of the refectory. These were the only "lyceums" and "institutes" of the day, and from them the people were excluded; whilst, as far as intellectual cultivation was concerned, the "miracle-play," or "mystery" was the only enjoyment of the million. The religious element mixed up largely with their mental, as did the military with their physical recreations.

But, though treating of the times—

When ancient chivalry displayed
The pomp of her heroic games,

it is not the intention of this paper to trace the amusements of the tapestried castle hall, the lordly pleasure of the feudal baron, or the tranquil recesses of the scriptorium. Mr. J. P. Prendergast, in a paper on "Hawks and Hounds in Ireland,"¹ read at a late meeting of this Society, has sufficiently illustrated the pastimes of the nobles and feudal proprietors of the olden time; and by culling some interesting extracts from the Irish State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., bearing particular reference to the Ormonde family, he has given us a curious glimpse of the field sports which the landed proprietors in the county of Kilkenny resorted to for their recreation. But the pastimes of the urban populations, at the same period, present an equally interesting subject for inquiry. Having seen the means of amusement for the indulgence of the gentry and their dependants in the neighbouring rural districts, we must be anxious to ascertain the manner in which the burghers and artisans employed those hours devoted to recreation, in towns such as Kilkenny, where they were confined to mercantile pursuits, couped up within the limits of the mural boundary which the state of the times rendered necessary for their protection, and thus could not—even if the exclusive and monopolising spirit of the aristocratic legislators would permit them, which it did

¹ See p. 144, *ante*.

not—resort to the sports of the field and enjoy the fierce pleasure produced by the chase of the wild boar, the wolf, or deer, or that more refined enjoyment, the peculiar privilege of the royal and noble, the “gentle art of falconry.” The sports of the feudal proprietors are easily traceable on the statute book of the country, through the enactments decreeing to them the exclusive right to the pursuit of game, throughout every century; of course the ancient records of the state take comparatively little notice of the peculiar recreations of the dwellers in the town or city, but fortunately another class of public documents exists, generally calculated to give interesting information on the subject—I allude to the archives of the municipal bodies of the day; and it is my present object to seek by the assistance of the records of the corporation of Kilkenny, to throw such light upon the amusements of its citizens in the olden time, as Mr. Prendergast has, from the “State Papers,” upon the sports of the aristocracy of the surrounding county.

Kilkenny having been founded and received its charter of incorporation from an English nobleman, of course its English colonists and their descendants must naturally be expected to have had recourse chiefly to such pastimes as prevailed in England. Strutt and Brand have amply described the popular sports in that country, and, therefore, we can hope to find no very novel feature in the amusements of the olden inhabitants of this city; but still the illustrations which its municipal records afford, if they be not esteemed of general importance, must at least possess considerable local interest. The two means of amusement which I find to have been most largely resorted to in Kilkenny, during the middle ages, are in striking contrast to each other, the one being rather of an intellectual nature and calculated to inculcate a devotional spirit—the other of a barbarous and brutalizing character, unredeemed by a single recommendatory feature. I refer to the religious plays, or “mysteries” as they were called, and the ferocious sport of bull-baiting. The former was unquestionably the rude nursery from which our regular drama sprung, and as such it was useful in its time; but it also led to the dissemination of scriptural knowledge, however revolting to our modern notions of treating such subjects the means may have been. Fortunately, it was also a much favoured amusement, and those unadorned dramas were listened to with greedy ears alike by the wealthy burgher, the pains-taking artificer, and the haughty knight. But the other pastime, which unfortunately long outlived the more humanizing “mysteries,” was one as well demoralizing as of unmitigated barbarism and brutality; and yet both existed together, exciting equal interest, strangely opposite as they were, through many long generations. The ferocious sport of the bull-ring was once as largely patronized in these countries as at the present day in Spain and Portugal, although it never had amongst our ancestors the poor excuse of the picturesque accessories, and morbid interest caused by the exposure of human life on the part

of the matadores, that makes bull-fighting, in the continental countries which use it, the national amusement and patronized still by nobility and royalty. Fitzstephen,¹ writing in the reign of king Henry II., mentions the baiting of bulls and bears as a pastime enjoyed, during the winter season, by the inhabitants of London, in his time; and this cruel sport continued there, countenanced by the highest classes of society for many generations, and even patronised on various public occasions by two of our female monarchs, Mary and Elizabeth, the chroniclers telling us that with such amusements "their highnesses were right well content." We may assume that bull-baiting was in use in Kilkenny from the period of the establishment of his English colony here by the earl Marshall, in the thirteenth century, and through subsequent ages it continued to be held in high repute. It was taken under the special patronage and control of the corporation from an early period, and all the arrangements connected with the pastime were confided to a sort of committee of the municipal body, which was styled "The Grand Council of Bull-ring." It must have been esteemed a particular honour to be numbered amongst those privileged persons, for I find it was recorded in the "Red Book" of the corporation, that, in the year 1591, two of the burgesses were admitted to the grand council of bull-ring by payment of a fee of twenty marks—no inconsiderable sum in those days. But there was also an important civic functionary, whose duties were not only largely connected with the sport of bull-baiting, but even the title of his office was taken from it. This official, who was the chief constable of the town, and possessed very large powers, before the erection of Kilkenny into a city by the great charter of James I., was styled "the Lord of Bull-ring," the chief magistrate of the town being then designated "the Sovereign." But when, in the year 1609, James' charter made Kilkenny a city, and raised the chief magistrate to the dignity of a mayor, the municipal body also considered it but proper and decorous to change the designation of his leading official to "Mayor of Bull-ring," by which style and title he continued to be known till the end of that century. Dr. Ledwich, in his "Essay towards the History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny," states that the functions of lord of bull-ring were usually "committed to the care of some reputable bachelor, who was able to contribute to the expenses attendant on it [the sport of bull baiting], the Guild supplied the rest. A certain sum was allowed for his banquet, and he had his sheriffs; his election was annual by the citizens, and during his office he was guardian of the bachelors, and on their marriage was entertained by them, so that he passed his time in festivity and good cheer." From an examination of the records of the corporation I have found this

¹ It is scarcely necessary that I should acknowledge my debt to Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes" as the source of the brief

historical notices of the various games and amusements throughout this paper. I do not quote the passages in detail.

statement to be incorrect. The holder of the office was not necessarily a bachelor; he had no sheriffs under his jurisdiction, although in his functions he was usually aided by the sheriffs of the city; neither was his life passed in the very pleasant manner alleged, nor his post one much coveted by the citizens. On the contrary, so onerous were the duties, that heavy fines were frequently paid to escape serving in the capacity of lord of bull-ring, and stringent rules were enforced by the municipal body for compelling those elected to the office to discharge the functions. The minutes of the meeting of the corporation, held on the Friday after St. John's, 1591, set out in the Red Book, supply full information on this subject. The preamble of one of the by-laws then passed, states that the lord of bull-ring was "from time immemorial High Constable, and, in time of necessity, had the command of the forces of the town, for defence thereof, and used to train up the youth in warlike exercises, and had the correction of adultery and fornication." It proceeds to say that it had been the custom to elect this officer from amongst such members of the merchants' guild as had not already filled the office, but several refractory members of the guild upon being elected had refused to serve, wherefore it was—

Enacted—That any person duly elected and refusing to serve himself in person, or by a sufficient person, who formerly bore that office, and at his expense, is to forfeit £20, and 40 days' imprisonment, without bail: to be levied off the land, goods, and chattels—£5 to [go to] the Sovereign, and £5 to the Merchants' Guild, and to be disfranchised. And the person in election to draw lots again, and refusing to serve, to forfeit as aforesaid; and so from time to time till the office be filled. And if any suit be commenced, the fine (except the Lord of Bull-ring's part) to be spent in defence. Lawyers of five years' standing at the Inns of Court not [to be] subject to this office. The Sovereign and Council, with the masters of the Merchants' Guild and Demi-Council, to name those that shall be put in election; and the person elected to certify in fourteen days his willingness to stand; and his not certifying to be taken as a refusal. The person chosen may provide one to serve in his place, who served the office before. Persons absent the day of election may be chosen as if present.

Immediately before the making of those rules, it is recorded that Robert Garvey consented "to serve Lord of Bull-ring for life, without wages, on banquetting day, for being admitted free." And at a meeting held on the 9th July, same year, it was—

Ordered—That all persons that bear the office of Lord of Bull-ring, and all who have borne it, shall wear their gowns at every high feast, station days, and days of common assembly, and burial of every of the Grand Council or Demi-Council, and upon their attendance on the Sovereign, on pain of 2s.

The same day another order was made, which exhibits further duties of this officer:—

Corpus Christi fair to be re-continued, and to begin on Wednesday morning before, and end on Saturday night following; the Sovereign and Barons of the fair to appoint where [.] sold, where the booth for selling drink shall be erected, and where each and every sort of merchandize shall be sold. The Sovereign to write to the principal corporations of the kingdom, and to the chief officers of the same [informing them] that the fair is re-continued, and that the constable, commonly called the Lord of Bull-ring, shall watch the fair by night with a sufficient number of armed men.

Immediately on the passing of the charter of 1609, the title was changed to "Mayor of Bull-ring," and at a meeting of the corporation, held on the 13th of October, in that year, I find "£6 13s. 4d. a-piece granted to the Sheriffs, for their extraordinary trouble, in consideration that they served the office of Mayor of Bull-ring; and the salary of £6 13s. 4d. settled on the future Mayors of Bull-ring." As we have seen that some of the functions of this officer were discharged by night, we can understand the object of the following order, made on the same day:—"The Mayor to keep 2 torches and 2 links, the Sheriffs 1 torch and 1 link; and the Mayor of Bull-ring to provide and keep 2 torches and 2 links, to be used at such times during the Christmas holidays as heretofore accustomed." We have also on the same day, this order with reference to the bull-baiting itself:—

The Butchers of the city always to provide sufficient bulls for the bull-baiting, to be used St. John's day, in the Christmas holidays; and the Mayor of the Bull-ring to provide ropes and ties; and the butchers that do not contribute, to be prohibited following the trade.

On the 9th of February, 1609, it was determined "that every young man of the Merchants' Guild shall give his attendance on the Mayor of Bull-ring, as well by night as by day," and that official was intrusted with the power of committing all such persons as he might see fit, on his own responsibility. On the same occasion the corporation arranged as to "what fees the Mayor of Bull-ring shall have from every couple married;" but, unfortunately, this schedule of fees is not preserved for us; however, it was ordered, by a most incongruous association, that he should have to his own use "all fines for frays, bloodshed, battery, and Hue-and-Cry;" and on the 31st January, 1611, in re-arranging the appropriation of the various fines which it was in the power of the chief magistrate to inflict, there was a special clause entered "saving to the High Constable, or Mayor of Bull-ring, the fines that fall by night." On the 25th April, 1623, we have the following entry—"On a petition of Peter Archer, Mayor of Bull-ring, complaining of the bad attendance of the Merchants' guild last Easter Monday, in mustering with him. Ordered—that the statutes of the corporation be executed upon them if they don't show sufficient cause." In 1630, David Brehon, then Mayor of Bull-ring, was cited to the Consistorial Court, although for what misdeed we are not informed; but the corporation resolved to pay his costs in the suit. On the 13th October, 1631, it was agreed that—

Several sums of the city money having been yearly expended in mending the city drums and the market barrels, and in paying extravagant wages to masons and carpenters employed in the city works; ordered—that from henceforth the Mayor of Bull-ring shall keep up and repair the city drums, and the under clerk of the market the market-barrels and measures.

The last entry which I have been able to trace in the documents of the corporation, respecting this officer, is in the "White Book," under

the date 25th October, 1687, when it was recorded that "Mr. Philip Stapleton was sworn High Constable and Mayor of Bull-ring." In the beginning of the ensuing century, bull-baiting, though still in high favour amongst the lower orders, seems to have fallen into disrepute amongst the wealthier classes of society in Kilkenny, and the municipal body ceased to patronise the barbarous pastime, so that the title of "Mayor of Bull-ring" was discontinued, and the official who previously bore that designation, was retained under the style of "High Constable" only.

But although the corporation ceased to countenance bull-baiting in the eighteenth century, we cannot suppose the change in their sentiments to have arisen from any increased refinement of feeling or rapid advance of civilization amongst them; on the contrary I find that they only relinquished this horrible sport for the enjoyment of the equally savage, though perhaps more refinedly cruel pastime afforded by the cock-pit. Cock-fighting claims the sanction of high antiquity, having been practised at an early period amongst the Greeks and Romans. It was in use amongst the citizens of London immediately after the arrival of the Normans, became a fashionable amusement in the reign of Edward III., was largely patronised by Henry VIII., who added a cock-pit to the palace of Whitehall, and was so much relished by James I. that he amused himself in seeing it twice a-week. Thus the pastime must have been known and practised in Kilkenny long before the eighteenth century, although I have found no mention of it prior to the year 1747, when, on the 31st of August, at a meeting of the corporation, it was—

Ordered, by a majority of the Board, that a cock-pit be built, and that the sum of £20 be given by this city for building the same, provided a convenient place be got for building it upon the city ground, and under such further restrictions as shall seem proper to this Board. That the present Mayor [Ambrose Evans], the Mayor-elect [Joseph Evans], and George Forster be appointed overseers of the same or any two of them.

And it is evident that no time was lost in carrying out this resolution, for on the 20th January following it was ordered—"that the Mayor do pay Mr. George Forster £20 for building a cock-pit, pursuant to former order." This cock-pit was erected in Mary's-lane near St. Mary's Church—strange association!—indeed, according to an original affidavit of the year 1816, which casually came into my possession, it was even built in the church-yard.¹ As illustrating this curious fact, I may be permitted here to give a copy of the document, otherwise in itself of little importance. In consequence of recording the names of the gentlemen who acted as judges, it shows

¹ It would appear from the occasional notices of the "sport" placed on record in *Finn's Leinster Journal*, a newspaper published in Kilkenny at the time, that there was also a cock-pit in John-street somewhat later in the last century. The gentry

of the district, it would seem, were in the habit of challenging those of the adjoining counties to encounters by their feathered representatives, and thus frequent "matches" came off, upon which the credit and celebrity of the respective counties were deemed

the degree of respectable patronage which the barbarous pastime found even within the present century:—

County of the City } By one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for said City.
of Kilkenny, to wit. } This day came before me Patrick Magrath, of Maudlin-street, in
said City, Brogue-maker, and made oath upon the Holy Evangelists.
Deponent saith that the first match of cocks fought in the Cock Pit, St. Mary's Church-
yard, on the 27th February instant, was justly and fairly won by Deponent and his party;
and that this affidavit is made at the desire of the Judges appointed, William Colclough,
Esq., and Mr. Morgan Mara; all which Deponent swears to be true, .

Sworn before me this 28th day }
of February, 1816, }
WM. KINGSMILL, D. Mayor. }

PATT. MAGRATH.

But although bull-baiting, in order to make way for cock-fighting, was excluded from the category of polite recreations in Kilkenny in the beginning of the eighteenth century; it still remained a much affected pastime with the lower classes, the butchers, however, keeping the direction and arrangement of the sport amongst themselves, as they supplied the animal whose torture was to amuse the mob. In this way it survived to the present generation, a bull being baited regularly every Michaelmas Day, on the occasion of the swearing of the new mayor into office, and some mayors even contributing money towards increasing the festivity, in order to make themselves popular with the butchers' fraternity—always considered a very important ally on occasions of political excitement. The original bull-ring was in the neighbourhood of St. Francis' Abbey, where the locality is still termed "The Ring;" but the modern bull-baiting always took place in St. James' Green, and the last time the savage spectacle was there witnessed was so late as the 29th September, 1837.

I have already remarked that when bull-beating was most largely and generally patronized by the inhabitants of Kilkenny of all classes and conditions, the performance of the "mystery," or religious play, excited equal pleasure in the minds of our forefathers. These religious plays originated in the wish of the clergy to substitute for the profane games and dialogues, with which the jongleurs amused the people, means of entertainment which would, at the same time, inculcate a moral lesson and convey instruction upon ecclesiastical and scriptural history in a forcible manner to the minds of the vulgar. Originally performed in the churches and by members

to depend. The following extract from *Pinn's Leinster Journal* of Saturday, April 30th, 1768, will serve to convey an idea of the manner in which these cruel contests were reported for the public information:—

"Monday last the great Stag Match between the Gentlemen of the County of Kilkenny and Queen's County, began at the Cockpit in John-street, and was won by the Gentlemen of the County of Kilkenny; the main consisted of twenty battles, five

of which were fought each day, and ended as follows:—

County Kilkenny.	Queen's County.
Monday . . . 2	Monday . . . 3
Tuesday . . . 2	Tuesday . . . 3
Wednesday . . . 4	Wednesday . . . 1
Thursday . . . 3	Thursday . . . 2
Total 11	Total 9

"Feeders.—Maher, for Kilkenny; Johnson, for Queen's County."

of religious communities, they began to be played in the open air, on stages erected for the purpose, about the thirteenth century, and soon the characters were sustained by the young men of the various trades in the towns. "Mysteries" were, no doubt, performed in Kilkenny from a very early period, but none of the particular subjects chosen for the pieces are recorded till the reign of Edward VI., when on the 20th August, 1552, two of these compositions from the pen of John Bale, then Bishop of Ossory, were acted here, of which not only the titles, but the very plays themselves have come down to us. Bale himself, in one of his curious tracts, mentions the circumstance in these words—"The yonge men, in the forenoon, played a tragedye of God's promyses in the olde law, at the Market Cross, with organe plainges and songes very aptly. In the afternoone agayne they played a comedie of Sanct Johan Baptistes preachings of Christe's baptisynge, and of his temptacion in the wilderness." The first of these mysteries, which is divided into seven acts, is published in the first volume of Dodsley's *Old Plays*, where it is entitled "A Tragedye or Enterlude of God's Promises," and its object is stated to be to manifest "the chefe promyses of God unto man by all ages in the old lawe, from the fall of Adam to the incarnacyon of the Lorde Jesus Christ." The second is printed amongst the tracts in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i.; it is truly, as its title sets out, "A Brief Comedy or Enterlude of Johan Baptystes preachynge," consisting of but one act. The *dramatis personæ*—or, as they are here termed, "interlocutors"—brought before the public in these old dramas, seem extremely strange to our modern tastes, and however unexceptionable the teaching put into the mouths of the actors, the mind naturally shrinks from the idea of personifying upon the stage such characters as "Pater Cælestis," "Jesus Christus," "Joannes Baptista," and so on through all the saints and prophets, together with publicans, pharisees, and saducees, &c. The bishop himself appeared on the stage with "the young men" who were the performers, and with his own lips spoke an opening and closing address, corresponding with our prologue and epilogue. On the 20th April, 1610, the corporation of Kilkenny resolved "That the mayor and aldermen, with advice of the sheriffs and such of the second council as they shall cull shall order the celebration of Corpus Christi Day in decent and solemn manner as usual, and shall employ carpenters to make rails for keeping out horses and the mob, and for placing strangers at the place where the interlude shall be plaid." Seasons of festival, such as Christmas and Easter, were usually selected for the performance of mysteries, though in various towns different times were appointed for the exhibition. Chaucer in his "*Canturbury Tales*," speaks of the "miracle plays" as being exhibited during the season of Lent; the Chester mysteries were performed in that town at Whitsun-tide; those of Coventry, as was the custom in Kilkenny, at Corpus Christi. According to the "*Red Book of Kilkenny*," on the 23rd July, 1610,

the corporation determined to allow "a salary of 20s. for keeping the apparel used on Corpus Christi day station, and the apparel of the morries and players of the Resurrection." The "morries" were probably the morris-dancers. A fragment of a play styled the "Resurrection," written in the thirteenth century, is one of the most ancient of the French mysteries, preserved to the present day. Under the date 13th January, 1631, there was an entry in the "Red Book" of "£3 13s. 4d. per annum, granted to William Consey for teaching to write and read, and instructing the children of the natives for the play on Corpus Christi day;" and we have evidence that the locality chosen for the erection of the stage on these occasions was still the same as in the time of Bishop Bale, for on the 13th April, 1632, the town clerk made this memorandum—"The north side of the market cross granted to two persons for shops during the fair time of Corpus Christi, in regard their shops are stopt up by the stations and play of Corpus Christi day."

However ill agreeing with our modern notions may be the idea of seeing sacred subjects thus treated, we can easily understand that the custom was not without its usefulness in the olden time, not only for the opportunity it presented of drawing away the people from evil modes of recreation and of inculcating good advice on moral subjects, but for its satisfying the consciences of both writer, actor, and spectator, that the time devoted to the production and witnessing of these spectacles, was well spent. Why the corporation of Kilkenny should so largely patronise them is obvious enough, for as being a great attraction in themselves, they helped to draw a larger attendance of persons to the Corpus Christi fair, and thus increased the trade of the town. Civic bodies in other towns, both in Ireland and England, seem to have viewed the matter in this light, for Dugdale, in his "Antiquities of Warwickshire," printed in 1656, speaking of the Coventry mysteries, observes, "I have been told by some old people, who in their younger years were eye-witnesses of these pageants so acted, that the yearly confluence of people to see that show was extraordinary great, and yielded no small advantage to this city." The mysteries continued to be performed in Kilkenny till the year 1650, when they were discountenanced and put down as offensive to the strict principles of the Cromwellian adventurers who then settled in the city and became paramount in the corporation.¹

¹ These "mysteries" are still performed amongst the primitive people of Lower Brittany. Mr. Trollope, in his "Summer in Brittany" (vol. ii. pp. 1-14), gives a highly interesting account of the performance, at which he was present, of a dramatic piece, termed "The Life and Death of St. Helen," and which might stand for a description of any of those scenes that were witnessed at the Market Cross of

Kilkenny three centuries since. Even in America "religious plays" would appear to be acted up to the present day. Mr. Crozier, bandmaster of the 81st regiment, who was present at the meeting of the Kilkenny Archæological Society when this paper was read, stated that, having been in New York in the year 1847, he there saw at one of the minor theatres, a performance of this kind, entitled "The Birth of Moses."

At what time cards (which, whether they had their origin in France, Spain, or Germany, were not known on the Continent till the fourteenth century, or in England till the fifteenth) and dice (which we know were used by the ancients for the purposes of gambling) were introduced in Kilkenny, I have no means of ascertaining, but the first mention I find of them in the corporation records is in the beginning of the seventeenth century. On the 9th February, 1609, a bye-law was made "That no person do play at cards or dice with any freeman's son, or hired servant, on pain of 6s. 8d.; and the person in whose house they shall play to forfeit 6s. 8d." The object of this enactment was to prevent masters from suffering either from the loss of time on the part of their servants and apprentices, or from the latter being tempted to purloin the property placed in their care, to enable them to indulge their gambling propensities; and it is in some degree only the echo of the statute of the 11th Henry VIII., c. 2, prohibiting apprentices from using cards except in the Christmas holidays, and then only in their masters' houses; and forbidding any householder to permit card-playing on his premises at any other season, under a penalty of 6s. 8d. for every offence. But on the same 9th of February, 1609, the corporation of Kilkenny also made another bye-law on this subject, having reference to the community generally. It was enacted that "none of the inhabitants do play at cards, dice, or any unlawful game for more than 8d. at a time (shooting and tennis excepted), on pain of 6s. 8d. on the winner"—the loser it appears was considered sufficiently punished by his ill-luck at the game.

With respect to the amusements here excluded from the category of "unlawful games"—shooting and tennis—by the former the practice of archery is evidently meant to be implied. A poem written by Robert Shatterell in the reign of Charles II., in praise of archery, has the following stanza:—

Forsake your lov'd Olympian games awhile,
With which the tedious minutes you beguile—
Wave quoits and nine-pins, those bear-garden sports,
And follow shooting, often used in courts.

Again, amongst the Percy Reliques:—

The butts are set, the shootings made,
And there will be great royaltie,
And I am sworn into my bille,
Thither to bring my Lord Percy.

The place in which the butts, or targets, for the practice of archery, were usually set up in Kilkenny, is still known as "the Butts' green," although the inhabitants of that populous locality have very little notion of the origin of the appellation.¹ On the statute-book

¹ There is a place in the town of Warwick still called "The Butts," no doubt from the same circumstance as gives name to the locality in Kilkenny.

of the realm there are many ordinances for enforcing practice with the bow and arrows in Ireland. In the reign of Henry VIII., as would appear from the State Papers, the Government was apprehensive of the decline of archery, and thus in the year 1537, we have the report of a commission recommending to the Lord Deputy, St. Leger, "Item, bycause the strengyth of this countrey is much decayed in defaulte of archers, it is therfor mete some provysion shulde be made that 3 or 400 wyche bowes, of all sortes, be brought hyther, and solde emonges the power comyns, with commaundymnt that buttes be made in every paryshe, and none other game usid but shooteing." And also the Chief Justice, Luttrell, in the same year, suggests to the Deputy "to have certain bowyers and fletchers sende hyther [into Ireland] to make childrens bowes and shaftes, and the chyliden, after scole, to use shoteing one owre or two every daye. And also to have much bowys sent hyther at the Kinges charges . . . to thentent to cause men and chyliden to be archers, and bothe to be caused to use shewteing on hollydayes, and the counsta- bles, with the over sight of the justices of the peace, to see this occu- pied and usid."

The corporation of Kilkenny no doubt classed tennis with archery as being a manly sport. It appears from Roque's map of the town that the tennis court was situate in St. James'-street, in the premises at present in the occupation of the Messrs. Reade, as a bacon yard. The game is said to have originated in France, and was known in England certainly in the reign of Henry VII., as the accounts of that king's losses at the play are preserved amongst the public records. Henry VIII. built a tennis court at his palace of Whitehall, and James I. recom- mended the game to his son Charles, as an exercise becoming a prince; but we are led to believe that till the reign of Charles II., tennis did not become a game of general use amongst the common people, and it is, therefore, curious to find it noticed amongst the ordinary amusements of the burghers of Kilkenny, in the reign of James I.; however, it was probably brought over from the English court by some of the Ormonde family, whose example the Kilkenny folk would be anxious to follow. Another game, that of bowls (which at the present day, I believe, is no where practised in Ireland, although one of the most popular pastimes in England, where almost every village ale-house is provided with the adjunct of a bowling-green), appears to have for a time occupied the attention of the Kilkenny people, it having been patronised by the second duke of Ormonde. The old maps of the city, beside a bowling-green in the Castle grounds, also mark one in the neighbourhood of Bishop's-hill, both of which have long since disappeared. That voluminous writer, John Dunton, having taken a trip to Kilkenny in the year 1698, has left us an interesting description of the Castle as it was then arranged, and having noticed the picture-gallery, he says—"I next went to see the Bowling-green ad- joining this Princely Seat. It is an exact square, and fine enough

for a Duke to bowl on; nay, Church and State were here at Play—for when the Doctor and I came to the Green, the Duke was then flinging the first bowl; next trowled the Bishop of —; Col. R —; with about four inferior clergy.”¹

The sabbath was the chief day for the indulgence of popular pastimes down to the middle of the seventeenth century, when a stricter discipline was introduced into the government of Kilkenny by the passing of municipal offices into the hands of the settlers whom Cromwell left there. Under the date 26th December, 1656, the following resolution of the corporation is set out in the “White Book:”

It is further ordered that ye Sar'ts [sergeants] shall every sabath day walk aboutt ye towne, morning and evening, during ye time of service, to find outt those whoe walke in ye streets, and by drinking or otherwise playing att dice or cards prophane and brake ye sayd sabath day, and call ye constables of each warde to their assistance, and if they finde any person soe offending, to carry them to prison, and there do continue till discharged, and to bringe ye house keeper to prison also.

It would appear, too, that in the beginning of the following century the dissolute characters of the city, like Hogarth's idle apprentice and his associates, used to assemble to gamble on the tombstones in the public cemeteries, which were not then inclosed and fenced from intrusion, as at present. On the 11th of February, 1717, the corporation made the following bye-law:—

Whereas, several idle and disorderly p'sons have of late years, and still continue to assemble themselves in the church-yards of this Citty, there to exercise themselves in the unlawfull sports, prophaneing the name of God by their frequent cursing and swearing, and abusing their respective parents and masters, by neglecting their duties to them—for remedy whereof, we the Mayor and Citizens doo order and enact, that for the future such beadles or other officers belonging to the Mayor of this City, and not then immediately attending the said Mayor, together with the constables of St. Mary's Parish, and John's Parish, do, from time to time, visit the said church yards, taking to their assistance some of their neighbours, apprehend all or some of the p'sons, playing or throwing att cocks as aforesaid, and them bring before the Mayor of this City to be punished according to law; and if the said Beadles and other officers and constables, for the time being, shall neglect or refuse to doo their duty herein, that such idle and disorderly persons shall meet and continue their evil practices aforesaid, that then, on complaint of the said Mayor or other magistrate to this board, the said beadle or beadles, or other officer soe neglecting or refusing, shall, for the first offence, forfeit 10s. sterling, to be stopped out of his salary or wages, and for the second offence be discharged from his service of beadle or other office which he beareth in this City; and such constable indited for his said neglect or refusal at the Sessions then next following; and that the said beadles, constables, and other officers, may be without excuse, it is hereby ordered that a copy of this by-law be immediately fixed on the Tholsell and gates of this Citty.

I do not find any notice, in the records of the corporation, of May, Midsummer, or Christmas games in Kilkenny in the olden time, al-

¹ Dunton's "Dublin Scuffle," p. 53. The author of a tour in Ireland, in letters purporting to be written by "Two English Gentlemen," and the second edition of which was published in 1748, in describing the ruinous condition into which Kilkenny Castle had fallen after the flight of the second Duke of Ormonde to France, ob-

serves:—"The Bowling-Green is now common for any Gentleman that pays for his Pleasure: it is generally the Rendezvous of both Sexes for an Evening's Walk; and I will assure your Lordship, I have seen the *Beaumonts* here make a very handsome Figure," p. 180. There are now no traces whatsoever of the Castle bowling-green.

though the Christmas waits, still called here, must be a relic of the latter; and we have still also faint remains of the two former in the May-bush boys¹ and the St. John's day bonfires. Neither is there any reference to athletic exercises, such as hurling² or wrestling, nor to horse-racing and such like amusements, which must have been in use. It would seem, however, that in the last century, the young women of the town, like the damsels of the days of Fionn M'Cumhail, according to the legend, were in the habit of running on foot for a prize, and that this kind of sport was held out as an inducement to strangers, as were the "mysteries" of previous centuries, to visit Kil-

¹ In the last century, the May observances of the lower orders in Kilkenny, although not interfered with by the regulations of the corporation, appear to have been regarded by the citizens in the light of a public nuisance, if we may rely on the following curious letter, published in *Finn's Leinster Journal*, of the 4th May, 1768:—

"To the Printer of the Leinster Journal.

"SIR—Though the following piece of advice may appear something like—*After Death the Doctor*—it may, however (like a remedy taken for the ague when the fit is over), contribute in some measure to prevent the next periodical fit of the mob of this town.

"For many years past the peace of this city has been disturbed every May-eve, by a vast multitude of audacious fellows, who assemble together to collect *May-balls* among the new-married folks. They sally out with Herculean clubs in their hands, and as those unmeaning *May-balls* are seldom or never given without a piece of *drink-money* to boot, such bloody battles ensue in different quarters of the town, such confusion and uproar, as would induce a passing stranger to believe that a furious band of wild Indians had broken in upon us; that Magistracy was asleep, or that it had lost all power and influence over the subject. The mischief that follows from this barbarous and unheeded custom is more *feelingly* understood than can be expressed. Not to mention the fractures, contusions, &c., which are well known to happen on such occasions, and by which many of those miscreants are disabled for a considerable time from working for themselves, and for the support of those who entirely depend upon their sound legs and arms, many Gentlemen's gardens are wantonly robbed of all their beauties, the cultivation of which cost the owner a vast deal of trouble and expense; the hedges

and fences, in the outlets of our City, are stript of full-grown hawthorns, whose late blooming pride and fragrantcy is now miserably dying away on dunghills before cabin doors, by way of *May-bushes*, no longer, alas! to afford a nuptial bed to the new-married linnet and his mate, but fastened in the ground for the vilest purposes—to hang filthy clouts upon.

"And shall Magistracy stand by, looking on such mischievous abuses like an unconcerned spectator?—No—that same justice and humanity, which has already redressed so many grievances in this City, will certainly prescribe the following remedy, to be used before the mob's fit returns again.

"RECIPE—Twenty-four drams or hours imprisonment; as many blisters as can be placed upon the scapulars; their names recorded with infamy on the Grand-jury's list; for all those club-bearers, and for all those hedge-robbers, if any of them can be discovered and can be convicted at the next Quarter Sessions; if not, let such public and previous warnings be given for the time to come, by the inferior officers of the City, as may deter those wicked bullies, and those wild boars who have trampled upon, and ravished all the sweets of our little *Edens*, as well as all givers of *May-balls*, from ever doing the like again. I am, Sir, *not a sufferer*, but a hearty well-wisher of the City of Kilkenny, and your constant reader,

"FLORUS."

² It would appear from the file of *Finn's Leinster Journal*, for the year 1768, that at that period hurling was quite an aristocratic amusement in the rural districts, and there are frequent challenges recorded, between the gentlemen of Kilkenny, Tipperary, and the Queen's County, to hurling matches, which were held on the fair-green of Urrlingford, the commons of Gowran, and the green of Gurteen, near Durrow.

kenny on the occasion of fairs being held in it. I am indebted to our excellent town clerk, Patrick Watters, Esq., for the reference to this pastime, which had escaped my researches. It appears that on the 10th June, 1703, John Blunden being then mayor, the corporation came to the following resolution :—

Ordered, that the bell-man do every market-day give public notice, that there will be a fair held within the walls of this city on the feast day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and on the feast of St. Kennys next, and all persons to be custom free; and that the clerk do post up papers on the gates accordingly; and that two pieces of plate of 20s. value each be prepared by Mr. Mayor, at the charge of this City, to be run for by four maids, as the Mayor shall appoint.

And on the 22nd August, 1713, it was—

Ordered, that the Town Clerk do post up that the fair held on St. Canice's day, being the 11th October next, be custom free to all buyers and sellers for seven years then to come; and that a plate of 23s. value, yearly, be run for by five young women to be approved of by the Mayor; and that Mr. Receiver do have it advertised in the *Dublin Gazette*,¹ at the City charge.

It will be seen that all the popular pastimes of the practice of which in Kilkenny, in the olden time, the municipal records afford us positive evidence, are almost exclusively of Norman or Anglo-Saxon derivation; but there is one bye-law which may be taken as affording a clue to the use of games which were of purely Celtic origin. On the 25th June, 1638, this order was made—"No Mayor to go to any wake to eat or drink, on pain of £10." From this I think it is reasonable to suppose that the wake orgies—those remnants of Pagan rites, all traces of which now, at length, in the nineteenth century, have been, I believe, happily obliterated amongst the usages of our peasantry, by the determined discouragement and denunciation of the Roman Catholic clergy²—may have been indulged in by the citizens of Kilkenny two hundred years since.

¹ Having searched the file of the *Dublin Gazette*, for the year 1713, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, I find that the advertisement, ordered as above, was never inserted.

² The public, generally, are under the impression that the pastors of the peasantry have exerted themselves to put down wakes, merely from the unseemliness of the indulgence of mirth and games, however innocent in their character, in the chamber, or the house of death. I so thought myself until recently, when I was undeceived by Mr. Hackett, of Middleton, a gentleman whose research on the subject of existing traces of Pagandom in Ireland, is well known to archaeologists. Subsequent inquiries amongst those who are likely to be best informed as to popular customs, from mixing in the games and observances of the peasantry in early youth, and who have, therefore, had ocular

demonstration of the facts to which they testified, have fully corroborated Mr. Hackett's statement as to the gross obscenity of the wake orgies, and his speculations as to their Heathen origin. Whilst we must rejoice that customs so revolting to all notions of delicacy and civilization, and so largely calculated to demoralize our people, have been put down, and I trust eradicated, it is yet to be regretted that some record is not likely to be preserved of the main features of observances so curious, and calculated to be so interesting to archaeological investigators, as being obviously Pagan rites (however diluted and modified in the lapse of ages), coming down to our own day in the practice of the peasantry of at least three of the provinces of Ireland; but so marked are they in every part by the all-pervading licentiousness of Paganism, that to spare the feelings of the modest reader,

Such, and other means of recreation, as simple or as barbarous, were the resources of our ancestors; and fed and surfeited as the present generation has been by the ever-teeming harvests of exciting fiction and intellectual amusement—the lecture, the theatre, the opera, the concert—with every taste gratified and every leisure moment filled up, it seems scarcely possible to conceive a state of existence when the same mental aliment was not forthcoming, and when what

if written at all, they should be confided to the guardianship of a dead language. In this place I can but refer to their nature in the most general terms. These wake games were never performed in the houses of persons who felt really afflicted by the bereavement which they might be supposed to have endured in the demise of a member of their family. They were reserved for the deaths of old people who had survived the ordinary span of life, or young children who could not be looked upon as an irreparable loss. They were placed under the conduct of some peasant of the district who excelled in rustic wit and humour, and this person, under the title of "Borekeen," may be termed the hierophant of the observances, whose orders were carried into force by subordinate officers, all arrayed in fantastic habiliments. The "game" usually first performed was termed "Bout," and was joined in by men and women, who all acted a very obscene part which cannot be described. The next scene generally was termed "Making the Ship," with its several parts of "laying the keel," forming the "stem and stern," and erecting "the mast," the latter of which was done by a female using a gesture and expression, proving beyond doubt that it was a relic of Pagan rites. The "Bull and the Cow" was another game strongly indicative of a Pagan origin, from circumstances too indelicate to be particularised. The game called "Hold the Light," in which a man is blindfolded and flogged, has been looked upon as a profane travesty of the passion of our Lord; and religion might also be considered as brought into contempt by another of the series, in which a person caricaturing a priest, and wearing a rosary, composed of small potatoes strung together, enters into conflict with the "Borekeen," and is put down and expelled from the room by direction of the latter. If the former games be deemed remnants of Pagan rites and of ante-Christian origin, these latter may be looked upon as anti-Christian, and devised with a view of making religion ridiculous, at a time when the masses had

a lingering predilection for Paganism. "Turning the Spit" and "Selling the Pig" are the names of two other of those games; in that called "Drawing the Ship out of the Mud" the men engaged actually presented themselves before the rest of the assembly, females as well as males, in a state of nudity, whilst in another game the female performers attired themselves in mens' clothes and conducted themselves in a very strange manner. Brief as are these particulars, they will give sufficient idea of the obscene and demoralising tendency of the wake orgies, and show the necessity which existed for their total suppression. It is, however, right to say that the peasantry who practised them had no idea of outraging propriety or religion in their performance, holding an unquestioning faith in the old traditions that such observances were right and proper at wakes, whilst under any other circumstances they would shrink with horror from such indecorous exhibitions. Amongst those obscene practices, some of the ordinary "small plays" in which young people in every class of society indulge, were engaged in at wakes; but it is probable they were of comparatively modern introduction; of the latter, those chiefly used were "Cutchacutchcoo" and "Hunt the Slipper," known amongst the peasantry by the name of "Brogue about." The "Drohedy Dance," supposed to be the ancient Morris dance, was also sometimes had recourse to at wakes. Mr. Hackett traces a similarity to our wake orgies, in the rites still used by many savage peoples—for instance, the games of the Mandan Indians commemorative of the "Big Canoe," or Ark; and he has drawn my attention to a passage in the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith," in which a missionary priest reported that he had experienced comparatively little difficulty in converting the Feejee islanders to an acknowledgment of Christianity but he found it utterly impossible to induce the natives to omit the obscenities enacted between death and interment. This may be merely a coincidence, but it is, at least, a remarkable one.

has become for us a very necessity of our daily lives, was either utterly unknown, or was enjoyed as a luxury, rarely and with extreme difficulty to be obtained.

INAUGURATION
OF
CATHAL CROBHDHEARG O'CONOR,
KING OF CONNAUGHT.

TRANSLATED BY MR. JOHN O'DALY, WITH NOTES BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, ESQ.,
LL.D., M.R.I.A.

THE following tract, on the inauguration of Cathal Crobhdhearg (the red-handed) O'Conor, last king of Connaught, was written by Donogh Bacach (the lame), son of Tanaidhe O'Maelconaire, who was present at the ceremony, and whose privilege it was to place the royal rod in the hands of the king, when he assumed the sovereignty of Connaught. I made the copy from a manuscript written by Eoghan O'Keeffe,¹ a celebrated Munster poet and scribe in the year 1684, which is the only copy I ever met with.

Eoghan O'Keeffe, the transcriber, was born at Glenville, in the county of Cork, in the year 1656, and died, parish priest of Doneraile, in 1720. He wrote several excellent poems, on national events, in his native tongue—one of which, on the defeat of the Irish at the battle of Aughrim, where St. Ruth's jealousy of the Irish officers caused the destruction of James' last army, is in my collection, and begins thus:—

“*‘S b-crohdhearg-an-ne an Cacánur, do ífol Cíbhí,
'S cailleadh an t-íacáirne do'n bpoitís céadga;
Feannmar na n-Íallacón a g-críc Fhéibí,
Cúg fealaib me gan feargairneac an beinn gléibhe.*”

“The slaughter of Heber's race on Aughrim's plain,
And the loss of the battle-field by the same,
The inheritance of the Stranger in Felim's land,
Has left me awhile, comfortless, on a mountain side.”

I have made copies of almost all his compositions from the originals, some of which are in the Hudson collection, in the Royal Irish Academy, while others have been carried to a foreign land.

To Dr. O'Donovan's kindness the reader is indebted for the valuable notes which accompany the text.

¹ For a further account of Eoghan O'Keeffe and his brother bards, see my *Poets and Poetry of Munster*, second edition, p. 38.

Rf3h CONNACHT.

Պօժ մաճ Կաթիլ Երօթծերնչ ծօ չաճալ յիշաճէ Կոռաճէ յար
մ-Բար և աճար. Պեյ՛ Hugo de Lacý ծօ էաճէ և ղ-Երլորոն ծօ մի-
էօլ յիշ Տաճրան աղ Եկաճալոն ըր; ԲորԲարլ շօչաճ շար ԲորԲարոն
Ե՛բար և ղ-Երլորոն ըե կոն ղա մեյ՛ ըր Hugo de Lacý, աղ Յհալլա

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
CATHAL, THE RED-HANDED O'CONOR,
KING OF CONNAUGHT.

Anno Domini, 1224. Cathal Crobhdhearg, son of Turlogh Mor O'Conor, king of Connaught, died. He was a man calculated to strike fear and dread more than any other Irishman of his day ; he was a man who burned the greatest number of homesteads, and took the greatest number of preys from both the English and Irish who opposed him ; he was the most valorous and undaunted man in opposing his enemies that ever lived. It was he who blinded, killed, and subdued the greatest number of rebels and enemies. He was the most gentle and peaceable of all the kings that ever reigned in Ireland. It was he who founded and endowed the largest number of churches and monasteries, and established permanent congregations, of any of his contemporaries. He was a supporter of the poor and humble people of God with food, raiment, and all other necessities of life, in his own palace. He was the man above all men whom God endowed with the greatest benignity, and on whom He bestowed prosperity, plenty, and abundant crops during his reign. He was, without exception, of all his contemporaries, the man who won for himself the character of purity of mind and amiability towards all persons. He was, indeed, a man who remained contented with his lawful wife, and who, after her demise, observed the strictest continence until the day of his own death. He was a charitable discreet man towards laymen as well as ecclesiastics ; he was mild, respectful, and tender towards females ; liberal, open-hearted, and friendly to poets, and all professors of science without distinction ; he was the same person whose existence had been predicted by saints and holy seers ; a man who witnessed the most strange scenes and valour in course of his battles and conflicts, but God preserved him, yet it was often feared he would not escape ; God, however, supported him and delivered him from all his difficulties. He was endowed with courage since he left the milk of his nurse. He was a man who sustained his dignity with a rare degree of bravery and manliness ; a man who never refused to concede her own proper laws to the Church ; he was a just, upright, friendly, pious, justice-loving man ; a man who never meditated treachery or injustice against any man, even when provoked or angry, up to the moment of his universally-lamented death, on which occasion he received the sacrament of Extreme Unction, after having done penance for his sins. It is necessary to remark, for the reader's information, that Cathal Carrach O'Conor disputed the sovereignty of Connaught with Cathal Crobhdhearg ; and that the English took part in the contention in support of both claimants, viz., John De Courcy supported Cathal Crobhdhearg, and William Fitzadelm, Cathal Carrach.

ազur ար Յհօրձեալսն Երբեք, ո՞ր շար էրդեաճար Յալլ Երբեք
յն յ-աշտն, ազur Յո ո՞ր յօնարբաւ յաճ Յո հ-Ալլեայն Յո հ-Պօ
Օ'Նեյլլ ուն Օղիւհ; ազur շար ու էրօնօրեւ Յալլ ազur Յօրձեյլ
Երբեք յա յ-յօնարայնն, եաճօն, Պօ մաւ Կաթալ Կրօյծեյրն,
ուն Կօնաէ; Դօնեաճ Կարեբեաճ Օ'Բրալ, ուն Կաճ-Պիւման;
Պարմայ Կարաճ Պաւ Կարեայն, ուն Պար-Պիւման; ազur
մալե Երբեք, ար շեան, եյէ ամսն յօ էրեալ Եճայն ազur
Կօնալլ; շար յաշտեաճ յաճ ար մայն Պարեյրմե Յօ Պար-Եաշտ,
շար աճ ար ըն յարաճ Յեյլ ազur արայն յօ Օ'Նեյլլ ազur ար
մաւայն Hugo de Lacý, յօնար Յօ յ-եարմաճ ուն եաճօնա ար շար ըն.

Anno Domini, 1224. Կարմ մօր Լե Յալլսն Երբեք
ա յ-Ալլ-Կաթ. Պօ մաւ Կաթալ Կրօյծեյրն յօ ծալ յ-յօնարայնն յա
կարմե ըն; ազur քալաճ ար ար, ո՞ր Յօ յ-արմս Կլլիւմ
Պարմալ, մաւ Կարա Պարմալ, եաճօն, ա շարայն յօնարմ քար
Յօ յ-ա քօնարմ ար ար յա կարմե արմ; շար յաշ ար ար էրեան ա
ար յա կարմե արմ է, յօնար շար էրօնար յօնարմ արմ է.

Anno Domini, 1228. Պալ Պօ մաւ Կաթալ Կրօյծեյրն,
յօ ըն արմե քե Յալլսն, եաճօն, քե հ-Կլլիւմ Պարմար մաւ Տեաճ-
քա Պարմար, աշ Լաթար Կաթ-Կարեայն, Յօ յ-արմս Կլլիւմ
Պարմար ար ըն; ազur ուն եաճայն ար Լաթար արմն աճ արմն
յօ եաճ-ճարմն, եաճօն, Կօնար Պաւ Կօնարայն, ազur Պարմար
մաւ Պարմար, ազur Պարմարմար Պաւ Պարմարայն հ-Ալ Կօն-
արմար, ազur Կաճ Պաւ Պարմարմար հ-Ալ-Կարմար, ազur Կարմար
Օ'Պարմարմարմար. Կարմ արմարմ Կլլիւմ Պարմար ազur արմար
արմար ըն ար Յ-արմ. Եր ար ըն արմարմ յօ արմարմ Պօ ար
քալ ազur ար մաւար յօ յարմ ար ա յ-Ալլ-Կաթ; ազur յօ արմն
Պօ ար շար ուն արմարմար յա Յալլ, ազur յօ արմն ա եաճ-արմ
ար-Կլլիւմ Պարմար ազur յօ ըն արմն յօ Լաթար յօ քար ազur յօ
Պարմարմար Տեարմ, ազur յօ Hugo Յարմար; ազur ուն արմն
Կօնարմա Պաւ Լարմ յօ Լաթար արմ ըն; ազur յօ արմ Կլլիւմ
Պարմար ազur ար արմ արմ յօ յա Յալլսն ար Լաթար արմ. Կօ յա
արմարմ քօնարմ յօ Կօնարմարմ ար արմարմ ըն, եաճօն, մաւ Տեաճ-
քա յօ արմար, արմ արմարմար ա մաւ ազur ա արմար, ազur արմարմ Կօ
նարմ արմ արմ, ազur ուն յօ Կօնարմարմ.

Պօ յօ Պօ, մաւ Կաթալ Կրօյծեյրն, արմար արմար ա յօ-
նարմ Կօնարմ, արմար ա արմ Դօնեաճ Կաթ Պաւ Կարմար յօ
Պարմար-արմար:—

Կօ յօ Կաթ Կրմարմար յա Յ-արմ,
արմարմ արմար Կաթար;
Կարմար արմար, արմար շար արմ,
Աշ Պօ, մաւ Կաթալ Կրօյծեյրն.

Պօ, մաւ Կաթալ Կրօյծեյրն, յօ արմարմ յօ արմարմ յօ արմարմ
արմար ա Յ-Կարմ Տեաճ-քա Պարմար, ազur ա աշ քօնարմ աշ արմար ար
արմար. Եր արմար արմ ուն արմարմ է, եաճօն, Տեարմ Կարմարմ, յօ
արմարմ ար յա արմարմ Լե Տեաճ-քա Պարմար. Եր արմարմարմ արմար

Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, assumed the sovereignty of Connaught after the death of his father. The sons of Hugo De Lacy came into Ireland the same year, contrary to the will of the king of England. Wars and dissensions arose among the English and Irish, in consequence of the arrival of these sons of Hugo De Lacy. The English of Ireland rose up in arms against them, and expelled them into Ulster, under the protection of Hugh O'Neill, king of Aileach. The English and Irish who mustered in opposition to them were, Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, king of Connaught, Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien, king of Thomond, Diarmuid Cluasach (i. e., with the *large ears*) Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, and the chief men of Ireland indiscriminately, except the Cineal Eoghain and Connail; and they forced pledges and hostages from Hugh O'Neill and the sons of Hugo De Lacy, and by that means peace was ratified between them.

Anno Domini, 1224. A great assembly of the English of Ireland was held in Dublin. Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, who attended that meeting, was betrayed; but William Marshall, son of the earl Marshall, his bosom friend, with a strong body of forces, entered the assembly, rescued him from amidst the multitude, and restored him to liberty.

Anno Domini, 1228. Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, agreed to meet the English in a conference, namely, William, son of Geoffry Morris, at Lathach of Caichtuaithbhil¹. William Morris attended there, but did not cross the Lathach. He (Hugh) brought a few of his chief men along with him, namely, Cormac Mac Tomalty, Diarmuid Mac Manus, Mahon, son of Muirheartach O'Conor, Teige, son of Mahon O'Ceirin, and Rudhraidhe O'Maelbhreanuinn [O'Mulrenin.] William Morris, accompanied by eight horsemen, came forward to meet them. At that moment Hugh recollected the bad faith and treachery practised against him in Dublin, and as soon as the English alighted, having seized William Morris in his robust arms, made him prisoner that instant, together with Master Sliney and Hugo Gardin. The constable of Athlone was slain on that occasion; and William Morris and the rest of the English were sent across the Lathach or slough. The capture of the son of Geoffrey proved to be an advantageous event to Connaught; for he wrested from them his son, daughter, and other prisoners belonging to Connaught, that were in their custody, together with a peace for the Connaughtmen.

Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, reigned four years over the province of Connaught, as Donogh Bacach, son of Tanaidhe O'Maelconaire records:—

“Rath Cruaghan of the battles,
The habitation of [Meave] the daughter of Eochaidh;
Was four years, without deception,
Possessed by Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg.”

¹ *Lathach of Caichtuaithbhil*, i. e., Caichtuibhil's *slough*, now Bel-Lathaigh, a town-land and small village on the west side of the

town of Athlone, in the parish of St. Peter's. This lathach so memorable in the local traditions, is now dried up.

Hugo de Lacý an Uilliam Mhorrair, mac an Shuaircír, do ionadh an feall riu an Abó aluinn O'Concúbair, a zur a beirid araisle zur ab tre éad do buail an raor é; óir ní raib a n-Eirinn aen durne ba aine, ba beóda, a zur ba cúbda, na Abó O'Concúbair.

Jr amlaib dleažtair níz Connacht do niožad, éadon, O'Concúbair, ainiul do ionadh a n-allód, a zur ainiul nód óndaiz Patraic an la nód niožardar Duach Salac, mac Briain, nyc Eacac Mhuize-meadaib, éadon, da Earboz deaz nód bñ aza niožad, maille ne Patraic, a zur dližib cónairbuidé na n-Earboz riu do beir aza niožad, éadon, cónairba Phatraic, ó Ailrinn; cónairba Bhrizde ó Bhaile Tobair Bhrizde; Cónairba Dhaconna, ó Ear Muc n-Eirc; cónairba Bheožaid, ó Anó Carina; cónairba Bhearaiz, ó Chluain Coribde; cónairba Fhaiclinn, ó Chluain Tuaircirt; cónairba Bhréanuirn, ó Oždeala; Cónairba Cholmain, ó Mhaizéod; cónairba Siailain, ó Mhaiz Siailain; cónairba Earboiz Soicill, ó Loc Salceairn; cónairba Shreallain ó Chraoib; cónairba Chaillín, ó Fhjódnach; a zur cónairba Fhíneir, ó Chluain Creanna. Dleažtair umoirna da éaoiréac deaz ril Muipeadaiz do beir aza niožad, éadon, O'Flannazair, O'Maoilbheanuirn, O'Fionnachtaiz;—ir iad riu aet Máz Oiréacéaiz do cun leó, a ceirne niož-éaoiriz;—O'Flainn, O'Fallainn, O'h-Ainlde, O'Brian, O'Conceanuirn, O'h-Eirín, O'Seacnaraiz;—Do éož O'h-Eirín a zur O'Seacnaraiz éaoirizeac dób fén ó níz Connacht;—O'Taidz or cionn éažlaiz níz Connacht na éaoiréac éažlaiz; a zur dleažtair do'n niožraib eile riu beir aza niožad, éadon, rlioct Abó Fhínn, mac Feargna nyc Feargura,

¹ *The lawful form.* Connell Mageoghegan tells us how the king of Connaught was inaugurated in these words:—

"A. D. 1316. Rory O'Connor went to Carn-Fraoigh, where he was invested King of Connaught by the *twelve* chieftains of Silemori, twelve Coworbas, and other spirituals that were accustomed to use the ceremonies usual at the time of the Investiture of the King."—*Annals Clon.*

² *Aifinn*, now Elphin, in the county of Roscommon, of which St. Patrick is the patron.

³ *Ballytober* (baile tobair bñzde) i.e. the town of St. Bridget's well, now Ballintober, in the county of Roscommon, where there is an old church and a holy well dedicated to St. Bridget of Kildare.

⁴ *Dachonna of Eas-mic n-Eirc*, i.e. St. Dachonna, son of Erc, patron of Eas-mic-n-Eirc, on the river Boyle, situated three-fourths of a mile west of the town of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon. The coarb of this church was O'Flynn, and the place is now called *Eas-ai-Fhloinn*, *Anglicé* Assylin, from his name. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A.D. 748, 1209, 1222.

⁵ *Ard-Carna*, now Ardcarne, situated four miles due east of Boyle, in the barony of Boyle, and county of Roscommon. The patron saint of this place was Beo-Aedh, i.e. *Aidus vivas*, a Bishop, who died in the year 523. His festival was celebrated there on the 8th of March, annually. The coarbs of this saint were the O'Maoilciarains, now Mulherins.

⁶ *Bearach of Clusin Coirbhthe*, i.e. St. Barry of Clooncorby. This church is now more usually called Kilbarry, or Termonbarry, a celebrated church in the *Desert* or wilderness of Kinel-Dofa, in the east of the county Roscommon. His festival was annually celebrated here on the 15th February. The coarb of St. Barry of this place was Mac Coillidh, now barbarized Cocks, and Cox. The crozier of St. Barry is still preserved, and in the possession of Patrick, son of Roger O'Hanly, an attorney. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A.D. 916, 1128, 1146, 1151, 1155, 1233, 1385, 1405, 1441, 1452, and 1485.

⁷ *Faithleann of Clusin Tuaiscirt*, i.e., Faithleann, son of Aedh Damhain, of Clontuskert, an old church near Lanesborough,

Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, was slain by a single stroke of a carpenter's axe, in the court of Geoffrey Morris, while he was a being bathed by the carpenter's wife. John Dundon, the man who killed him, was hanged next day by order of Geoffrey Morris. It was at the instigation of the sons of Hugo De Lacy, that William Morris, son of the justice, caused that treacherous deed to be committed upon the comely Hugh O'Conor. Others, however, assert that the carpenter killed him in a fit of jealousy; for there was not in Ireland a human being more handsome, vigorous, or valiant, than Hugh O'Conor.

This is the lawful form¹ of inauguration of the king of Connaught, namely, O'Conor, as it was established in the olden time, and ordained by St. Patrick on the day that he inaugurated Duach Gallach, son of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muidhmheadhain, on which occasion there were at his inauguration along with St. Patrick twelve bishops. And it is necessary that the coarbs of these bishops should still be present at his inauguration, namely, the coarb of Patrick, at Ailfinn,² the coarb of Bridget of Ballytober,³ the coarb of Dachonna⁴ of Eas mic n-Eire [now Assylin], the coarb of Beo-Aedh of Ard Carna,⁵ the coarb of Bearach of Cluain Coirbhte⁶ [now Kilbarry], the coarb of Faithleann⁷ of Cluain Tuaiscirt, the coarb of Breanuinn of Oghdeala⁸ [Ogulla], the coarb of Colman of Mayo,⁹ the coarb of Gialan of Magh Gialain,¹⁰ the coarb of bishop Soichell¹¹ of Loch Salchearn, the coarb of Greallan of Creeve,¹² the coarb of Caillin of Fenagh,¹³ and the coarb of Finin of Cluain Creamha.¹⁴ It was also ordained that the twelve dynasts of the Sil-Murray should be present at his inauguration, viz.,

in O'Hanly's country, in the east of the county of Roscommon. The festival of this saint (who was not a bishop) was celebrated on the 4th of June.

⁸ *Oghdeala*, now the church of Ogulla, near Rathcroghan, to the east of Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon. The patron saint of this parish was the celebrated St. Brenainn or Brendan, who was the founder of the see of Clonfert, and died in the year 576. His festival was celebrated on the 16th May.

⁹ *Colman of Mayo*. St. Colman had been bishop of Lisdarfne in Northumberland, but he resigned this see and returned to Ireland A.D. 665, and founded an abbey at Magheo (plain of the yews), where he a company of Saxon monks, from whom it was called *Magh eo na Saxan*. See Colgan, *Acta SS.*, p. 604, 605.

¹⁰ *Gialain*. This should be Giallan.

¹¹ *Soichell*, a St. Soichell is set down in the calendars at 1st of August, but the name of his church is not mentioned. The name of Loch Salchearn is still preserved.

¹² *Greallan of Creeve*. There are several churches dedicated to this saint in Connaught, but the church referred to here is Craobh Ghreallain, now Creeve, situated in the west of Moylurg (barony of Boyle), in the county of Roscommon. This saint is said to have resuscitated Eoghan Sriaibh, son of Duach Galach, king of Connaught. He was the chief saint of Ui-Maine, and his crozier was preserved at Ahascra, in the year 1836, in the keeping of John Cronelly, the lineal descendant of his ancient coarbs.

¹³ *Caillin of Fenagh*. St. Caillin was a bishop and patron saint of Fenagh, in the county of Leitrim. His festival was celebrated on the 13th of November. O'Rody, or O'Rodachain was his comharba.

¹⁴ *Cluain Creamha*, i.e. the lawn or meadow of the wild garlic, now Clooncraff, a parish near Elphin, in the county of Roscommon. O'Raghtagain (now Ratigan) was the coarb of St. Finnen at this church. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by John O'Donovan, A. D. 1488, note ^b, p. 1157.

eadon, O'Ruairc, O'Rafallaiz, rlyoet Tharbz mje Cejn mje Oillholla Olurj, eadon, O'h-Eazra azur O'Zadna azur a b-foctuarfe zo lejn. Shoet Whaoilruanarj mðjri mjeic Tarbz mjeic Chaetaj, amujl aza Whac Djarimada, rjozruarj Chalarj na Carruarje, azur marje Connaet o rjn amac. Do O'Whaolconarje jr cojn flat na rize do eabairre a lajm j Choncubairi an la rjn zeabar rjz Connaet, azur nj dlyzeann don dujne do marjib Chonnaet bejt rna foetairi an an z-Carj an ean rjn, aet O'Whaolconarje amajr, azur O'Connaetairi ar uet j Whaolconarje; nð jar b-foir ar uet j Whaolbneannujr, az dðjrrædneact an Chairj; a arim azur a ejde az O'Whaolconarje, a eac do eabairre do Chðmarba Daconna, azur dul do ðrujm j Chomcubairi an an eac rjn. Ujnze d'ðr do O'Chonnaetairi mar ejor rjorruarje zaça blyaðna, azur d'fjaçajb air an Carj do çoraçad zaç uairi rizear a lear.

Az ro tuararçla rjoztaorjeac rjl Whurreadaiz o O'Choncubairi, eadon, da rjçje deaz lojzeac, da rjçje deaz caora; da rjçje deaz marje do O'Flannazair, azur a d-eabac j n-Uimall zaça bealltarje. An orjead ejle rjn az Whac Orjeactariz, azur a d-eabac j n-Uimall azur j n-Jorruar. An orjead ceaðna az O'Whaolbneannujr, azur a d-eabac a d-çjn Fhjaçnaç, a z-Cùil

¹ *O'Flannagan.* He was chief of Clann-Cathail, a territory lying between Mantua and Elphin, in the county of Roscommon.

² *O'Mulrenin.* He was chief of Clann-Tomaltaigh, a territory comprising the parish of Baslick, near Ballintober, in the county of Roscommon.

³ *O'Finnaghty.* He was chief of Clanconway, lying on both sides of the river Suck, in the counties of Galway and Roscommon. His chief seat was at Dunamon. This family, now so plebeian, are senior to the O'Conors, and held the highest place at the table of the king of Connacht. They possessed forty-eight ballys, or old Irish townlands, situated on both sides of the river Suck.

⁴ *Mac-Oiresachtaiigh,* now Mageraghty, and Geraghty. He was chief of Muintir-Roduibh, and was seated in Magh Naol, in the county of Roscommon. In 1585, he was at Moylough, in the county of Galway.

⁵ *Four royal chieftains.* These were of the same line of descent with O'Connor, and some of them, as O'Finnaghty, were senior to him.

⁶ *O'Flynn.* He was chief of Sil-Maelrusin, comprising the parishes of Kiltullagh and Kilkeevin, in the west of the county of Roscommon. The chief of this sept had his seat at Ballinlough.

⁷ *O'Fallon.* He was chief of Clann-Uadach, in the barony of Athlone, county of Roscommon. In 1585, the head of this

family had his seat at Miltown, in the parish of Dysart, where the ruins of his castle are still to be seen. See *Tribes of Ul-Maine*, p. 19, note *.

⁸ *O'Henly.* He was chief of Cinel-Dobhtha, a territory extending along the river Shannon, from Carranadoo bridge to Drumdaff, in the east of the county of Roscommon. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A. D. 1210, p. 169, note *.

⁹ *O'Beirne.* He was chief of Tir-Briuin na-Sinna, a beautiful district in the east of the county of Roscommon, situated between Elphin and Jamestown. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1218.

¹⁰ *O'Concannon.* He was chief of Uidiarmada, or Corcamroe, a district comprising the parish of Kilkerrin, in the north of the county of Galway. *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1382, p. 687, note *.

¹¹ *O'Heyne.* He was chief of Coill-Uabh-Fiachrach, situated in the barony of Killartan, in the south-west of the county of Galway. See *Map to Tribes, &c., of Ul-Fiachrach*.

¹² *O'Shaughnessy.* He was chief of Cinel Aedha na-h-Echtghe, forming about the south-eastern half of the barony of Kiltartan and county of Galway, and had his chief residence at Gort-Inse-Guire, now the town of Gort.

¹³ *O'Teige.* This name is very common near Castlereagh, in the west of the county

O'Flannagan,¹ O'Maelbreanan [Mulrenin],² O'Finnaghty,³ these, together with Mac Oireachtaigh [Geraghty],⁴ were his four royal chieftains,⁵ O'Flynn,⁶ O'Fallon,⁷ O'Hanly,⁸ O'Beirne,⁹ O'Concannon,¹⁰ O'Heyne,¹¹ and O'Shaughnessey.¹² O'Heyne and O'Shaughnessey gained the privilege of chieftaincy for themselves from the king of Connaught. O'Teige¹³ was chief of the household of the king of Connaught. It is also required that the following noble chieftains should be present at his inauguration, namely, the race of Aedh Fionn, son of Feargna, son of Fergus, i. e., O'Rourke¹⁴ and O'Reilly,¹⁵ the descendants of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Olioll Olum, namely, O'Hara¹⁶ and O'Gara,¹⁷ with their followers; the descendants of Mulrony Mor,¹⁸ son of Tadhg, son of Cathal, that is, the Mac Dermots, chiefs of Caladh na Carraige,¹⁹ together with the other chiefs of Connaught. It is the privilege of O'Mulconaire²⁰ to place the royal rod in the hands of O'Conor, the day on which he assumes the sovereignty of Connaught, and it is deemed unlawful for any individual of Connaught to be along with the king on the Carn²¹ on that day, except O'Mulconaire himself, and O'Connachtain fronting O'Mulconaire, or, more truly, fronting O'Maelbreanainn, keeping the door of the Carn.²² His (the king's) clothing and arms were given to O'Mulco-

of Roscommon, but it is now usually anglicised Tighe.

¹⁴ *O'Rourke*. He was chief of West Breifne, or the County of Leitrim.

¹⁵ *O'Reilly*. He was chief of East Breifne, or the County of Cavan.

¹⁶ *O'Hara*. He was chief of Luighne, now the barony of Leyny, in the county of Sligo. This family is of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Olioll Olum, king of Munster.

¹⁷ *O'Gara*. He was of the same race with O'Hara, and chief originally of Gaileaga, in the now county of Mayo, but latterly of Coolavin, in the county of Sligo.

¹⁸ *Descendants of Mulrony Mor, son of Tadhg, son of Cathal*. This should be Maelruanaidh Mor, son of Tadhg, son of Muirheartach, son of Maelruanaidh, son of Conchobhar who was the ancestor of the O'Conors of Connaught. The last-mentioned Maelruanaidh was the eldest son of Conchobhar, but was deposed by his younger brother Cathal, the ancestor of the O'Conors. See a curious historical tract on this subject in *Lib. T.C.D.*

¹⁹ *Caladh na Carraige*, i. e. the callow, strath, holm, or ferry, of the rock. In 1231 Mac Dermott began the erection of a market town at this place, which is now a part of the townland of Rockingham, near Boyle. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A. D. 1336, p. 557, note ¹.

²⁰ This tract was written by Torna O'Mulconry, who was present at the inau-

guration of Felim O'Conor, in 1315, while the custom of inauguration of the kings of Connaught was in full force. An ancient copy of it on vellum is preserved in a MS. formerly at Stowe, but now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham, along with the remainder of that collection. See *Stowe Catalogue*, *Codes* iii., fol. 28, and Hardiman's Edition of *O'Flaherty's Iar Connaught*, pp. 139, 140.

²¹ *On the Carn*. The Carn referred to here is Carnfree, not far from the house of the late Daniel Kelly, Esq., near Tulsk, in the townland of Carria. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A. D. 1225, p. 221, note ². Of all the chiefs present O'Mulconry alone was permitted to stand on the carn along with O'Conor, to whom he handed the rod.

²² *Keeping the door of the Carn*. The carn at Carn Fraoich was enclosed with a wall, in which was a door or gate kept by O'Mulrenin, or in his absence, by O'Connachtain, who lived at the carn and kept it in repair. No one was permitted to admit the person about to receive the royal form, or those by whom he was to be inaugurated through this gate but O'Mulrenin, or his deputy (sub-sheriff) O'Connachtain. While the ceremony was being performed, O'Mulconry, who bore the royal wand or sceptre, stood on the side of the carn facing the gate, and, fronting him at the base of the carn, and between him and the gate, stood

naire,¹ and his steed to the coarb of Dachonna,² who was privileged to mount that same steed from O'Conor's back. An unga of gold was decreed to O'Connaghtan as a perennial tribute, under the condition of repairing the Carn when repairs became necessary.

The following are the subsidies³ to be paid to the Sil Muireadhaigh by O'Conor, namely, twelve score milch cows, twelve score sheep, and twelve score cows to O'Flannagan, which were to be levied on Umhall,⁴ and sent to him on every May-day. The same number to Mac Oireachty, which were likewise levied on Umhall and Iorras;⁵ and an equal number to O'Maelbreanainn, which were to be levied on Tir Fhiachrach,⁶ Cuil Cnamha⁷ and Cuil Cearnamha.⁸ The office of high steward to O'Conor, to be ceded by his three other royal chiefs,⁹ was given to O'Flannagan. O'Hanly was bound to keep the hostages of O'Conor; and O'Hanly also had the chieftancy and command of his fleet¹⁰ from Sliabh an Jarrainn to Luimneach, with all the perquisites belonging thereto. Mac Branán has the office of henchman,¹¹ and chieftainship of the kerne, together with the care-taking of the hounds¹² of O'Conor. Mac Dail-re-deacair¹³ is the procurator-general to O'Conor; he was bound to furnish light, bedding, and thatch for the *ṛṛṣ beaṣ*¹⁴ (the privy), to cleanse it when necessary. To guard the spoils of O'Conor, whenever he encamps to rest, is the duty of O'Flannagan, O'Beirne, and the Clann Dail-re-deacair. Mac Branán had the benefits arising from O'Conor's marchership from Cuirrech Ceinn Eitigh,¹⁵ to Ceananas¹⁶ of Meath. O'Flynn had the marchership of the tract from Cuirrech Ceinn Eitigh to Cruach Phadraig,¹⁷ together with its stewardship, as the poet has recorded:—

The king of Boyle was thy marshall,
Thy chief treasurer was O'Kelly,
Thy high steward was O'Flanagan,
O'Flynn was steward of thy household.

The chieftainship and rule of O'Conor's fleet belonged to O'Flaherty¹⁸

¹³ *Mac Dail-re-deacair*. This name is now made Dockrey, in the county of Roscommon. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the years 1281 and 1366; and Hardiman's Edition of O'Flaherty's *Iar-Connaught*, p. 140.

¹⁴ *ṛṛṣ beaṣ*. Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland, in the third century had such a *ṛṛṣ beaṣ*, more usually called *Fiaillteach*, at Tara, which argues no small degree of civilization in Ireland at that early period. For more on this subject, see "Cambrensis Eversus," c. xxix., and Rabelais's *Life of Gargantua*.

¹⁵ *Cuirrech-Cinn-Eitigh*, now Kinnitty, a townland in the parish of Kilbride, near

the town of Roscommon. The Cuirrech was a race-course.

¹⁶ *Ceanannas of Meath*, now the town of Kells in Meath.

¹⁷ *Cruach Phadraig*, now Croaghpatrick, or "the Reek," a high mountain near Westport, in the barony of Murreak and county of Mayo.

¹⁸ *O'Flaherty*. He was originally chief of Ui-Briuin-Seola, on the east side of Lough Corrib, in the county of Galway; but for many centuries he was chief of all the tract of land west of that lake. It extended from the Killary harbour to the bay of Galway. He possessed also the great and middle islands of Arran.

and O'Malley,¹ O'Kelly² was chief treasurer of his precious stones, and other species of wealth. Mac Dermot of Moylurg was O'Conor's chief marshal,³ O'Taidhg⁴ was commander of his household, O'Brien his chief butler, O'Feenaghty his chief door-keeper, O'Maelconaire historian and recorder of all the tributes which were due to O'Conor, Mac Tully⁵ is his physician, and Mac Egan⁶ his brehon (judge). Twenty-four townlands constituted the lawful patrimony of each of these eight chiefs, in payment for the office they discharged for O'Conor. Forty-eight townlands constituted the patrimony of each of his four royal chiefs, namely, O'Flanagan, O'Maelbreanainn, Mac Oireachty and O'Feenaghty, together with all dead church-lands.⁷ The chiefs tributary to O'Conor were those of Gaileanga,⁸ Goisdealbha,⁹ Clann Chuain,¹⁰ Conmaicne,¹¹ Ceara,¹² and the two Leignes. In short, there was no king or righdamhna, a chieftain of a territory or a district, or a hundred-cattled farmer of a townland from Easruaidh¹³ to Luimneach,¹⁴ and from Uisneach,¹⁵ in Meath, to Inis Bo-finne,¹⁶ and from Loch Eirne¹⁷ to Loch Deirgdheirc,¹⁸ who was not specially bound to attend with his forces at the hostings of O'Conor.

The free states of Connaught are the following, namely, the Ui Briuin of Breifne,¹⁹ the Ui Fiachrach Muaidh,²⁰ and the race of Muir-eadhach, son of Fergus;²¹ and even of these notwithstanding their freedom, two are bound to attend with their forces at the hostings of O'Conor, and to assist him in all his difficulties and troubles.

Leap, a celebrated cataract on the river Erne at Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal.

¹⁴ *Luimneach*. This was the old name of the lower Shannon. The city of Limerick was called Cathair Luimnigh, i. e., the city of the river Luimneach.

¹⁵ *Uisneach*, a hill in the county of Westmeath, about four miles east of Ballymore Loughseudy.

¹⁶ *Inis Bo-finne*, i. e., the island of the white cow, now Bophinis land, lying off the coast of Murreak, in the county of Mayo.

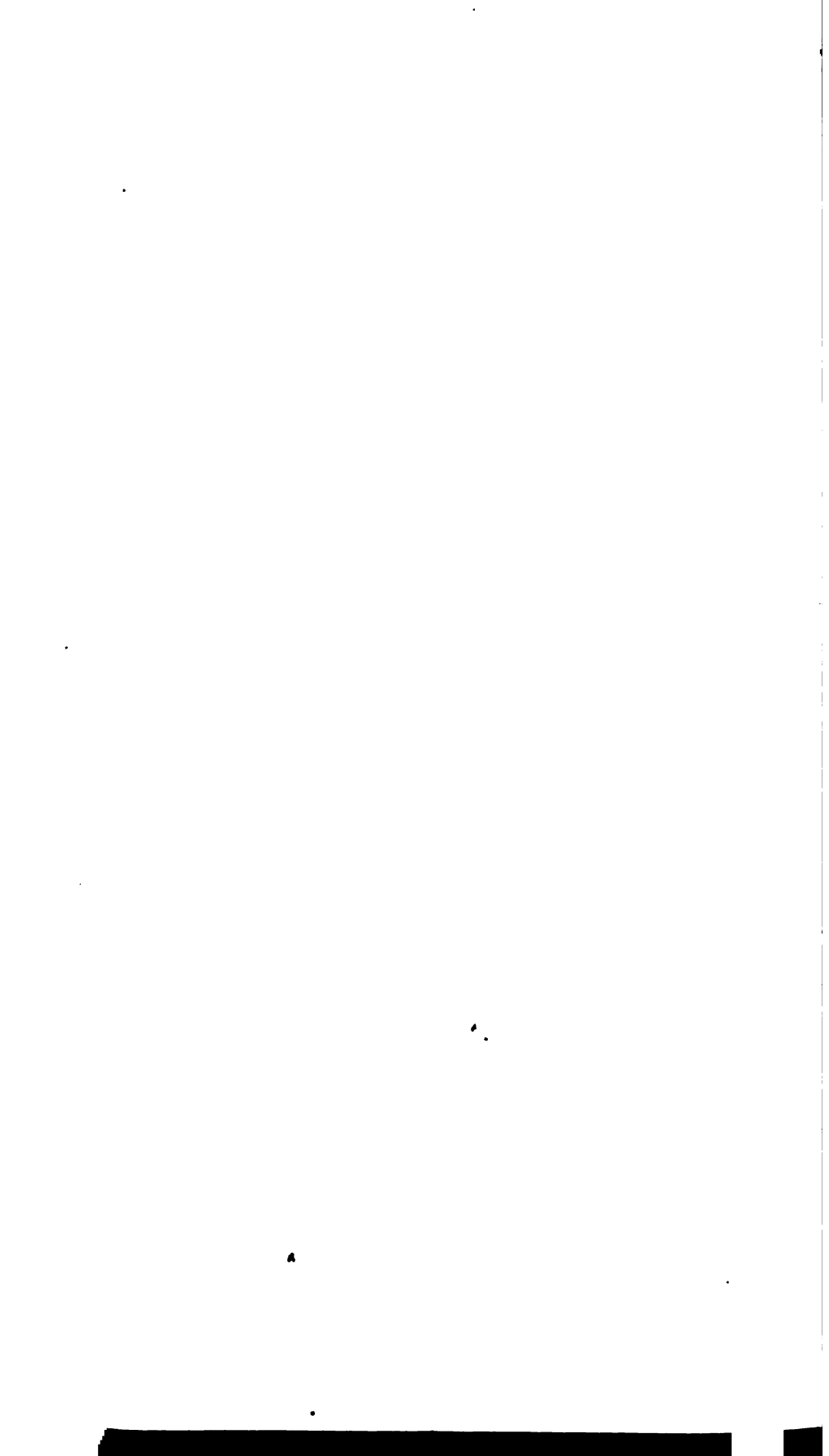
¹⁷ *Loch Eirne*, now Lough Erne, in Fermanagh.

¹⁸ *Loch Deirgdheirc*, now Lough Derg, an expansion of the Shannon, between Portumna and Killaloe.

¹⁹ *Ui-Briuin of Breifne*, i. e., O'Rourke's, O'Reillys, and their co-relatives.

²⁰ *Ui-Fiachrach Muaidhe*, the O'Dowdas of Tireragh.

²¹ *Sil-Muireadhaigh*, i. e., the O'Conors themselves and the remainder of their co-relatives.



PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1853.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7th, 1853,

THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE, in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—Edward H. Paget, Esq., St. John's College, Oxford: proposed by the Marquis of Ormonde.

John Potter, Esq., Kilkenny, Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., Wonham Manor, Reigate, Surrey, Joseph Wilson, Esq., Lurgan, and Henry Mears, Esq., Parthenon Club, Regent-street, London: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Patrick R. Welch, Esq., Newtown Welch, County of Kilkenny, and Yaxley Hall, Eye, Suffolk: proposed by Mr. Joseph Burke.

Major Richard Dunne, Brittas, Queen's County: proposed by Mr. T. L. Cooke.

William Atkins, Esq., Architect, Cork: proposed by Mr. John Windele.

John Hartford, Esq., Solicitor, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. J. G. A. Prim.

The Rev. W. Wright, D.D., Medmenham, Great Marlow, Bucks: proposed by Mr. J. O'Daly.

The Honorary Secretary then read the following Annual Report for 1852:—

"In rendering up an account of their trust for the year which has just expired, your Committee feel that they may be justly accused of a repetition of former reports in the observations now to be laid before the Society; however, if at any time these qualities are not tiresome it is when continued prosperity is the cause of want of variety. The marked success which has attended the progress of the Kilkenny Archæological Society during the last twelve months will be sufficiently apparent when it is known that ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVEN new members, amongst whom are many names of which the Society may well feel proud, have been added to its ranks since the last annual meeting; several of whom, being anxious to possess perfect copies of the Society's Transactions, have commenced their subscriptions from the year 1849, insomuch that the impression of that year's Transactions is now out of print; and as many of the members have expressed a wish for its republication, it will be put to press as soon as a sufficient sum, at 5s. each, has been subscribed by those requiring it. During the same period but ten names have been removed from the Society's books from death and other causes; thus leaving a clear gain of one hundred and one accessions. With this addition, and allowing for deaths and other casualties, the *bona fide* list of the Society's members extends

to the large number of THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-ONE NAMES—your Committee cannot pass from this gratifying topic without recording their deep sense of the zeal which has actuated very many of the members—a zeal to which the present prosperity of the Society is mainly owing, and if they only name Richard Hitchcock, Esq., of Trinity College, Dublin, the Very Rev. the Dean of Waterford, Joseph Burke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, John Windele, Esq., Cork, M. O'Donnell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, the Rev. Philip Moore, R.C.C., Joseph Greene, Esq., jun., and T. L. Cooke, Esq., Parsonstown, it is not that others have not had the interests of the Society at heart, but that the occasion does not admit of that extension of the list which might easily be made.

"But much as has been done, there is yet room for further exertion. Less than five hundred paying members will not enable the Society fully to carry out the objects originally proposed, and until that limit at least is attained, its friends should not remit their exertions. To all who are disposed to follow the good example set by the gentlemen already named, and who desire to make more widely known the doings and objects of the Society, the Secretaries will be found ready to supply circulars, and all other necessary information.

"The number and importance of the papers contributed to the several meetings may also be pointed to as an evidence of the Society's progress; amongst the contributors to the Transactions of the past year many new names will also be found enrolled.

"The mass of ancient deeds, charters, and other unpublished MSS. communicated (amongst which are very many important documents supplied by our valued fellow-members, Patrick Watters, Esq., and James F. Ferguson, Esq., by the former from the Corporation Archives of Kilkenny, and by the latter from the Irish Exchequer Records) far exceed the means available towards their publication. An addition to the original rules of the Society, calculated to meet this emergency, will be proposed for the consideration of the members.

"The delay in the issue of the Transactions for 1851 is a source of much regret to your Committee; but the members may be assured that it has arisen solely from a desire to present them with the work in such a form as will prove creditable to the Society; and in a few weeks it is hoped that the part for 1851 will be issued, with an index and title page, completing the First Volume of the Society's Transactions.

"Your Committee have again to claim your thanks for the Mayor and Corporation of Kilkenny, and the members of the Local Press, whose kind co-operation has been continued to the Society.

"Many valuable additions have been made to your Museum and Library during the past year; the former, indeed, has quite outgrown the accommodation assigned for its keeping by the kindness of the Corporation. Amongst the accessions to its stores, your Committee must not fail to record the valuable donation of antiquities discovered in the cuttings of the Limerick and Waterford Railway at Tibroughny, in the Barony of Iverk, and county of Kilkenny for which the Society is indebted to John H. Leech, Esq., of Carrick-on-Suir, and — Edwards, Esq., Contractor's Engineer of the works.

"In conclusion, your Committee are happy to be able to inform you that the Special Fund for the reparation of the venerable Abbey of Jerpoint progresses most favourably; and, from the wide-spread interest displayed, they have little doubt that the requisite sum will ere long be completed, and that before this time next year all repairs necessary to arrest the progress of decay, and preserve to future generations that exquisite specimen of the architectural skill of former ages, shall have been thoroughly effected."

The Rev. James Graves, Acting Treasurer, then brought up the Accounts of the Society for the past year, as under:

Charge.

1852.		£	s.	d.
JAN. 1.—To balance from last year's account		32	15	5½
" 257 subscriptions for the year 1852, at 5s. each		64	5	0
" 24 do. arrears for the year 1849, at do.		6	0	0
" 30 do. do. for the year 1850, at do.		7	10	0
" 62 do. do. for the year 1851, at do.		15	10	0
" Special fund for making cast of Kilfane Monument		2	10	0
		£128	10	5½

Discharge.

1852.					£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—	By illustrations for Transactions of the year 1851	.	.	.	9	5	0
	do. do. 1850	.	.	.	6	16	11
"	Postages . . . . .	.	.	.	6	3	3
"	Fuel . . . . .	.	.	.	0	4	0
"	Messengers . . . . .	.	.	.	0	8	10
"	Carriage of parcels . . . . .	.	.	.	1	2	0
"	General printing and stationery . . . . .	.	.	.	4	12	6
"	Commission to agents . . . . .	.	.	.	1	10	0
"	Travelling expenses . . . . .	.	.	.	0	18	10
"	Bookbinders' bills . . . . .	.	.	.	1	2	6
"	Cost of three casts of Kilfane monument . . . . .	.	.	.	11	0	0
"	Sundries and petty expenses . . . . .	.	.	.	5	5	6
"	Balance in Treasurer's hands . . . . .	.	.	.	80	1	1½
					<hr/>		
					£128	10	5½

The Committee and Officers for the year 1853 were then elected, as under :—

PRESIDENT.

THE VERY REV. CHARLES VIGNOLES, D.D., Dean of Ossory.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY.

THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY.

TREASURER.

ROBERT CANE, Esq., M. D.

HONORARY SECRETARIES.

REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B.

JOHN G. AUGUSTUS PRIM.

COMMITTEE.

JAMES BLAKE, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL.D.

JOSEPH BURKE, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

SAMSON CARTER, Esq., jun., C.E., M.R.I.A.

REV. LUKE FOWLER, A.M.

HERBERT F. HORE, Esq.

JOHN JAMES, Esq., L.R.C.S.I.

REV. PHILIP MOORE, R.C.C.

MATTHEW O'DONNELL, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

REV. JOHN QUINN, P.P.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF WATERFORD.

JOHN WINDELE, Esq.

Mr. Graves, on the part of Mr. H. F. Hore, gave notice of moving at next meeting that the title of the Society be changed to "The Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society," together with some other verbal alterations in the Rules; and also that the following additional rule be adopted :—

"It shall be optional with Members to subscribe ten shillings annually, in addition to the subscription of five shillings which constitutes their membership; and should one hundred such additional subscribers be procured, an Annual Volume shall be printed, to consist of antiquarian and historical rare or unpublished matter of a local nature; such Volume to be distinct from the Transactions of the Society, and to be supplied solely to each subscriber of ten shillings. Should any Member be willing to defray the cost of printing, &c., he shall be entitled to nominate a paper for the Annual Volume, under the revision of the Committee."

The following presentations were received, and thanks for them ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Rev. James Meara, a leaden impression of a monastic seal.

By the Rev. James Graves, an ancient half-pike, apparently about two hundred years old.

By Mr. Joseph Greene, jun., a manuscript, entitled *A General Abstract of the Receipts and Issues of the Public Revenue, Taxes, and Loans, from the 5th November, 1688, to Lady Day, 1702*. This M.S. is beautifully written, and contains a great deal of most important historical and statistical information.

By Mr. J. G. Robertson, a Report on the state of the Cathedral of St. Canice, in the year 1813, drawn up at that time by the late William Robertson, Esq., Architect.

By Mr. Prim, on the part of Messrs. Nash, Publishers, Strand, London, a pedigree of the De Lacy family.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, its *Journal*, No. 34.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. 21.

By the Cambridge Camden Society, two numbers of its Publications, 8vo series.

By Mr. Albert Way, *Notice of a Seal formed of bone, discovered in the Abbey of St. Albans*.

Mr. Henry O'Neill read a paper on the architectural remains comprised within the cemetery of Aghaviller in this county, consisting of a strongly-fortified tower, being an appendage to a church, of which latter but small remains are extant, and an ancient Round Tower, of which but the lower portion now exists. These were illustrated by a ground-plan, and several beautiful drawings. The portion of the paper relative to the Round Tower, is as follows:—

"The pillar tower is fifty-one feet in circumference at the base; hence the diameter is sixteen feet two inches. There are two doorways; one at the ground level, of cut stone, rectangular, with places for hanging-irons; a small bolt hole, and a rebate are on the inside; it is five feet two inches high, by two feet ten and a-half inches wide, and looks N.E. The other doorway, and in all probability the original one, is about thirteen feet up from the ground to the door-sill. It is higher and narrower than the one below, and looks north. A rectangular ope, of dressed stone, is situated at about twenty-seven feet up; it may be three feet high by two wide; its aspect is S.S.W. The tower terminates at a few feet above this ope, being only a dilapidated stump.

"At about twelve, and twenty-six feet high, from the ground level, there are, on the inside, bearing-courses made of flag-stones about six inches thick, and projecting four inches—the wall above them recesses for a short way. The inside of the tower is rather rough, but on the outside, where not weathered, the wall is very smooth, of excellent stone, carefully spawled, and dressed to the curve.

"If this pillar-tower had originally the usual proportions of such buildings, it was in all probability at least one hundred and ten feet high. The tower of St. Canice is one

hundred feet high, and only fourteen feet five inches in the diameter of the base; being above six diameters and a-half in height—the same proportions to the tower of Aghaviller would give the elevation I have mentioned. The castle and pillar tower are built with a stone resembling the fine-grained sand-stone, which is got in the locality.

"Respecting the purpose for which the pillar-tower was intended, I shall not now offer any opinion. The views propounded by Dr. Petrie have met with such general approval, that to express dissent from them may appear to savour more of daring thoughtlessness, than any calm reflection—nevertheless, a very careful study of the Doctor's work on the Round Towers of Ireland, and a very careful examination of several of the towers themselves, have convinced me that the learned and talented author of that very beautiful essay has not stated the real purpose for which those remarkable buildings were erected. At present, however, there is a certain task to be performed. Dr. Petrie promised to give us the particulars of our several pillar towers, but as this promise has been for several years unfulfilled, let others take up the task—let us have the particulars of every pillar tower in Ireland, or elsewhere. Until the facts are fairly before us, it is idle to be speculating.

"I have given my humble contribution towards this desirable object; and I venture to say that the facts I have brought forward, even in this single case, are sufficient, at least, to create a doubt as to the correctness of Dr. Petrie's opinions. Now, however, I confine myself to expressing my most decided dissent to Dr. Petrie's conclusions, which I do for the purpose of calling attention to the subject, in the hope that other labourers may engage in the important work of giving a description of every pillar tower now remaining, as well as of the localities in which towers are known to have formerly stood."

A paper was then read, contributed by John Windele, Esq., Cork, on an Ancient Cemetery at Ballymacus, which will be found in full at p. 230, *ante*.

A paper by R. R. Brash, Esq., Architect, Cork, was then submitted to the Meeting; it was entitled, An Account of some Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Buttevant, and will be found in full at p. 265, *ante*.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Tholsel Rooms, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16th, 1853,

THE REV. JAMES MEASE, A.M., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—The Rev. George Stanley Faber, B.D., Prebendary of Salisbury, Sherburn House, Durham; George Hitchcock, Esq., St. Paul's Church-yard, London; William Lyster, Esq., J.P., Cloghmanty Mills, Freshford; Samuel Gordon, Esq., M.D., Hume-street, Dublin; Alfred John Dunkin, Esq., Dartford, Kent; and John Stratford Kirwan, Esq., 15, Merriion-square, East, Dublin: proposed by Mr. Richard Hitchcock.

Frederick Villiers Clarendon, Esq., Assistant Architect, Board of Works, Dublin: proposed by Mr. Samson Carter.

The Rev. William Drew, Rector of Youghal: proposed by Mr. Edward Fitzgerald.

William Atkinson, Esq., Resident Engineer, Waterford and Kilkenny Railway; David Kerr, Esq., John-street; and William Trew, Esq., Lacken Cottage: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

Mr. Richard Furniss, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. J. G. Robertson.

The following presentations were received, and thanks for them returned to the donors:—

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, its *Quarterly Journal*, No. 36.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. 13.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, its *Proceedings and Papers*, 1851—1852.

By Mr. Joseph Greene, jun., Manuscript Extracts from the Issue Book of the Exchequer, from the year 1654 to 1659.

By Mr. James G. Robertson, a Manuscript Report on the state of the fabrick of the Cathedral of St. Canice in the year 1813, by the late William Robertson, Esq., Architect.

By Mr. John O'Daly, a Manuscript Treatise on Gothic Architecture.

By Mr. James Quinn, Solicitor, the *Trial of Dr. Henry Sacheverell*; *Milner's Inquiry into the Antiquities of Ireland*; *Two Dialogues on the Ground of the Laws*; and *Rules for the Direction of Cities*.

By Mr. Richard Caulfield, Cork, *Sigilla Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ Illustrata*, part 1.

By Mr. Joseph Greene, jun., a fine impression of the great seal of queen Elizabeth, originally appended to some charter.

By Mr. J. K. Aylward, a brass pocket ring-dial, found in a sand-pit near Shankill, county of Kilkenny.

By Dr. James, Mr. J. R. Phayer, Mr. P. M. Delaney, Mr. T. Dunne, and Mr. James Smith, various ancient coins.

Mr. T. J. Tenison, Portneligan, county of Armagh, in forwarding a drawing of a chalice-shaped stone antique in his possession, resembling one found near Jerpoint and already in the Society's Museum—the original use of which has not yet been fully settled—sent the following communication to the Rev. J. Graves:—

"I enclose, as promised, the drawing of the stone censer (for such I believe it to be), found, A.D. 1804, in the royal but Pagan cemetery of Cruachan, called Rathcroghan, in the county of Roscommon. It is 7½ inches high, 4½ inches in diameter at top, and nearly 11 round the middle—the sketch being about half the size of the original. It is rudely shaped, similar to the one you showed me in Kilkenny, and was, in all probability, used by the Northern nations, Cimbri, and Irish Druids (if there were such folks), in the celebration of their religious sacrifices."

The Chairman exhibited a small ring of black slate, curiously ornamented by dots and chevrons, and perforated apparently for the purpose of being strung on a necklace. It bore a strong resemblance to the curious jet beads exhibited on a former occasion by Mr. J. F. Shearman. This ring was found at Wells, near Woodsgift, Kilkenny.

Mr. Robertson exhibited drawings of various remains of antiquity in the county of Kilkenny, executed half a century since; and amongst them a ground-plan and front elevation of the old Kilkenny theatre.

Mr. Hitchcock exhibited a St. Patrick's penny, found on the shore of Smerwick Harbour.

In accordance with notice given at the last meeting of the Society, by Herbert F. Hore, Esq., Pole Hore, Wexford, the Hon. Secretary on behalf of that gentleman moved certain alterations in the rules of the Society, which had reference to the change of its title, and the making of some arrangement for the publication of original historical documents.

The change of the title consisted in the addition of the words "and South-East of Ireland," making the name of the Association run thus—"KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY." Mr. Hore promised a large accession of members from amongst the nobility and gentry of Wexford upon that county being thus recognised as coming within the district of the Society's operations; and there was every reason to believe that a similar result will ensue in the other surrounding counties. The second proposition was the adoption of the following additional rule:—

"It shall be optional with members to subscribe Ten Shillings annually, in addition to the subscription of Five Shillings which constitutes their membership; and that, should one hundred such additional subscribers be procured, an Annual Volume shall be printed, to consist of antiquarian and historical rare or unpublished matter of a local nature; such Volume to be distinct from the Transactions of the Society, and to be supplied solely to each subscriber of Ten Shillings. Should any member be willing to defray the cost of printing, &c., he shall be entitled to nominate a paper for the Annual Volume, under the revision of the Committee."

Mr. Fitzsimons suggested that as the Society had succeeded so well under its original appellation it might be as well not to change it; however, he would make no objection, if the meeting approved of the alteration, as the title of "Kilkenny" was still to be retained.

The Chairman pointed out the importance of obtaining a means of publishing ancient records connected with the locality. He understood that besides the rich stores of manuscripts waiting for publication in the hands of the Secretaries of the Society, and existing in the archives of the city of Kilkenny, Mr. Hore was prepared to edit many interesting documents relating to Kilkenny and Wexford; the Dean of Waterford had also forwarded to the Society some documents calculated to be of the greatest interest, connected with that city; and, in fact, the abundance of the material, from which to choose, was the only matter to embarrass them. To-day there was a most valuable contribution from Mr. O'Daly, of Anglesea-street, Dublin; being a transcript, accompanied by a translation, of an ancient Irish tract on the inauguration of Cathal Crobhdearg O'Connor, King of Connaught, A. D. 1224; and to which was appended most important notes by Dr. O'Donovan. Documents such as these, and thus illustrated, it was unnecessary to dwell upon the necessity of preserving.

The alterations in the rules, proposed by Mr. Hore then passed un-animously.

The following paper, by the Rev. J. Graves, accompanying the exhibition of a piece of silver ring-money purchased by him for the Society's Museum, was then read:—

"The fine specimen of silver ring-money which I lay before the meeting has been secured, I am happy to say, for the Society's Museum, where I trust it may form the nucleus of a collection of that interesting class of antiquities, whether of gold, silver, bronze, or stone. It is of the purest silver, and weighs 14 dwts. 1 gr. Its formation is of the rudest kind, being simply a flat strip of silver, three inches and two-tenths long, somewhat more than four-tenths of an inch broad, tapering to about three-tenths at the ends, and about one-eighth of an inch thick. The ring shape was apparently given to it by being hammered round a rough bar till the ends met—the marks of the bar are visible on the inside.

"I do not propose to enter on the question of Irish ring-money, so ably and satisfactorily handled by Sir William Betham and Mr. Lindsay, and amongst our own members by Dr. Cane and Mr. Windele, but will content myself with stating my own belief that the case has been more clearly proved in regard to rings of gold and bronze, than of silver. I cannot, however, here refrain from quoting some instances of the mixed metal alluded to being actually used as money. Every one is well acquainted with the custom prevalent in ancient Pagan times amongst many nations, of placing a piece of money in the mouth of the deceased, to pay his way in the other world. By a letter which I recently received from T. Crofton Croker, Esq., I learn that he was presented on August 22nd, 1843, with a bronze ring, found in the mouth of a skeleton discovered in a cairn above Crookhaven, in the county of Cork; along with this skeleton, a leaf-shaped sword and a spear-head of bronze were also found, and he possesses one or two other similar rings, taken from the mouths of skeletons discovered in nearly similar situations on the south and south-west coast of Ireland. These important facts would seem not only to confirm the idea, long held, of the currency of bronze rings as money, but also to connect cairn-burial, which we know preceded cremation, with that race which used the bronze ring-money, celts, swords, and spear-heads, which our island yields up from its bosom in such quantities. But with regard to the silver rings found here, yet with much less frequency than in Scotland or England, the case is different. Silver rings are usually discovered in hoards, and accompanied by ingots and small fragments of the same metal, unwrought or simply flattened into strips or plates.

"The ring before the meeting is no exception to this rule, it is the sole remaining, or at least discoverable, portion of a hoard discovered in the cuttings of the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway, opposite the house of a farmer, named Edward Walsh, at Derrynahinch, in this county, so long since as September, 1851. The hoard, which consisted of about a quart full of rings and pieces of silver, was found resting on the rock, about two feet under the surface, covered by a slab of stone about eight inches square. There were about twelve or fourteen rings, some of them flat, like that before the meeting, others twisted like a curb-chain. Accompanying the rings were many flat pieces of silver, some square, about the size of a shilling, others of different sizes, and amongst them were oblong flattened pieces, tapered at the end, exactly like the ring which has been preserved, but straight. When the hoard was thrown out from its hiding-place, the pieces of silver being oxydized, and consequently black, attracted little attention, the greater part of them were shovelled into waggons and 'tipped' over the embankment; whence, perhaps, they may be exhumed in ages to come, and furnish reasons (strong as many used by our antiquaries of the present day in support of the ring-money theory) that the railway contractors of the nineteenth century paid their labourers in that currency.

"I conceive that the Derrynahinch hoard was not used as money, except so far as precious metals always served as such, whether wrought, or simply in ingots. Perhaps we have here the stock of a travelling worker in silver, or the hoard of a plundering Dane, in both cases hidden for security, and then forgotten in consequence of the death of the depositor. The silver fibula-head (the largest known), found near Urlingford, and deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, in the year 1846, through the instrumentality of our Very Reverend President, had been mutilated by some sharp instrument, and probably only saved by an accident from the crucible of some ancient plunderer or jeweller. The ring now exhibited was picked up by an intelligent 'ganger,' named George Newton, an Englishman, who placed it on his finger, where it gradually assumed its pristine lustre. Newton, from whom the particulars just stated, together with the ring, were obtained, promised to look out for any specimens which might have remained in the hands of the 'navvies,' but I fear, from the length of time which has elapsed since I last saw him, that he has not been successful."

Mr. R. Hitchcock contributed papers on a Sculptured Stone in the old Church of Annagh, county of Kerry, and on the Round Towers of the county of Kerry, which will be found printed at length at pp. 239, and 242, *ante*.

Mr. Prim read a paper on Olden Popular Pastimes in Kilkenny, which is printed in full at p. 319, *ante*.

Mr. John O'Daly contributed a transcript of an ancient Irish account

of the Inauguration of Cathal Crobhdearg O'Connor, with a translation, and accompanied by notes from the pen of Dr. O'Donovan, which will be found printed at length, p. 335, *ante*.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Society's Apartments, Patrick-street, Kilkenny,

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18th, 1853,

THE REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL.D., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—The Right Hon. Lord Londesborough, President of the Numismatic Society of London, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.: proposed by Mr. T. Crofton Croker.

Thomas Kerslake, Esq., Park-street, Bristol; Professor M'Sweeney, St. Patrick's College, Thurles; Robert Sullivan, Esq., LL.D., Education Office, Marlborough-street, Dublin; and John Ward Dowsley, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S.I., Clonmel: proposed by Mr. R. Hitchcock.

The Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, Clyst St. George, Topsham, Devon: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Right Hon. John Wynne, Hazlewood, Sligo: proposed by the Rev. Luke Fowler.

Edward Ryan, Esq., Kilfera: proposed by the Rev. Dr. Browne.

Frederick Beverly Dixon, Esq., Castlewood, Durrow; and Richard Burnham, Esq., Architect, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. James G. Robertson.

William Francis Finn, Esq., J.P., Tullaroan; and William Hackett, Esq., Midleton: proposed by Mr. Prim.

The Very Rev. David O'Brien, D.D., Chapel House, Clarendon-st., Dublin; and Josias Beatty, Esq., 31, Lower Abbey-street, Dublin: proposed by Mr. John O'Daly.

The following presentations were received, and thanks for them ordered to be given to the donors:—

By Mr. T. Crofton Croker, for Lord Londesborough, *Catalogue of a Collection of Ancient and Mediæval Rings and Personal Ornaments, formed for Lady Londesborough*; privately printed.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, its *Journal*, No. 37.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. 14.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, being No. 3 of the 8vo. series of that Society's publications.

By Mr. John Gray Bell, *The Vale Royal of England*, and *The Pedigree of the family of Scott of Stokoe*.

By Mr. J. G. Robertson, a Survey for a canal and rail-road, from Gores-bridge to Castlecomer by Kilkenny, made by Mr. John Killally, A.D., 1812.

By Mr. George Bolger, two bronze celts.

By the Rev. W. Browne, Dungarvan, a thin bronze javelin head.

By James F. Ferguson, Esq., an ancient deed indented—"Made at Kilkenny y^e xxiiii. day of July, the yere of our Lorde mccccxxxii, betwex Catheryn Archere burges of y^e said town on y^e one part, and Lawrans Dowly, Corwyzer, of y^e other part," respecting premises without St. Patrick's gate. Its chief curiosity consisted in the circumstance of its proving that there were female burgesses of Kilkenny in those days.

By Rev. James Graves, a note of the bank of Williams and Finn, Kilkenny, amount 3s. 9½d.

By Rev. B. Scott, Rev. J. Graves, Mr. R. Preston, and Mr. J. Corbett, several ancient coins.

The Rev. James Graves read a description of a sepulchral tumulus in the Queen's County, as follows:—

"Some years since, the proprietor of the lands of Cuffsborough, in the parish of Aghaboe, and Queen's County, determined on removing a hillock or mound of earth then existing in one of his fields. After his labourers had cleared away a considerable portion of the earth, they came to a beehive-shaped structure of rough stones; three or four of which being removed, gave entrance to a sepulchral chamber within, for such it proved to be. This chamber, which measured about five feet in diameter, had been formed by placing a circle of large stones on edge, at the back of which clay and small stones seemed to have been carefully rammed down; these stones were about three and a-half feet in height from the floor of the chamber. On the upper edge of this circle, and with a slight projection over its inner face, was laid horizontally another circle of large flat stones; above these another row with the same projection over the former, and so on until the dome was closed at the apex by a single large stone. The floor of this chamber, which was perfectly dry, was covered by about an inch of very fine dust, and in the centre, lying confusedly, were the bones of two human skeletons. The bones were quite perfect when the chamber was first opened, but, when exposed to the action of the atmosphere, in a short time they crumbled away. It would appear as if the bodies had been placed in a sitting posture, and that the bones in the process of decay had fallen one upon the other. One of the skulls was probably that of a female, being considerably smaller than the other. This sepulchral chamber had evidently been built over the bodies of the deceased persons, as there was no door or other aperture by which they could afterwards have been introduced. The bones showed no trace of cremation, and the impalpable dust covering the floor of the chamber proved that the corpses had been placed there entire, and had undergone the process of decay after sepulture. Subsequently to the completion of the rude stone-work above described, a mound of earth was heaped up over all; thus forming a sepulchral tumulus.

"I am sorry to say that all trace of the interesting sepulchral chamber above described is now obliterated. Shortly after its discovery, some persons proceeded to excavate beneath the upright stones which formed the sides, in search of that universally desired, and therefore dreamed of object, a 'crock of gold.' This caused a subsidence, which at once reduced the whole structure to an undistinguishable mass of ruin, and the very stones are, I believe, now entirely removed."

Mr. W. Hackett of Midleton, contributed a paper on Folk-lore, which will be found printed in full at p. 303, *ante*.

Mr. T. L. Cooke sent a paper on the Ancient Cross of Banagher, King's County, which is printed in full at p. 277, *ante*.

The Rev. A. B. Rowan, D.D., Belmont, Tralee, communicated a paper on the well-known monument at the abbey of Holy Cross, as follows:—

"A few days since, looking over the volume of our 'Transactions' for 1849, I lighted upon the animated and interesting discussion of Messrs. Prim and Cooke, respecting the celebrated monument at Holy Cross; following their references I turned to Dr. Petrie's article in the *Dublin Penny Journal* of 1832-3, to Sir William Betham's offered correction of Dr. Petrie, and to the learned Doctor's stout but respectful adherence to his opinion, in which men unconvinced are apt to persist. Having considered all these

documents and the difficulties pressing on each theory respectively, I venture to offer a different suggestion altogether, respecting this remarkable monument, which, being for its date and florid style of ornament rather a singular erection in Ireland, it seems equally singular, that if raised to the memory of an individual, any uncertainty should prevail as to who that individual was. I am emboldened to propose my theory by the hope expressed in Mr. Prim's last paper, that 'other members of the Society would take up the subject and give their views;' and further by a recollection of the old adage—that a by-stander may sometimes see what escapes more acute minds, when energetically engaged in a discussion.

"The question at issue I take to be two-fold. First, is the monument a set of *sedilia*, or a tomb? Next, if a tomb, whose tomb is it? On the first question, having paid some attention to the character of *sedilia*, and examined these constructions in a vast number of English churches, as well as in the ecclesiastical ruins of Ireland, I am obliged to offer my verdict for what it may be worth *against this being a set of sedilia*. The shape of the niches, the elevation from the ground, the narrowness of seat afforded, all seem to me opposed to such a supposition; I cannot recall to mind, having ever seen *sedilia* of this fashion, whilst I have seen many monumental erections, if not exactly the same, at least of similar construction. Of course I offer this judgment most submissively prepared to find it rejected by Mr. Prim, as he objects to Mr. Cooke's arguments, or as Dr. Petrie puts aside Sir William Betham's emendations of his theory; I must, however, in order to offer my own views, assume the first question to be settled in favour of the *tomb versus the sedilia* theory. And now coming to the second question, if a tomb—for *whom* or to *what purpose* erected? Before I propose my own substantive view, I must endeavour to put aside several conflicting theories as to dates and individuals, which appear to me to settle down like a haze on the whole subject; each theory, as is not unusual, recommending itself to its maintainer by some element of probability or truth.

"First, it is not the tomb of the O'Brien, founder of Holy Cross. Any one having the least tincture of that knowledge of style of architecture which is daily spreading among us, must at once perceive that a monument, executed in the florid and somewhat overlaid Gothic style of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, could not be the tomb (at least the *original* tomb) of an individual who died in the end of the twelfth century.

"And yet, as Dr. Petrie acutely observes, the tomb standing in a '*place usually occupied by the tomb of a founder*,' would seem to indicate some connexion with such an individual; keeping in view this idea, and possessed by a theory (in which the learned Doctor found 'no difficulties whatever') that the tomb belonged to a countess of Desmond (*nata* Butler), he proceeds to infer a fact, which, as he naively confesses, is '*hitherto unknown in history*!' namely, that *his* 'countess of Desmond was the *rebuilder* of the noble abbey church of Holy Cross;' thus will a hobby theory *run away* with the steadiest rider, when he is once fairly astride!

"The heraldic difficulties, which beset every view hitherto put forward, seem to be most formidable; Mr. Prim declaring that while Sir William Betham's heraldic proofs, *fearfully damaged* Dr. Petrie's theory, further adds, that the Doctor, by the counter missile of an historic fact, '*completely demolished*' the antagonistic theory of Sir William. To turn to the other cases, and not to dwell upon the question between 'apples and ermine tails,' which I assume to be settled by the rubbing taken from the actual stone, I beg to observe that—though there may be cases, I am not aware of any, in which persons, females especially, *collaterally* descended from royalty, have borne the royal arms on a separate shield among their devices—and though I have seen many stately and elaborate tombs of noble houses in England having nearer and more direct claims to royal blood than the Butlers or Fitzgeralds of Ireland, yet I cannot recollect ever to have seen the royal arms so borne among monumental insignia; it may, however, be so in cases of which I am not aware.

Mr. Cooke, with that pains-taking and ingenious attention which he is wont to bestow on antiquarian matters, offers to prove that the monument was erected to the memory of a mysterious and somewhat legendary personage called 'The Good Woman's Son,' whom the general bearing of his arguments and the local traditions on which he relies would seem to identify with a certain 'Feorus Fionn' slain either in battle, or by an O'Fogarty chief, somewhere about the middle of the 13th century—this Feorus Fionn is further said to have been, *probably*, a son of Isabella, widow of John, King of England, by an after-taken husband, 'to have been sent to Ireland to collect Peter's pence,' and to

have been slain an 'innocent prince,' who 'could not have been more than seven years of age!' I own that (independent of other objections forcibly urged by Mr. Prim in his rejoinder) though the ingenuity and research of Mr. Cooke are both largely exercised in support of his view, yet that to me they altogether fail in sustaining the 'violation of all the unities' which this tissue of conflicting tradition involves—another instance of hobby-riding. A man of Mr. Cooke's well known acuteness must have been much engrossed indeed with his theory when he overlooked the improbability that a *child of seven years old*, even though glowing with the precocious desire to examine Irish manners and mode of living—'*videndi Hibernicos mores et vivendi formam desiderio flagrabat*,' would have been the selected agent to collect Peter's pence from the fierce O'Fogarty's and other chiefs, of Ireland in general, and of Tipperary in particular; what else could have been expected from such a selection than what happened, *if it did happen*, namely, a '*massacre of the innocent prince*.' But I am disposed to think that *if never did happen!* that father Hartry, in the seventeenth century, having tasked himself to 'chronicle' whatever might hereafter form the 'Triumphalia' of the abbey of Holy Cross, wrote down with too easy a faith all the loose and conflicting traditions of the district; and that Mr. Cooke was too much engrossed with the theory founded on them to examine the *consistency of its details* with his usual acuteness. Mr. Cooke, however, is 'himself again,' when he points out the improbability of father Hartry's being ignorant of the monument being of a *sedile* character, if such was its use. Nor does he hesitate to charge the Triumphalia with 'falling into an anachronism' when it crosses the path of his own theory—which even when we dissent from, we must admire the research and ingenuity of its advocate.

"I now come to propose my own suggestion as to the origin and use of the monument in question, and submit that while so many difficulties lie against assigning it as the tomb of *any* of the individuals mentioned, and while no other with paramount claims appears, one use *may* be indicated for it, to which none of these difficulties apply, namely, that of *THE ALTAR-TOMB*, so common in all Roman Catholic churches where the provision for carrying out the ritual was at all complete, and the use of which is for receiving the Host for an assigned period during the ceremonies of Passion Week. The '*tomb of the founder*' is the position most commonly selected as '*the altar-tomb*,' and when in after ages this elaborate monument was added to Holy Cross church, it was by no means improbable that the site selected *was the founder's grave*, and thus the mistake of its being erected to his memory may be accounted for. I consider a circumstance which Mr. Cooke mentions, and on which Mr. Prim comments, as of more importance in determining the question at issue, than either gentleman seems aware, namely, that the '*table*,' that is, the part which Mr. Prim could make the *seat of the sedilia*, is a '*stone slab with a sepulchral cross*.' Mr. Prim acknowledges this to be the fact, that the table of the monument is a '*slab ornamented with a foliated cross, of a character proving it to be about two centuries older than the rest of the structure*!' Now I must consider his mode of disposing of this fact, as doing little less violence to probability, than he charges the parties erecting the monument with having done 'to the grave of its nameless owner,' when he gives his opinion that they 'dishonestly purloined it!' For the honour of religion, and of 'devout builders unknown,' I beg to suggest a more probable and more honest reason for the appearance of this stone in its present position; either it is the original grave-stone of the founder, introduced into the more modern erection, or else, I conceive it to be an ancient *altar-slab*,¹ and *most probably that of Holy Cross church itself*, originally the covering of the principal altar, until replaced by one more costly on the erection of the new and magnificent shrine contemporaneous with the monument under consideration, when the old altar slab might have been removed to its present less conspicuous, but still consecrated use and position. Adverting to the fact incidentally mentioned in Mr. Prim's rejoinder, '*that a cross-marked stone forms the threshold of a door in the Cathedral of St. Canice at Kilkenny*,' I beg leave to offer an observation which may be interesting, namely, that at the Reformation, in very many cases, the table-stone of the altar was placed in an *inverted position*, as the threshold of the church door; and since this fact has been brought into notice, many altar-stones have been discovered, and removed from that position. I may now briefly observe that if my view as to the Holy Cross monument be admissible, it removes all the heraldic

¹ Having since personally inspected the monument, I perceive that my suggestion is inadmiss-

ble; the slab is plainly sepulchral—ill fitted to, and older than, the monument itself.—A. B. E.

difficulties with which the question is environed. I assume the question of the bearings on one shield (that of Desmond) to be settled by the 'rubbing of the original stone,' already referred to. But on my view it is needless to debate whether any or what family had a right to a full shield of royal arms, or whether a more nobly-born wife did or did not violate the order of true blazoning by assuming the dexter side for her escutcheon. I briefly remark that nothing could be more proper or probable than that the armorial bearings of the benefactors of the abbey, *regal or baronial*, would be added to the ornaments of a monument destined to such a use. Nor is there anything improbable in the suggestion, that it might have been erected, *at the joint expense of the persons whose escutcheons are thus mingled with its ornaments*. Just as we now-a-days see the armorial bearings of the donors introduced into the pattern of a donative painted window.

"There are some other circumstances connected with the arrangement for this part of the Roman Catholic ritual, which I may as well mention here. In the greater churches abroad, there is usually a separate chapel, called 'The Chapel of the Holy Sacrament,' set apart for the same use as the 'altar-tomb' in less important churches. The Pauline Chapel is the altar-tomb of the Vatican. On Holy Thursday the Pope carries the Host, in solemn procession, from the Sistine to the Pauline Chapel, deposits it there, and at a subsequent period of the holy week returns it in like solemn form to the Sistine Chapel again. I could not learn that the Pauline Chapel was ever used for any other purpose than this.

"Another curious feature in this point of church arrangement may, *if found in Holy Cross*, determine the point at issue. In many ancient churches (though by no means in all) is found a small low window close to the ground, the use of which was for some time a subject of ecclesiological perplexity and debate. At length it was observed that this window, when it existed, uniformly commanded a view of 'the altar-tomb' in the opposite *interior* wall of the church; and it seems now agreed on, that this window was intended to serve the purpose of keeping vigil from without, while the Host lay on the altar-tomb in the deserted, as it were, *widowed*, church within. I remember how I surprised an English friend, who conceived that he knew his church in all its details 'from turret to foundation stone,' by first going to search for, and then pointing out to him such a window, closed up and half buried in the accumulated earth outside his church. Now I would suggest *if Holy Cross church* be examined with a view to this point and if any such window be found in the position I mention, it would be a strong *deciding* fact, although its non-existence would not be of an equally strong negative character; for these windows are by no means an essential or universal accompaniment of the altar tomb.

"I reserve for the last a suggestion for reconciling Mr. Cooke's tradition with my theory, upon which I need hardly say I do not insist, when I mention that I expect it to bring upon me the observation that 'this gentleman can spur his own hobby as hotly as any one else.' Be it so—if I spur too eagerly and receive a fall in consequence, I hope I can take it with the good humour which ought to mark all friendly contests of this sort, in which the true solution of a difficulty being the prize contended for, we should all rejoice when it is attained, whether by ourselves or another. Now for my suggestion, which is this,—that the very peculiar phrase of the '*tomb of the Son of the Good Woman*' may originally have been a homely and yet enigmatical periphrasis, to express the 'altar-tomb of the Son of the Blessed Virgin.' I am probably fanciful, but it has occurred to me that it may be one of those peculiar and forcible modes of expression in use among the Irish in their own language. It was but yesterday that a friend and I were discussing a curious synonyme, by which, without a thought of irreverence, our peasantry designate God himself as 'the Man above,' or 'the Man on high'! Why then may not the Son of the 'Good Woman' have been in more primitive times, and before war and convulsions broke up the conventional meaning, their periphrastic expression for our Saviour himself?

"If you think these speculations worth submitting to the Kilkenny Archaeological Society at their next meeting, you will do me the favour to take the trouble of reading them as the contribution of a Member who hopes, some time or other, to take his seat at one of their reunions."

The Rev. James Mease, in reference to the ring-dial presented at the last meeting of the Society, read the following observations on ancient dials:—

"A few words on dials may not be uninteresting to the Members, as these mathematical instruments (as they may be fairly called) are not only objects which attract the attention of the antiquarian in themselves, but also from their connexion with other ancient monuments. The equal division of time must have been an important object from the earliest days of the human race; and yet many nations appear to have made considerable advancement in other respects, before this was attained with any degree of accuracy. We find that Homer seems to have had no idea of any instrument which could have been used for this purpose, although from his mention of the constellations, astronomy would appear to have attracted his attention. When he divides the day it is always by some general expression, such as—'as long as the day increased'—or—'what time the woodman prepares his meal,' that he indicates its progress. Indeed it was many ages after, that the dial was introduced into Greece. Some time before this the clepsydra, or water-clock, enabled them to measure time in the absence of the sun; to the latter instrument frequent allusion is made in classical authors, more particularly it is mentioned by *Æschines*, in his famous speech against *Ctesiphon*, or rather *Demosthenes*. Dials were, at even a later period, brought into use at Rome; the first mention of one is in the time of *Papirius Cursor*, about 460 years after the foundation of the city, and even this is doubtful. About thirty years later, in the first Punic war, one was brought from Sicily, but as it was made for a place four degrees of latitude to the south of Rome, it was, when set up at the latter place, totally useless; and yet dials existed in other countries at a much earlier period. Mention is made in the prophet *Isaiah* of the dial of *Ahaz* (38th c. 8th v.). This was probably introduced from Babylon, which city claims not only the credit of this useful invention, but of astronomical observations, which laid the foundation of that most sublime of sciences, and are of immense importance in the nicest calculations even to the present day.

"To carry on the history of dials through other nations would be here impossible, from the immense extent of the subject, and, therefore, I shall conclude this part with the mention of the use of the word by *Shakspeare*. I can call to mind that he makes use of the word three times; perhaps more frequently, but if so the passages have escaped my memory. One is in the celebrated speech of *Henry VI.*, uttered in the midst of a battle where that peaceful monarch wishes that he could lay aside his crown and take up the humble life of a shepherd; one of the occupations of this life, he says, would be—

* To carve out dials quaintly, point by point.*

Here the common horizontal slate dial is obviously meant. In another play, the name of which I forget, one of his characters says—'Nay, then, my dial goes not with yours.' Here, I think it is plain, that dial signifies a watch; and it is probable that the name of the old instrument was applied to the new. The third place is in '*As You Like It*;' the fool is there said to draw 'a dial from his poke and gaze upon it with lack-lustre eye.' I think in this latter place also, it signifies a watch, for though it might apply to a ring-dial, such as that now exhibited, yet the use of that would require some degree of skill in the setting of it, which would not only be more than one could expect from the unsettled mind of a fool, but even if we suppose him more knave than fool, yet I think some notice of the operation would be taken by the observant *Jacques*. It may seem to contradict this, that the person spoken of was a fool, but we must remember he was a court fool. The word 'poke' was probably a more respectable word then, than it is in these days.

"It would occupy too much of our time to enter upon the general subject of dialling; but a few remarks on its principles will not be out of place. Let us conceive a hollow globe, formed of twenty-four meridians, representing the earth. The sun will be obviously in the plane of one of these meridians in each successive hour. That meridian would then cast a shadow in that plain. Now the shadows of these meridians would all intersect in one line. This line is the axis of the earth. That axis would, therefore, always be in the shadow of these meridians, and, therefore, if the meridians were all taken away and the axis made into an opaque rod, the shadow of that rod would pervade instead of the shadows of the successive meridians. If then you catch that shadow on any plane it will mark the passing of time. The two things necessary then to the construction of a dial are, first, a line parallel to the axis of the earth, and secondly, a fixed plain catching the shadow of that axis, and having lines drawn to mark the shadow. Speaking in the abstract, the plane may be fixed in any position with regard to the axis, but practically a

few only of these positions are ever made use of. The horizontal, the perpendicular, facing either north and south, or east and west, and the equatorial, which serves for all latitudes. The one now exhibited to the Society is of the latter class. It was presented by James K. Aylward, Esq., having been found in a sand-pit, at Shankill, a short time since. Having shown it to Mr. M'Carthy, the mathematical master at Kilkenny College, he has favoured me with the following observations:—

“The mathematical instrument which you placed in my hands some time since, is part of an universal equinoctial dial. It wants the axis and slider. As the method of construction and the manner of using it are to be met with in most books on dialling, I think it unnecessary to enter more largely into the subject. However, it may be proper to remark that the instrument is graduated somewhat differently from those of a more recent construction. It has the hours only sub-divided into quarters on the inner edge of the inner ring; those that were in use about the commencement of the last century have the hours each sub-divided into five minutes on the outer edge of the inner ring; therefore, it is probable, that this dial was made in the early part of the seventeenth century. The names of some of the cities which are given on it seem to lead to the same conclusion.”

“I shall add to the above that this dial was obviously made by a French artist residing in Ireland. First, the names are all French; for instance London is Londres, Vienna, Vienne, &c. Secondly, the number of French towns carved on it is much greater than that of any other country. Next in number are the Irish towns. There are only two English—London and York; and all other countries have only the chief city mentioned. I have, perhaps, dwelt upon this subject longer than its importance seemed to require. However, independently of this dial as an object of interest to the antiquarian, it is well known that these instruments are attached to buildings, and buildings themselves are conjectured (as I think with a strong degree of probability) to have served as dials, and to have been constructed with that object. Some knowledge of the principles of dialling will assist in investigating the subject, and will, perhaps, enable us to decide whether or not the standing stones, usually supposed to be Druidical erections, portions of round towers (for the towers themselves could not serve for that purpose), and of other buildings, might not have been intended for that among other uses.”

Sir Erasmus Dixon Borrowes, Bart., communicated the following interesting extract from the Irish Exchequer Records, in reference to a member of the family of Dixon, concerning whom another extract from the same records had been previously brought under the notice of the public, in the *Kilkenny Moderator*, by J. F. Ferguson, Esq. :—

“30th September, 1633. Memorandum—That this day the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the cittie of Dublin, came in their scarlett gownes before The Right Honorable Thomas Viscount Wentworth, Lord Deputy Generall of this Kingdome, in his Majesties Castle of Dublin, where his Lordship being sett in his chaire of state in the presence chamber, the Mayor delivered unto him the whyte staffe and sword of the cittie, and then after Mr. Sergeant Catelyn, the Recorder, had made an eloquent oration, hee presented Robert Dixon, Esq., to be Mayor of this cittie for this ensuing yeare, who having first taken the oath of the King's supremacie, and the oath of his office of Mayor, redd unto him by Robert Kennedy, Esq., the King's Remembrancer, the Lord Deputie delivered unto him the staffe of authoritie, and sword of government of this cittie, which being donne, Sir Richard Bolton, Knight, Lord Chiefe Baron, very learnedlie and gravely declared unto the said new Mayor the points of his chardge and dutie of his place, with admonition to discharge them accordingly, who havinge ended, the Lord Deputie with greate gravitie and wisdome did further advertise and admonish the said Mayor to the faithfull and due execution and administration of justice in the saide office, to the advancement of his Majisties service, and the honor and good of the cittie, and, after much graciousness, intimatinge howe reddey hee would bee to assiste and countenance the said cittie in all their just and lawfull occasions: and soe his Lordship rysinge upp retrayed himselfe into the withdrawing chamber, and the said Mayor and Citizens departed the Castle to performe the other ceremonies of the cittie as on that daie accustomed.”

On the termination of his year of office, Robert Dixon was knighted, on the 22nd September, 1634, at his own house, in Skinner-row, then having a garden attached; which house was in being in queen Elizabeth's time, and stood on the spot now occupied by No. 14, &c., in Christ Church-place, Dublin.

Mr. D. Byrne, Timahoe, communicated the following tradition of that district:—

"On the mountain near Dysartgallen, called Knock-ard-na-gur, in the Queen's County, was a castle of considerable strength. Tradition asserts that 'a tyrant' was the proprietor, and that his usual mode of carrying on his nefarious system of robbery and murder was by meeting travellers on their way from and to Ballinakill and Stradbally, where a small stone trough now rests on the road side. These, under pretence of friendship, he invited, from time to time, to take at his castle some refreshment, where in secret he robbed and murdered them. Notwithstanding this, it was almost impossible to take the robber, even by surprise. At that time the chieftain, Rory O'More, lived in Cluan-Kyle, and when the robber had baffled all his vigilance, one of O'More's faithful retainers went to the former and asserted that he wished to enter into his employment, at the same time assailing the character of O'More and his partisans.

"Gearoid Jarla, or Garret the Earl, the name of the outlaw, was an enemy to the O'Mores; and, consequently, he received with alacrity this pretended friend, who promised if possible to place O'More in his hands. For some time he evinced a determined dislike to O'More, and appeared assiduous in seeking to compass his ruin. In one of his lurking places he met O'More, told him it was impossible to take the outlaw by surprise, and that an attack on the castle would cost too much blood; there was but one way, he said, of getting rid of the villain, and that was to come that night, singly and as close as possible to the castle, and when Gearoid sat at table, he (the servant) would place the lamp directly between the former and the window; O'More should fire at the lamp, and he would certainly bring down his man, and then could make his escape through the woods.

"O'More observed the advice of his faithful dependant, and effected his purpose. On the next day the peasantry carried the body of Gearoid Jarla to the ford of Dysartgallen, and quartered it there, casting the remains into the river, which bore them into the ocean, except the entrails, which were found below Ballinakill; and a mill having been since erected at the spot it is called to this day 'Pudding Mill.'

"The ruins of Gearoid's castle are not without their strange traditions regarding much treasure having been hidden in and about the site. Some time prior to its fall, a man and his wife set out from the county of Wicklow, and sought a night's shelter from Leem Oge Campion, or young Leem Campion, who resided near the latter; the unwise travellers told him that they frequently dreamed that a vessel containing gold coin was embedded in one of the walls of the castle, and that if they set forward the castle would fall to the ground on the night of their arrival near its ruins, and they would possess the treasure. Campion, next morning, at day's dawn, went to the castle—it was down, and in complete ruins; he found the vessel and the treasure; the dreamers returned as they came, their weakness of mind having destroyed their prospects, and Campion became a wealthy farmer!

"After the death of Gearoid Jarla, a female relative of his lived in the castle; her name was Mary Brennan, commonly called 'Moll of the hills;' she was a reputed enchantress, and married to a gentleman named Fitzpatrick. No part of the castle now remains, but its site is well known."

GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Society's Apartments, Patrick-street, Kilkenny,

WEDNESDAY, July 19th, 1853.

ROBERT CANE, Esq., M.D., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—Sir Erasmus Dixon Borrowes, Bart., Lauragh, Portarlington: proposed by Mr. Prim.

Andrew Ryan, Esq., Gortkelly Castle, Borrisoleigh; Sylvester Redmond, Esq., 19, Penrhyn-street, Scotland-road, Liverpool; George A. Hanlon, Esq., Bedford House, Rathgar, Dublin; John Russell Smyth, Esq., 36, Soho-square, London; Rev. Thomas Richard Brown, M.A.,

Southwick Vicarage, near Oundle, Northamptonshire; Th Esq., J.P., F.S.A., Ballincollig; William Barton, Esq., Dung Charles W. Russell, D.D., Dundalk; and John M'Clelland gannon: proposed by Mr. Richard Hitchcock.

William Deane Butler, Esq., Architect, Stephen's-gre proposed by Mr. Joseph Burke.

Richard Graham, Esq.; Samuel White, Esq.; and Jo Esq., all of Clonmel: proposed by Dr. Dowsley.

Charles Haliday, Esq., Monkstown Park, county of Dubl by the Rev. James Graves.

John William Smithwick, Esq., Kilcreene; and John Esq., Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. Edward Lane.

William Jones, Esq., Architect, Coal-market: proposed Robertson.

Stephen Ram, Esq., Ramsfort, Gorey: proposed by O'Daly.

The following presentations were received, and thanl ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Rev. J. L. Irwin, several curious maps and plat the latter was an engraving, representing the coronation Edward VI., and amongst the former a bird's-eye view of Lon together with a recently published panorama of the same city the vast extension of the modern Babylon within the last c

By Mr. R. Preston, jun., an old tobacco-pipe, with very and thick shank, found at the summit of the belfry tower o Abbey, to which there had been no access for a couple of c scaffolding was put up a few days since for the erection of :

By Mr. Betsworth Lawless, an ancient bronze pin.

By Joseph Rivers, Esq., Rev. James Graves, and B several ancient coins.

By John Lindsay, Esq., the author, *A View of the Histo age of the Parthians*.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq., the *Ulster Journal of Arch* 1, 2, and 3.

By the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute, ings.

Mr. Robertson presented a rubbing from a sculpture Rose Hill. It represented the crest of the Walsh family, a removed from an old house which formerly stood on the la rington, near this city. The crest was blazoned as follow rising proper, ducally gorged, pierced through the breast l the point downwards.

The Rev. Thomas H. Watson, Rathdowney, forwarded fo and for deposit for the present in the Museum of the Societ iron knife, inlaid with brass and soldered with tin, which have been found in the summer of 1851, by a stone-cutter, rying, about four or five feet under ground, at Ballyti Fenagh, County of Carlow. There was some kind of hanc of wood, attached when the article was discovered, but th broke away, and stated to have been quite rotten. The Rev

pointed to the ornamental inlaying on the blade as strongly resembling in its pattern some of the sculptures on the ancient Irish crosses. Tin solder was most unusual in ancient remains of the kind.

The Rev. Thomas R. Brown, forwarded the following interpretation of one of the ancient porcelain Chinese seals found in Ireland, noticed in Getty's work on Chinese Seals, Dublin, 1850:—

"As a newly-proposed member of your Society, allow me to introduce myself by the interpretation of a seal which has been translated by Mr. Gutzlaff, 'a dark cloud,' and which Mr. Meadows has said 'can only be partially deciphered, and hence cannot be translated.' See Getty, pp. 27, 30. The seal is numbered 61. I have before me 'Fargher's Mona Almanac' for 1853, in which the Kirk Michael Runic monument has been differently translated by Sir John Prestwich, Bart., Mr. Beauford of Ireland, Dr. Charles Oberleitner of Vienna, Rev. T. R. Brown, vicar of Southwick, and J. J. A. Worsaae, Esq. of Copenhagen, with Professor P. A. Munch; the two last agree in their translation. Here are *five* who slightly or otherwise disagree; I hope, therefore, you will not think me presumptuous overmuch, if I make a third in the above-mentioned seal. I shall quote the numbers of the words as they are in Guignes' 'Dictionnaire Chinois' for the benefit of any person not acquainted with that language.

Figure of the seal in *modern* characters. 1st. At the top, on the right hand, *tsou*, 31, with *tsou*, 1549, a point (piece) of land. 2nd. Beneath the first, *tshe*, 2272, with *tsou*, 77, (with) grass herbs, &c., on it. 3rd. At the top, on the left hand, *tsan*, 6145, (makes) a sweet-smelling. 4th. Beneath, *tsien*, 6170, field. That such combinations as 31 + 1549, and 2272 + 77 are frequent, and make, in appearance, only one word, see Chinese Courtship (with not a very literal translation), by P. P. Thoms. Therefore the literal translation of the seal is this: 'A spot of land covered with herbs makes a sweet-scented field.' And I think the motto may, not improperly, be applied to the Members of such a Society as yours. 'A person with a well-cultivated mind is as a sweet-smelling flower-garden.'"

Mr. John Dunne, Garryricken, communicated the discovery made by him of a hitherto unnoticed ancient Irish inscription at Killamory, county of Kilkenny, where another Irish inscription, recently figured by Mr. O'Neill, in his lithograph of the cross of Killamory, is long known to have existed. The stone, which is rough grit and seems to have been broken, is two feet and a-half long, and thirteen inches wide. It bears inscribed on its surface a small plain cross and the letters, in very ancient Irish characters, *OK AK THUACHAL*, which Mr. Dunn reads—"a prayer for Toole." A rubbing accompanied the communication.

Mr. Graves said Dr. Petrie had informed him, that he had, many years ago, seen and copied three ancient Irish inscriptions in Killamory church-yard, and it would be well to ascertain from the learned gentleman whether that recently exhumed by Mr. Dunne was one of them.

Mr. Prim read a letter from W. D'Alton, Esq., Claremont, Nenagh, forwarding an account of the discovery of a large oaken beam, in the fosse of the rath of Curraghleigh, parish of Dolla, and barony of Upper Ormonde, county of Tipperary; accurate drawings and plans accompanied the communication. It appeared that the rath consisted of a square citadel, surrounded by a fosse, within a circular entrenchment, also defended by a corresponding fosse. The beam, which was eighteen feet long, and squared one foot eight inches by one foot five inches, was found two feet beneath the soil, in a bed of tough bluish clay, in the middle of the inner fosse, lying in a horizontal position, and containing four mortices, well cut with a chisel apparently, and bored at each corner with an auger. Mr. D'Alton stated that from the appearance of the mould

over the beam he thought the fosse must have been, at period, filled with water, and that the beam was a portion of a draw-bridge. It was a matter of surprise how such could be brought to where it lay, in consequence of the of the surrounding lands, which must have been nearly ancient times. It was evident from the name "Curragh" signified the rough, or bleak, or more literally grey marsh, most places in Ireland, preserving their original appellation designation from the peculiar features of the locality. were very prevalent in the district, and there were two shape situate within a few hundred yards of Curraghleigh was found by people employed in sinking drains, but superstitious feeling with respect to raths that no person could help to remove the balk till he gave the "first lift" him warded a coin, found in the excavation, for presentation to Museum, which he hoped might throw light on the subject covery.

Mr. Prim stated that the coin was a groat of queen Mary to throw no light on the subject, as it was evidently mere spot long subsequently to the depositing of the beam there.

Mr. Prim presented the fragments of a baked clay urn a few months since in what had evidently been an extensive cemetery, situated in the county of Kilkenny. The fragments which he had been intrusted for presentation to the Mr. John Moore, of Columbkille, near Thomastown, had been the discovery of a very fine urn, which had been ornamented, at the pressing of a cord plaited into a regular pattern into before it was baked. Mr. Moore stated that the discovery was made the 16th March last, on the lands of Columbkille, the property of Flood, Esq., where there are on the townland, comprising fewer than 57 carns and tumuli. The finder was a labourer, Thomas Conway, who was digging a potato trench in the middle of a high field, sloping to the west, and came upon clumps of ashes. At a depth of two feet he lighted on a small thing, which, being lifted, was found to be the covering of a clay urn, large enough to hold more than a stone of potatoes. It was filled with ash and fragments of burned bones, and had not been inclosed with a lid of cist or chamber. The finder was overjoyed at the discovery, and, it being thought it to be a "crock of gold," and without making the discovery known to any one, he watched over the urn for the night, sacrificing, according to the ritual recommended by the most esteemed doctors, to propitiate the spirit supposed to guard the treasure; but, however, was unavailing for restoring the dust to gold, and the cock crew without the expected transmutation having taken place. Mr. Conway, in the depth of his disappointment, broke the fragments and scattered the bones and ashes about! The only thing that Mr. Moore could recognise, when he went to the urn the next day, were fragments of the skull not larger than a shilling. In the last twenty years there have been three small cists in different places in the townland; they were composed

standing on edge, two feet wide, and nearly the same in height; but neither bones nor urns were found in them, they apparently having been previously ransacked. There were formerly two circular intrenchments, resembling raths, in the townland, of which one was levelled sixty years since, and a fine urn was found in it, which was also broken by the diggers: the other was levelled sixteen years since, but all that the labourers discovered in it was a quantity of "clinkers," as if it had been used as a tinker's forge. Some of the cairns, tumuli, and sites of pillar stones in the locality, would be well worthy of exploration.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited a large number of beautifully-executed pen-and-ink drawings of cromleacs, principally from the northern counties of Ireland. These drawings had been executed by Mr. Johns, of Carrickfergus, an enthusiastic collector of that class of antiquities. Mr. Johns had communicated a copy of a letter received from another labourer in the same field, lieutenant-colonel C. Hamilton Smith, which he begged to lay before the meeting:—

"You are no doubt fully aware that the old antiquarian confused view of those objects is no longer admissible. They are scattered over a vast surface of the world in geographical directions, pointing to the forward movement of certain tribes, all apparently having a common Gomerian origin; their highest and most original point of departure is seemingly about the fords of the upper Indus, near Attock; they extend down its western bank to the mouth of the river, and then along the west coast of India to Ceylon, eastward to Mahabalipuram, or further, for they occur again at Macao in China, and at Loochoo! From the Indus westward, they pass down the Helmund to the lake, and then to Southern Persia, ascend the Tigris and Euphrates, where they meet again another line along the Parapanusan chain through Masinderan to Armenia; from thence, both united, cross the mountains to the Euxine Sea. They occur in ancient Colchis, then along the coast and through the country to the Mediterranean, following both borders of that sea to the straits; but a line of them from the Venetian territory passes through Trient, Buxen, the Tyrol, round the Alps, and meets the other along the sea on the ridge of the Vogesian mountains, one going down the Loire, another down the Rhine, where, however, they are now all destroyed; both met the continuation of the line along the ocean through Galicia and France, to opposite the coast of Kent; there one crosses into Great Britain and Ireland, and the other passing northward ends in Lapland. Some stragglers of these Cyclopiæ wandered to the east coast of North America, where their monuments occur in Nova Scotia, and on the mainland of the United States. There is an obscure line apparently up the Danube, and one coming out of Poland to Dantzic, and thence coasting the Baltic, till it meets the other in Denmark. Thus I have shown sufficient to prove the necessity of a much deeper and more extensive research respecting the origin and movements of the Celtic race, if we mean at any time to come at an approximate idea of its primæval seat and development; and that it is also necessary to examine minutely the most ancient nomenclature of all the geographical denominations of objects along the lines in question; not exactly in the usual unhesitating way Celtic scholars have adopted, but with at least some knowledge of other tongues, and in particular of the Sanscrit family of languages, east and west. I have myself never completed this necessary investigation, but so far as I have carried it, and that extends over the far greater part, the result substantiated the conclusion which the monuments themselves offered."

John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, read a paper on the Ulster Creaghts, which that gentleman has not been able to prepare for press in time for this volume of the Transactions.

A paper was contributed by Mark S. O'Shaughnessy, Esq., on Certain Obsolete Modes of inflicting Punishment, with Some Account of the

Ancient Court to which they belonged, which will be found in the Transactions, p. 254, *ante*.

The Rev. James Graves read a paper on the Ancient Pill at Ballon Hill, county of Carlow, which will be found printed in the Transactions, p. 295, *ante*.

In reference to a discussion which has been for some time in the Society, T. L. Cooke, Esq., Parsonstown, forwarded the following on the monument at Holy Cross, in reply to Dr. Rowan's read at the last meeting :—

"In reverting to that elegant remain of other days, the monument choir of Holy Cross Abbey, I do acknowledge that I owe many obligations to Dr. Rowan, of Belmont, Tralee, for his having, in a communication read at a meeting of this Society, revived my attention to the subject. That learned divine, who has incorrectly supposed me to have adopted a theory that Feorus Fionn, in the Annals of the Four Masters, was certainly the personage interred, under the designation of the 'Good Woman's Son,' in the superb monument at Holy Cross, would not, perhaps, be fair to hold the Rev. writer accountable for the formation of my ideas in respect of the occupant of the monument in question, as such opinion might have been deduced from what is reputed to be the inscription as it has appeared in print on the face of this Society's Transactions for the year 1849. I do not hold myself responsible for the printed garb in which my paper has appeared to the learned world. I had no sort of control in editing it, nor was I permitted to me for revision or correction. I hope that Mr. Prim, who has written two essays on this same monument, has not the same cause for regret that I conceive I have. I own that I felt annoyed when I first read of this Society's Transactions for 1849. Yet, after consideration, I must acknowledge that the Society was at that time in its infancy, and the probable experience attendant on a new undertaking now suffices to excuse with some form in which, by the mutilation of my MS., I have been made to appear. Dr. Rowan has struck upon one of the false positions in which I have been in print, by my being erroneously represented as asserting that Feorus Fionn, only seven years of age, was sent forth to collect Peter-pence, then imposed upon both clergy and laity in Ireland, and to engage in 'the collection of Peter-pence'."

"With great respect I would suggest to Dr. Rowan that he, even if he were of good humoured criticism, was not justified in fancying I had got astray in my hobby, and that it had run away with its deluded rider, bearing palpable absurdity which I have mentioned. I doubt not but that Dr. Rowan will, on consideration, allow that his conclusion has in this respect not been even by the printed report of my paper as given in the Transactions; and, find, at page 67, my own account of the object I had in view. He will find in the paragraph which heads the page now referred to, the words—'My plan in laying this paper before the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, is to prove that the monument is the tomb of The Good Woman's Son, rather than of any person, and to show that it was really a tomb, and not a sedile. I there make some observations which follow, more with a view to assist others in their future discoveries who was the personage known under the mysterious title of The Good Woman's Son, than in the hope of presently establishing his identity myself in any manner.' Had the Rev. Dr. Rowan attentively read the two sentences copied, he would not have attributed to me the egregious folly of believing Feorus Fionn, supposing him to be then a child of only seven years of age, sent forth by antiquaries as a fitting missionary to discharge the onerous duty of collecting Peter-pence."

"It gives me pleasure here to observe that Dr. Rowan thoroughly grasped the nature of the case."

¹ The Editors were compelled, by the want of funds, felt at that early stage of the Society's existence, to curtail portions of Mr. Cooke's very interesting, but lengthened paper; they are per-

suaded, nevertheless, that no fair argument has been omitted. The charge themselves with over-charge of seven for seventeen.—EDS.

adopting the *tomb theory* for the monument in question, although our conclusions in that respect are arrived at by different means. I endeavoured to prove from tradition, history, and external circumstances that it was a tomb; but Dr. Rowan's great experience in such matters enabled him at once to pronounce it, *ex-cathedra*, a tomb, and then to raise his own superstructure upon the foundation so rapidly and satisfactorily laid.

"Dr. Rowan has taken me to have written, "*The Triumphalia*" describes the Good Woman's Son as *princeps innocens*, and Feorus Fionn at the time of his death, in 1233, could not have been more than seven years of age, as queen Isabella could not have been married to king John in 1216.' Had the worthy and pious divine, previously to his sending, for the edification as well as amusement of the members of our Kilkenny Society, a paper replete with pungent facetiousness, referred either to me or to my MS. in the custody of the Secretary, it would have saved him and me much trouble, for he would have thereby discovered that my words had been misprinted. A copy of what I wrote here follows, and therein the words omitted in printing the Transactions will be found in Italics. "*The Triumphalia*" describes the Good Woman's Son as "*princeps innocens*," and Feorus Fionn, at the time of his death in 1233, could not have been more than seventeen years of age, as queen Isabella could not have been married to *Hugh le Brun until after the death of king John in 1216.*" At page 67 of the printed Transactions, Dr. Rowan might also have found that I quoted the learned authority of Professor Connellan and Dr. O'Donovan to show that Feorus Fionn was son to queen Isabella by Hugh le Brun, and in page 68 I gave my own reasons for concluding that he must have been son of that queen.

"A reference to my original MS. would further have proved that I had not formed any theory whatever as to the identifying of the Good Woman's Son with Feorus Fionn or with any other person, for I therein merely offered suggestions to enable others to inquire who the Good Woman's Son really was. So far from my having conclusively formed, or having been wedded to, any opinion of my own in regard to that personage, I expressed myself (*Trans.* p. 73), thus: '*I, for the present, leave it to others to decide whether Feorus Fionn and the Good Woman's Son were or were not the same person.*' In an *unprinted portion* of my paper, I also threw out some hints to enable future inquirers to trace whether the arms on the monument might not prove its occupant to have been some relative of the great earl of Pembroke. This surely did not indicate that I had made the identity of Feorus Fionn with the Good Woman's Son my hobby.

"There seems to me to be something worth consideration in the Rev. Dr. Rowan's interpretation of the phrase '*the Good Woman's Son.*' Still it is difficult to believe that expression to mean '*The Son of the Blessed Virgin,*' i. e. '*our Saviour himself.*' Such would be too homely a mode of expression by which to designate the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity; and I do not think the synonyme by which, Dr. Rowan remarks the peasantry occasionally designate God, namely, '*The Man Above,*' furnishes any argument in favour of such a construction. In the last mentioned phrase, instead of the word *Man* meaning, as in the English language, a *human being*, and being used in that sense, it appears to me that it is there an Irish word, signifying God; and that the expression, '*The Man Above,*' is a barbarous and imperfect translation of *An man oag-ceann*, which literally signifies '*The God Above,*' or '*overhead.*' The expression, '*Good Woman's Son,*' might have arisen from an over literal translation of the Irish, signifying the same, by using the word *son* instead of the word *priest* or *person under protection* of the good woman, who in that case would be the Blessed Virgin, to whom Holy Cross Abbey was dedicated. The word *mac*, literally *son*, is occasionally used in this sense; as for example, *Mac Faomsa* means a person under the protection of a prince, and *Mac-Greine* means *priest of the sun.*—It is in the same style the Four Masters have called the Culdees by the name *Meic-Beathaidh*, i. e. literally, '*sons of life.*' If the personage interred in the Holy Cross monument was the cause of having rendered to that abbey the great benefits of which popular tradition and the *Triumphalia* speak, he might well have been received under the protection of our Blessed Lady as patroness of the establishment; and, in that case, the word *mac* might with propriety be used in designating him. I, however, merely suggest this for the more mature reflection of those disposed to consider the point.

"It will be in the minds of the members of this learned Society that the observations of mine, which were submitted to the meeting, held the 5th of September, 1849, and which drew down on me, the same day, the censures of Mr. Prim, were called forth by an original paper from that gentleman on the subject of this same Holy Cross monu-

"When originally writing, I expressed myself in the text: 'if my memory is not fallacious, father Hartry's book even gives a picture of the monument as that *Filii Bonæ Mulieris*.' Surely that was an assertion in the affirmative that my recollection then was that Hartry had specified it; but all room for cavil was removed by a note appended by me in the words 'since I wrote the above I find there is, *beyond doubt*, a painting representing this monument given in the *Triumphalia*. It serves to identify the structure now the subject of antiquarian speculation, as being the same designated by father Hartry the tomb of the Good Woman's Son.' It was not a fair mode of reasoning for Mr. Prim to represent me as having had a doubt on this subject, and then to deduce from such imputed doubt inferences hostile to the tomb theory. But Mr. Prim has supposed that Hartry had, without any authority, other than his own caprice or fancy, imposed on his readers by fixing on the structure in question as the tomb; and in a subsequent passage he writes, 'In fact I think it *may very reasonably be supposed* that, from father Hartry himself, in stating to *visitors* the conjecture which the MS. gave rise to with him, the present tradition of the locality respecting the Good Woman's Son originated.' I regret that I cannot acquiesce in thinking it *very reasonable to suppose* that a clergyman, now over two hundred years in his grave, should have invented and circulated a report unfounded in fact. In this instance, Mr. Prim has furnished the Rev. Dr. Rowan with evidence of the truth of that learned divine's assertion, that a *lobby theory* will run away with the steadiest rider when he is once fairly astride. It is not fair that what Hartry wrote centuries ago must now, because it clashes with our modern speculations, be nullified by supposing the friar to have invented untruths regarding the ordinary use and identity of a tomb standing in the choir of the abbey church with which he was connected. But Mr. Prim has suggested that Hartry originated a supposed false tradition in the neighbourhood of Holy Cross as to this same tomb, by stating to *visitors* his conjectures respecting it. This admission, that there were such visitors to Hartry at Holy Cross Abbey, appears to me to cut down the bridge behind Mr. Prim, for in another part of his reply he admits that Hartry's authority, as to the use of the tomb or sedilia, would be conclusive 'had the abbey continued to be used as a religious and conventual building to father Hartry's time, and had he been regularly admitted amongst its brotherhood. But such (says he) was not the case.' Let us now see what Walter Harris says in contradiction to this, in his edition of Ware's Writers. It is this—'John, alias Malachy Hartry . . . was a Waterford man by birth, and a Cistercian monk in the abbey of Nucle in Spain; but, returning into Ireland, he *resided in the abbey of Holy Cross* in the county of Tipperary, *where I suppose he officiated as Parish Priest*.' Mr. Harris adds to this, that in the year 1733, he borrowed the *Triumphalia* from the then parish priest of *Holy Cross*. The year just mentioned was only eighty-four years after the *Triumphalia* had been written, and it is probable that at that time, and in that locality, all about its author was well known.

"There exists no sort of doubt that the monument was a real tomb. On reference made to the *Triumphalia* since the discussion on this subject, in 1849, it appears that the picture of the tomb is *underwritten*—'*Inclitum gloriosi Principis & Martiri Monumentum*;' while on the margin of it is, '*Filii bonæ mulieris Monumentum in cenobio Sanctæ Crucis*.' In the manuscript, on the back of the picture (which is on vellum), in treating of the monument, it is designated, '*Bonæ mulieris filii Tumbus*,' in red ink, and in characters of a larger size than the other words on the same page. But this, if Mr. Prim's estimate of father Hartry be correct, may be a fraud of Father Hartry, for Mr. Prim says, 'I do not wish to imply that the worthy monk wilfully misrepresented the matter, but I think it *perfectly obvious* that he had a great object to gain in giving the strongest colour which he possibly could, to any statement calculated to gain a high repute amongst the people for the religious house to which he belonged; and *no doubt* this mysterious legend of the Good Woman's Son was one which in proper hands could easily be made to give the monastery a great prestige amongst a simple-minded and romantic peasantry.' Here Mr. Prim admits Hartry to have belonged to the monastery of Holy Cross, although we have already found him denying that Hartry was regularly admitted therein! Really, one must be as simple-minded as those peasantry are supposed to have been, to imagine that friar Hartry could at once be knave enough to practise such imposition, and yet so consummate a blockhead, if the monument was not really a tomb, as to attempt to prove it one by falsely narrating that the body of one Peter Purcell, which had been buried in it, was subsequently removed by order of Sir Hugh Purcell about the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the year 1603. This date was

only thirty-seven years before Hartry wrote. He gave day and date the parties then recently concerned, there then being in existence very must have known whether such a transaction had happened or not reason to believe that any sane person would attempt to invent and such a number of fancied lies about the monument being a tomb, used as such so short a time before Hartry wrote as the year 1603.

"But why should we rest on the authority of a history or of a tradition, thus, however unwarrantably, impugned? The Triumphalia admit of real, or legends of pretended, miracles, and I have been taunted with any reliance on it, the more particularly as I had myself imputed an. I answer that I do not think it just or fair to set down a writer as the hood, because he happens to have erred in chronology. I know sufficient of fable and fact, and of the practice of embellishment, to believe that can separate them and distinguish between them. I am not of the bardic lore, or Keating's or O'Halloran's histories of Ireland show rejected by reason of marvellous stories to be found interspersed among. Let me now state as a finale to the *tomb-theory* what, on recent inquiry the fact. It is this—during the repairs of the abbey of Holy Cross a very monument was opened and examined. *It was found to be a vessel to contain human bones.* This fact subverts all speculation, and is character of the monument at rest for ever!

"It is to me matter of indifference whether the monument may be a sedilia or not; but I remain of opinion that it was not originally intended such. The ancient tomb-stone with foliated cross, covering the interior table of the tomb, is several inches higher than the outside of the table will have it, seat, by whichever name it may be called. The same slab foot of the outer edge of the monument, thereby limiting the depth of. Hence, the depth of seat, supposing it to have been intended for one twelve inches; although the entire depth of the recess of the monument breadth of the ancient tomb-slab, is fully three feet. Had it been intended is unaccountable why it should not have been left deeper when there sufficient space to permit it to be so. Moreover, the breadth between eighteen inches. The supposed seat, therefore, would be only eighteen twelve inches in depth, an area altogether inadequate for a mitred abbot ecclesiastic, robed in full state pontificals. The elevation of the old the remainder of the table, shows that it was reckoned the most honour inferior though it was in workmanship to the rest of the monument.

"Mr. Prim has, I believe, been over hasty in reproving me for having proof was afforded that the monument was not erected more early than as the arms of France were represented on it by *three fleurs-de-lis*; and the man is not quite correct in asserting that it was Henry V., who ascended A. D., 1413, that first reduced the number of *fleurs-de-lis* in his armorial three, Henry IV. having previously reduced them to five. It is unnecessary maintenance of what I have already written on this point, to do more picture of the coronation of Henry IV., as copied from the Harleian 'Old England,' where the herald in front of the throne is represented on a cutcheon on which France has only *three fleurs-de-lis*. We may, therefore, number of *fleurs-de-lis* began to be limited to three in the time of Henry events, a difference of some fourteen years or so in the age of the monument this distance of time, very material.

"Another of the errors which Mr. Prim charges me with is, my neglect the effect that the armorial ensign of Holy Cross was what I (advisedly) cross, which Mr. Prim tells us is termed in heraldry the *cross-patriarchal*, complains that I did not supply this cross from the Triumphalia, at which he expresses himself in regard to it thus, 'I much doubt the antiquity of think it not improbable that it was adopted about father Hartry's own standing Mr. Prim's generous correction of me, I continue to think that cross is more applicable than that of *cross-patriarchal* to express the which I was writing. It is formed of a shaft and two horizontal arms while the *cross-patriarchal* has its arms of unequal lengths. As Mr. Prim the abbey to have been more than a hundred years disused, and, proba

father Hartry was writing, he has thereby unconsciously proved that the *double cross* was not first adopted in Hartry's time; for this remarkable form of cross is still extant on the mitre covering the head of an abbot, which ornaments the key-stone of one of the arches or flying buttresses crossing the southern aisle of the church at Holy Cross.

"I am indebted to Mr. Prim for a rubbing of the arms on the fourth shield, on the tomb of The Good Woman's Son, and I have again minutely inspected the original (in the month of April, 1852). It is eight inches long, by five inches and three quarters in breadth. I am yet of opinion that it presents to view a saltire between twelve pears. It seems that the pear was an armorial bearing of the Cistercian order. Tanner's '*Notitia Monastica*' shows, that three pears pendent were borne by the Cistercian abbey at Wardon, and a bend between pendent pears was on the arms of the Augustinian house at Hertland, Devonshire. Possibly the saltire was borne on the Holy Cross shield (that being the cross of St. Patrick) to distinguish this house from others. The arms of France are on the ruins of the Cistercian abbey at Bective. This seems to be in consequence of St. Bernard having originated the order in that country, whence the house at Furnes in Lancashire was supplied with monks, and to Furnes, Holy Cross abbey was subject. This might account for the arms of France and England on the tomb. The plain cross appertained to several religious houses, such as the Temple at London, and others. Butley abbey, Suffolk, bore a chief indented, resembling the arms of the family of Butler. Thus the whole of the armorial bearings on this monument may possibly, after all, be purely religious. I cannot avoid thinking that these insignia, if they be lay ones, wholly (independent of other proofs) subvert the idea of the beautiful monument at Holy Cross having been erected as a mere piece of church furniture, such as a set of sedilia must be considered.

"In concluding this paper, I cannot help giving expression to my abhorrence of the want of taste and decency which has very recently allowed two modern graves and a rudely sculptured head-stone to encroach on, and conceal the elegant workmanship displayed on the tomb of the Good Woman's Son."

Mr. Prim said, that although he saw no reason to alter the opinions to which he had previously given expression on this subject, he yet did not intend to occupy the attention of the Society with any answer to the paper of Mr. Cooke, as he believed that his doing so would not be likely to tend to any useful purpose. It was evident from the views of the architectural age of the structure in dispute, adhered to by Mr. Cooke, and his persistence in looking upon the ermine spots, on the escutcheon of the Desmond family, as *pears*, that that gentleman and he could never be led to regard in the same light, the clearest and most obvious evidence which they had on the subject—that afforded by the sculptures on the structure itself; and Mr. Cooke had now, in replying to his (Mr. Prim's) former paper, in so many places given a meaning to some of his expressions and additional force to others, which he (Mr. Prim) never intended they should convey and such as he conceived the words, due regard being had to the context, would not afford, that, were he to enter upon a reply, so many and such lengthy explanations and quotations from former passages would be involved, in order to show the real meaning of what he had written, the discussion should necessarily degenerate into a mere logomachy, which would be altogether beside the original subject in dispute, and could not possibly have interest for any meeting of the Society. If any one cared to inquire what answer he had to make to Mr. Cooke's charges against him of misrepresentations respecting father Hartry, they would find sufficient answer in his (Mr. Prim's) second paper, in the *Transactions* of the Society for the year 1849, to which Mr. Cooke's paper purported to be a reply. He was willing that his theory should stand or fall by what he had already

written on the matter. Whether or not the structure used as a tomb, it was obviously intended by the builder of the abbey church. As regarded the Rev. Dr. Rowan should be admitted to be well qualified to act as an a dispute as this, but he had confessedly written on the visiting Holy Cross. However, he (Mr. Prim) had lea (Dr. Rowan) that he had since been to see the abbey, a a future meeting to lay before the Society the altered which personal inspection of the object in dispute had gi far those impressions were likely to be favourable to Mr. own (Mr Prim's) views, remained to be seen.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Society's Apartments, Patrick-street, E
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER, 7th, 1853,

THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE, in the chair.

The following Members were elected:—The Rig Stopford; The Right Hon. Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart. Philip W. Doyne, M.A., Precentor of Ferns: proposed l F.H ore.

William D. de Rythre, Esq., Riverstown House, Mon Rev. James Kilbride, Ballylinan Cottage, Athy; and Rol Esq., V.S., Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. James Grav Rev. George H. Reade, Inniskeen Rectory, Dundalk R. Mackarness, Barnwell Rectory, Oundle, Northamp Charles O'Connell, P.P., Balbriggan; and Rev. Charles W Dundalk: proposed by Mr. Richard Hitchcock.

John R. MacCullagh, Esq., R.M., Kilrush, County C by Mr. Mark O'Shaughnessy.

Richard Johnston, Esq., Architect, 93, Leinster-ro Dublin: proposed by Mr. J. G. Robertson.

The Rev. John Byron, M.A., Vicar of Killingholme-w: Lincolnshire: proposed by the Rev. T. R. Brown.

Ross Mahon, Esq., Ladywell, Athlone: proposed by Lynden Dunne, Esq., Ballinakill; and Mr. John C Carlow: proposed by Mr. Joseph Burke.

The following presentations were received and th ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Royal Dublin Society, the *Catalogue of its Supplement*.

By the Society of Antiquaries of London:—*Archæolo part 1., its Proceedings, Nos. 33 to 36 inclusive, and the Kerrich Collection of Roman Coins.* By the committee of Library, London, the *Catalogue of the London Traders', Tan house Tokens, preserved in the Beaufoy Collection.*

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain a *Journal*, No. 38.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. 15.

By Rev. T. R. Brown, a *Grammar of Hebrew Hieroglyphs*, and *The Essentials of Sanscrit Grammar*.

By Mr. R. Hitchcock, Mr. John Gray Bell's *Topographical Catalogue*.

By Mr. Edward H. Paget, a most valuable and interesting collection of rubbings of English monumental brasses and slabs, thirty-three in number.

By Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley, Houndshill, Stratford-on-Avon, a fine gutta-percha impression of the seal of Thomas Barret, bishop of Elphin from 1372 to 1404. The device was a Gothic canopy of elegant workmanship, beneath which was represented the Blessed Virgin crowned and seated with the Saviour in her arms; above, the half-length figure of a bishop with mitre and crozier. The canopy bore a shield charged with three mitres; showing, as Mr. Shirley pointed out, that the ancient arms of the see were different from those at present in use. The inscription in black-letter, was—SIGILLUM DOMINI THOME DEI GRACIA ELPHINENSIS EPISCOPI.

By Mr. Wogan, Carrick-on-Suir, an antique brass seal, which had been in his possession for many years, and was stated to have been found in some ecclesiastical ruin. The seal was of the wheel pattern, exhibiting four faces, respectively charged with the dove and olive branch, a heart pierced by two darts, a *fleur-de-lis*, and a field *semé* of stars.

By Mr. A. Nugent, a corbel, of grit-stone, rudely carved into a human head, and of considerable antiquity.

By Rev. James Graves, five specimens of the ancient encaustic tiles, and a roofing slate, picked up during a recent visit to Jerpoint Abbey.

By Mr. William F. Wakeman, Dublin, author of the *Hand-book of Irish Antiquities*, &c., two fine specimens of ancient inlaid flooring tiles from St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; also an exceedingly curious example of the same class, about two inches square, containing the Lombardic capital letter G., from the abbey founded by the De Courcys at Downpatrick, County of Down.

By Mr. James S. Blake, two of the ancient flooring tiles of Jerpoint Abbey.

By Mr. Hitchcock, on the part of Mr. Dunlevy, of Dingle, an old sword, with its wooden sheath, said to have been used in the war between the Greeks and Turks.

By the Rev. James Mease, Mr. R. Smithwick, Rev. J. L. Drapes, Mr. J. Davis White, Mr. H. Malony and Mr. P. Phelan, several ancient coins.

By Mr. M. Kearney, *fac-simile* copies of four ancient inscriptions from St. Mary's church, Irishtown, Clonmel, as a contribution towards a collection of the antiquities of that town. The inscriptions were as follow :—

"1. Hic jacet D. Nicolaus White Armiger, vir pietate constantia mansuetudine et integritate morum conspicuus et amabilis, obiit 30 die Augusti, 1622. Eius corpus ex antecessorum capella, quæ borealem sacelli huius partem respicit, in hoc monumentum 22 die Decembris, 1623, translatus est, cuius animæ propitiatur Deus; sacellum hoc, S. Nöi. Jesu eiusque genetricis B. Mariæ Virginis dicatum, construxerunt in perpetuam dicti

Nicolai memoriam Barbara White uxor eius vidua, et Henricus White, filius eius et hæres."

"2. Insignia Joanis White armigeri quondam comit. Palatini Tiperarum Senecal, comitat. Waterfordiæ Viscomitis, Clonmell primi majoris. Sic [transit] mundi gloria. Benedictus Viteus Hæres dicti Joanis, et Alsonæ hæc fieri fecerunt."

"3. Hic jacet Galfridus Barron, qui obiit 22 Marti A.D., 1601, et Belma White uxor ejus, quæ hunc tumulum fieri fecit A. DI. 1605, et obiit A.D.M. 1610, quarum animabus propitiatur Deus."

"4. Hic jacet Terrentius O'Donel qui obiit 4 Marti, 1565, et ejus uxor Elæne [Huet] quæ obiit 24 Aprilis, 1591. Eorum filii hunc tumulum fieri fecerunt, A.D. 1592, quibus sit propitius omnipotens. Amen."

The Rev. T. R. Brown, of Oundle, sent the following interpretation of the legend on the ancient porcelain Chinese seal, found near Thomas-town, and formerly presented to the Museum by the Rev. J. Graves:—

"I think your Chinese seal reads *Tsin Kao*; which may be translated 'A little but lofty mountain [is a] noble [sight].' Like many other seals this appears to have an occult meaning, as 'a great soul in a little body.'"

Mr. Brown also forwarded an interpretation of the celebrated Runic Ogham, taken from Henselius' *Synopsis Universæ Philologiæ*, p. 84, tab. 2, No. 3, and called *Lapis Rogstadensis*, in Helsingia. The result of Mr. Brown's investigation was the following:—

"Adam Brusai, the great grand-son of Noah, after a long voyage, arrived in safety at the island of Menix, in the Syrtis Minor, accompanied with a promiscuous multitude, armed with spears, and intending to go southward and find a quiet abode for their families. After having married the virgins of the city, they, fathers and their families accompanying them, hastened their departure to obtain a peaceful abode in a province south of the Syrtis Major."

Mr. Brown adds,

"I am not aware that any person beside myself has made a translation of this remarkable inscription. A knowledge of the manner of forming the Oghams proves to be the key for ascertaining the *true* alphabet of the cuneiform letters."

The same gentleman, professing to have but little knowledge of the Irish language, stated that with much diffidence he offers the following translation of the Glounaclough Ogham, engraved in vol. 1, p. 142, of the Kilkenny Archæological Society's Transactions:—

"*Cumh Gus Soah*," i.e., "The time of the death cessation."

Mr. Brown supposes that if the inscription was perfect, some criterion for fixing the name and date of the person commemorated would be found on the stone. He says—

"If I am right in my interpretation of the sentence on this stone, it might be of very ancient date, as its construction is of Phœnician appearance."

He adds:—

"I have been much amused and somewhat edified with the *pros* and *cons* bestowed on the Burnfort Ogham. Allow me to suggest a third interpretation of the word cut on the stone. The letters seem to be *sagittary*; now as *y* is often, in ancient writing, put for *is*, and *is* for *y*, the inscription may read *sagittarii*—archers. If so, it is a Latin word, and shows the inscription to be of a somewhat recent date; and if the stone properly belongs to the place where it was found, we may, I think, conclude that the rath

was the scene of a *battle*, and that the stone records the burial of the *archers* that were slain there. It is no matter of surprise that an *Irish* Ogham should bring forth a Latin word; for I have a *Runic* Ogham that must be read in Greek; and I have seen one in the Arabic language."

Mr. Graves brought before the meeting a report by Mr. J. Dunne, Garryricken, that having visited the church-yard of Killamory on the 15th of August, he found that the remains of the ancient chancel wall, which enclosed the tombs of the Lee family, had been uprooted in the previous week, and appropriated in making a sewer and fence in the vicinity of the police barrack there. The body of the ancient place of worship, with its ivy-covered arch, was taken down, in 1815, as materials for building the present parish church; but the moss-covered stones uprooted on this occasion have, on the contrary, been cast into a common sewer!

The meeting expressed its sense of the gross impropriety of such acts as that reported by Mr. Dunne, and Mr. Graves mentioned that the outrage had probably occurred in consequence of the absence of the incumbent, the parish being at present vacant.

Mr. Dunne also forwarded accurate measurements of the tomb, bearing an Irish inscription, which he had discovered in Killamory church-yard; and in allusion to the recent communication of Mr. D'Alton, on the finding of the beam of timber in the rath of Curraleigh, mentioned the fact of squared beams of oak having been discovered projecting horizontally from the bottom of the rath of Poulacapple into the entrenchment at its base; and which were left untouched by the excavators, lest their removal might provoke the anger of the "good people." Some very curious folk-lore, respecting the same rath, was also communicated by Mr. Dunne.

Mr. John O'Daly contributed an Irish poem on the origin of armorial bearings, of which he gives the following account:—

"This curious poem and translation are preserved in a MS. translation into English, of Dr. Keating's *Forus Feasa ar Eirinn*, made by Michael Kearney of Ballyloskye, in the County Cross of Tipperary, A.D. 1635-65, now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, being among the collection made by that ardent lover of the language and literature of his country—the late ever-to-be-lamented William Elliot Hudson, Esq., who bought it from me, and whose library, I understand, was bequeathed to that institution. The book turned up at the sale of colonel Howard's library, at Sharpe's auction rooms, Dublin, in 1847; and I became the purchaser, and sold it afterwards to Mr. Hudson. It is written in the most beautiful style of penmanship, both English and Irish, and in all probability is the copy which the earl of Orrery got translated for the express purpose of seeing whether the work was calculated to inflame the minds of the peasantry to open rebellion, as was generally supposed at the time. Michael Kearney was the translator of the poem on 'The Kings of the Race of Eibhear,' which I published in 1847, a copy of which I presented to the Society some time ago. He is the earliest known English versifier of Irish poetry; which, however deficient in rhythm, critics should not sneer at, if they only consider the imperfect state of the English language at the time. He introduces the poem as follows:—

"THE ARMS OF THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

"The Use of Armes and Escouchions is anciently observed by the Irishry, in imitation of y^e Children of Israell, who began to vse them in Egypt (at which time the Ancestor of all the Irishry, called 3aoibh, or Gathelus, there liued), which Armes, the

Israellits at their passing through y^e Redd Seas, vnder the conduct of Moyes, did carry in their severall Banners. They were in all Twelue Tribes, and each Tribe had a certaine number of men vnder his own command wth Dictinct Banners and Armes.

The Tribe of	Ruben	Did give in Banners	Mandraga.
	Symeon		A Speare.
	Levi		The Arcke.
	Juda		A Lyon.
	Isacore		The Asse.
	Sdabulon		A Shipp.
	Neptalem		The picture of an Oxe.
	Gad		The picture of a Lyonesse.
	Ioseph		A Bull.
	Beniamen		A Woulfe.
	Dan		A Serpent.
	Aser		An Olive branch.

"And that these Armes formerly mentioned were those which the children of Israell did beare in their Banners, it is warranted by an ancient Irish Rhyme extant in the olde booke of Leackine in Ormond within the County of Tipperary, which Rhyme in Irish, and translated into English, Disticke for Disticke, is as followeth :—

Այնք ծաղ չա՛հ մեյրիշէ ո՞րն,
 Ի՞նչ Եւրոպայի լա՛ծօն;
 Եւրոպայի չա՛հ Եւրոպայի,
 Այժա մեյրիշէ այնք Եւրոպայի.

Display I will in their Banners, what Armes
 Holly [holy] Jacob's issue blazed;
 Ffor others scarce their names did knowe,
 Which kept them still outrazed.

Եւրոպայի լա՛ծ Եւրոպայի,
 Ի՞նչ Եւրոպայի լա՛ծօն;
 Եւրոպայի չա՛հ Եւրոպայի,
 Այժա մեյրիշէ այնք Եւրոպայի.

The Tribe of Ruben full blessed with grace,
 Mandrake for Armes vsed;
 And long happy dayes their liues out spent,
 And worthy warriours raised.

Եւրոպայի լա՛ծ Եւրոպայի,
 Ի՞նչ Եւրոպայի լա՛ծօն;
 Եւրոպայի չա՛հ Եւրոպայի,
 Այժա մեյրիշէ այնք Եւրոպայի.

A Javelin speare for Marahiall show,
 Most dreadfull Symeon granting;
 None wiser was then hee, I say,
 To tame his foes with mangling.

Եւրոպայի լա՛ծ Եւրոպայի,
 Ի՞նչ Եւրոպայի լա՛ծօն;
 Եւրոպայի չա՛հ Եւրոպայի,
 Այժա մեյրիշէ այնք Եւրոպայի.

The Tribe of Levi by the Arck preserved,
 Ffor wealth most rich and manners;
 Presaging cleere their future weale,
 Did beare the Arck in their Banners.

Եւրոպայի լա՛ծ Եւրոպայի,
 Ի՞նչ Եւրոպայի լա՛ծօն;
 Եւրոպայի չա՛հ Եւրոպայի,
 Այժա մեյրիշէ այնք Եւրոպայի.

The Rampant Lyon did Juda Tribe,
 With honour in field maintaine;
 Which free from feare and vndaunted mynes,
 Their Banners still kept from staine.

Եւրոպայի լա՛ծ Եւրոպայի,
 Ի՞նչ Եւրոպայի լա՛ծօն;
 Եւրոպայի չա՛հ Եւրոպայի,
 Այժա մեյրիշէ այնք Եւրոպայի.

Isacare's Tribe that golden mynes,
 For purity dearely kept;
 Their Banners blazoned with the Asse,
 Did them most highly Decke.

Եւրոպայի լա՛ծ Եւրոպայի,
 Ի՞նչ Եւրոպայի լա՛ծօն;
 Եւրոպայի չա՛հ Եւրոպայի,
 Այժա մեյրիշէ այնք Եւրոպայի.

Enclined to Seas stoute Stabulon's Tribe
 In their banners a Shipp pourtrayed,
 And Neptune's waues did traverse oft,
 With stronge fleets still arrayed.

Եւրոպայի լա՛ծ Եւրոպայի,
 Ի՞նչ Եւրոպայի լա՛ծօն;
 Եւրոպայի չա՛հ Եւրոպայի,
 Այժա մեյրիշէ այնք Եւրոպայի.

The pollard's place in Collours bore,
 With Neptalem's Eagerly Tribe;
 In warlike feates they terrible were,
 And with them valiant men did side.

Մեյրնո ԷՅ Երեյծ Յիւս Է Դ-Յեծ Յոր,
Մար Յայն Եյոր Էր Եար-Էօմար;
Ոո՛ւ Էր Էյր Դե Բիւո՛ւ Բայնո,
Յա՛ւ Լաո՛ւ Դիր Դար Դաօյ-Դայնո.

The Tribe of Gad a Lyonesse boare,
To warr their minds advancing;
In time of neede not Dastard like,
These Champions fell a pranceinge.

Մեյրնո Դար Էան Յո Դոն Դայն,
Շոյր ԷՅ Երեյծ Լօրեթ Դայնո;
Տայնո Դա Դիւո՛ւ Եա՛ւ,
Յի Երո՛ւ Եար Եարնա.

Noble Joseph's Tribe being greates for
A Bull to show their might; [strength,
Embraceinge peace they boare that Coate,
And leade their Courses right.

Երեւ Երարար Յո Դայն Դար,
Դո Ե Է մայնո Դր Դայնո;
Մեյրնո Դար Էր Ե-Բալ Ե-Բո՛ւ,
Դայնո Դար Էա՛ւ Եարնո.

The forward Tribe of Benjamin,
Over other Ensignes raised;
In their banner the Woulfe its fiercefoll hae,
That hopefull Tribe appeased.

Երեւ Եար Եա Եարեւ Էր Երեւ,
Դարնո Դայնո Եոյ Դայնո;
Երեւ Դե Դայնո Եա Դոյն Եե,
Մար Դարնո Դայնո Է մայնո.

Dan's Dangerous Tribe to spoyle disposed,
In their Coate a greene serpent bore;
A Banner fitt for miscreants,
Their venomous minds to plore.

Երեւ Դար Դար Երար Եր Երեւ,
Մեյրնո Եար Եար Դար Եար;
Մար Դար Դարնո Է Դոյն,
Դր Երեւ Դարնո Դարնո Եա.

And bountyfull Aser's noble Tribe,
An Olive branch imbraced;
Of other Coates they did it choose,
Their hearts it fittly faced.

Դո Դարնո Դալ Է Երեւ,
Դո Դարնո Դե Է մայնո;
Մար Դար Դայնո Դա Երեւ Եե,
Դար Դար Է Դարնո Դար Դար.

Thus Israell's Trybes in number twelue,
I offerred to the view;
Their Ensignes Deare displayed to life,
I blazoned for their due.

A.-J.-C.-M.-G.

Display I will, &c."

The following paper was forwarded to the Secretaries by the Rev. A. B. Rowan, D.D., Belmont, Tralee, on the much vexed question of the supposed monument at Holy Cross:—

"When the Rev. Mr. Graves in acknowledging my former paper on the Holy Cross monument, remarked (with that quiet good humour which always impresses an observation more forcibly) how singular it was that three of those who had written on this subject (namely, Sir William Betham, Dr. Petrie, and myself, unworthy to be named with these authorities) *had never seen the monument at all!* I confess I was at once struck with my own rashness, in venturing even a speculation on the case without ocular inspection, and determined to remedy the error on the first opportunity; accordingly, on a late journey to Dublin, by leaving an early train at Thurles, I was enabled to spend an hour or two at Holy Cross, resuming my journey in the evening.

"Before I proceed to correct my own misapprehensions concerning this monument, I must offer a few words in reference to Mr. Cooke's last paper on the subject. I own that with the *printed* Transactions of the Society before me, it never occurred to me to refer 'either to him or to his MS. in custody of the Secretary' for more correct versions of his opinions, but from the moment I understood from him that his paper in the Transactions for 1849, was not only 'incorrectly printed' but 'curtailed,' of course any further critical examination of it was at an end, nor do I recur to it now with that view when I observe that what I really did assert as to Mr. Cooke's view, was *in terms* thus: 'The *general* bearing of the arguments and local traditions on which Mr. Cooke relies, *would seem* to identify the 'Good Woman's Son' with a certain Feorus Fionn.' Surely this does not charge him with delivering any absolute dogmatic opinion on the subject, though I still think that any one reading his paper, *as printed*, might fairly conclude that the bearing of his opinion was in favour of the view of the 'Triumphalia.'

"Again, accepting Mr. Cooke's correction of the misprint 'seven' for *seven/teen*, still it does not make his calculation accurate. Queen Elenor's first husband died A.D.

1216; Feorus Fionn died 1233. Unless 'the funeral baked-meats did coldly furnish forth the marriage feast,' she could not have married her second husband for a decent interval after the death of the first, and even if we make Feorus Fionn the *eldest* of her six children by her second husband, he could not be more than *fifteen* years of age in 1233; at least he *could* not, without an imputation on his mother's fair fame and repute, which I am sure Mr. Cooke would be as far as myself from casting on any 'Good Woman.'

"I now recur to the monument itself, and have to make acknowledgment of more than one erroneous impression derived from the general description of others, and from plates, which though they give the monument with sufficient accuracy, give no proper idea of its position in the building in which it is erected. 'From Dr. Petrie's observation,' that 'it occupied the place of the founder's tomb,' I was led to picture it to myself as in the north chancel wall—and from prints in the 'Dublin Penny Journal' and Mr. Sainthill's 'Olla Podrida,' I had imagined it placed at an elevation from the ground, inconsistent with the idea of its being a sedilia, whereas I found it in the south chancel wall (the usual position of a founder's tomb being occupied by a monument of the O'Fogarty family), and its elevation from the ground presents no difficulty to the supposition that it may have been a sedilia, while the disproportioned height of the monument also gives an impression of the compartments being narrower than they are in reality. A portly abbot with flowing vestments would scarce be accommodated, but three ordinary men *wight* find sitting room in the compartments, though in a crowded fashion, scarce compatible with solemnity. I say this in fairness to the advocates of the sedilia theory, though I must own that closer inspection does not induce me much more to their views of the question. My original idea that the slab or seat (as the case may be) had been an ancient altar covering-stone, was completely disproved on inspection—it is obviously a sepulchral slab, and strange to say does not fill or fit the place in which it lies—it is too short by about a foot and a-half, and is altogether so incongruous to the monument itself as to suggest either of two notions concerning it—it was either an original tomb slab which occupied the place of the monument before its erection, and was retained in its position through respect, or veneration, or else it was introduced as a make-shift covering at a later period after the original, a fully-fitting slab, had been removed or broken—if we could obtain any details of that examination of the tomb which Mr. Cooke mentions as having been made no long time since, we might learn something as to the placing of this stone in its present position.

"The question which I suggested as to the existence of a low window for watching the Easter tomb, was also settled in the negative, the very remarkable plan of Holy Cross Abbey, in having four chapels running parallel with the chancel, two on each side, rendered the existence of any such window impossible.

"From a paper of Mr. Prim's which mentions a rubbing taken from the escutcheon supposed to bear the Desmond arms, I had thought the question settled that the bearings on the shield were the ermine marks of the field—on inspection, however, it appears to me, either that the carving had been defaced since the rubbing was taken, or, if remaining uninjured, that the bearings, *if ermine marks*, are very rudely sculptured, and that they may well be 'pears' according to Mr. Cooke's last suggestion—'apples' are altogether out of the question.

"I must now mention a feature of the monument of which I have seen no notice hitherto, and which may have a bearing on Mr. Cooke's legend of the 'Good Woman's Son,' whoever that mysterious person may prove to be.

"The whole monument has to me the appearance of a monastic caprice, executed not according to any strict principles of construction, but after the plan of some designer who consulted his own fancy rather than severe rules, or proportions of art; indeed the whole building (marked on almost every stone of the interior with some masonic device) abounds with *capricios*, which would seem to have been suggested by some irregular taste to 'puzzle posterity,'—the interspace marked by twisted columns separating the two chapels opening off the south transept, presents a subject for conjecture as to its use, quite as perplexing as the chancel monument itself.

"Among these caprices, may be reckoned one of those light and elegant columns, which divide our monument into compartments. About half way up the column there are the remains of a delicately carved head or bust, *standing out in relief from the pillar*, and which must have been carved out of the solid stone, of which the pillar is composed, with great labour, and at the same time with the pillar itself. The head is much defaced, some rude hand has knocked away a large portion of it, but enough remains to show

that the original execution of the head was elaborate, that the direction of the face was towards the altar, and that the effigy was intended for a youthful, if not angelic countenance. The other pillar bears no trace of any similar sculpture.

"A question naturally arises as to what can have been the object of a carving, so elaborate and minute, in such a position, an *excrescence* as it were on the symmetry of the monument—having once had the idea of Mr. Cooke's legend presented to the mind, one cannot shut out the suggestion that this effigy may have been intended to commemorate the 'Son of the Good Woman;' if this idea be rejected, the feature (a peculiar one) remains to be accounted for.

"As to my own idea, that this monument may have been 'The Easter altar-tomb,' I have nothing to add to the original suggestion further than that I have often seen such tombs in similar positions below the sedilia on the south chancel wall of ancient churches. I am bound, however, to add, that as I never saw sedilia so very narrow, so I never saw altar-tombs divided into compartments like those at Holy Cross.

"Mr. Cooke thinks my speculation as to the phrase 'Good Woman's Son' being a periphrasis to signify our Blessed Lord, worth consideration, but objects to the parallel expression I adduced of '*the Man above*' as used by the Irish peasant to signify God, as though I had mistaken an Irish term for an English one. But I beg to say that since I saw his paper, I have communicated with one of our best Irish scholars, and he confirms me in stating that the phrase used by our peasantry is that I have stated '*Par an ard*' 'the Man on high.'

"I fear my paper, being little more than a correction of mistakes, will be scarce worth reading to the Society: but I felt bound, as a member, to 'report progress' as to my examination of the question at issue. I shall only say now, in conclusion, that if Holy Cross Abbey lies within the region to which the cares of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society extend, a little care would be well bestowed in interesting some party in its further preservation and better ordering—having seen at Muckcross, in my own county, what gradual and judicious attention can do in removing the unsightly defilements which too often disfigure popular burial-grounds, without doing any violence to prejudice or feeling, I am sure much might be done at Holy Cross to put it in more decent order, and allow tourists and antiquarians to admire it with less offence to every sense than at present. Much might also be done at small expense in tracing out the ground-plan of the abbey; and I am sure that any member who would induce the proprietor to join our archaeological corps and second archaeological researches and clearances at Holy Cross, would do 'yeoman service' in reference to one of the most interesting ruins in Ireland."

Mr. Graves pointed out, that Dr. Rowan had mistaken the bearings on the shield, which were clearly neither apples nor pears, but ermine spots, as might be seen by reference to similar carvings of arms on the tombs of the Sweetman family in Newtown church, county of Kilkenny, on Purcell's Cross, in St. Patrick's cemetery, Kilkenny, and on various monuments in St. Canice's Cathedral and Kilcooly Abbey.

GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Society's Apartments, Patrick-street, Kilkenny,
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2nd, 1853,

JOHN JAMES, Esq., M.R.C.S.I., in the Chair.

The following Members were elected:—The Countess of Shannon; the Rev. A. F. Stopford, Hamerton, Huntingdon; Richard Frankland, Esq., Ashgrove House, Queenstown; and James Hugh Smith Barry, Esq., Foata Island, Queenstown: proposed by Lord James Butler.

Captain Hamilton, St. Kieran's, Parsonstown; the Rev. Thomas Hayden, Sraduff, Parsonstown; the Rev. Cornelius O'Brien, P.P.;

Lorrha, Borrisokane; Frederick Hamilton, Esq., Sharragh Lodge, Parsonstown; and James Blacker Morgan, Esq., 117, Lower Gardiner-street, Dublin: proposed by Mr. William B. De Rythre.

Francis H. Sheilds, Esq., Parsonstown; Rev. William M'Ilwaine, A.M. Belfast; Charles De la Cherois Purdon, Esq., M.D., Belfast; the Rev. John Quinn, P.P., Magherafelt; William Kelly, Esq., the Mall, Armagh; Charles Stanley, Esq., Roohan House, Dungannon; Alexander Patton, Esq., M.B., L.R.C.S.I., Tanderagee, county Armagh; George Stephenson, Esq., Lisburn; and P. Dillon, Esq., Greenock: proposed by Mr. Richard Hitchcock.

John Nugent, Esq., AB., M.B., 14, Rutland-square, East, Dublin; Charles Uniacke Townsend, Esq., Carrickmacross, county of Monaghan; Aquilla Smith, Esq., M.D., 121, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin; John James Leckey, Esq. D.L., Ballykealy, Ballon, county of Carlow; J. Richardson Smith, Esq., Glenburn Cottage, Loch Gilphead, Argyleshire; Wm. Barker, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A., Professor of Natural History, Royal Dublin Society; John Flood, Esq., View Mount, Whitehall, Baginabstown; and John Swithenbank, Esq., Solicitor, 8, Park-row, Leeds: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

Mr. Patrick Aylward, Coal-market, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. J. F. Shearman.

Edward O'Shaughnessy, Esq., Clonmel: proposed by Mr. Michael Kearney, Clonmel.

Charles Newport, Esq., 15, William-street, Waterford: proposed by Mr. Joseph Greene, jun.

John L. Conn, Esq., Mount Ida, New Ross; Dr. Samuel Chaplin, Carlow; Mr. Michael Molony, Clerk of the Union, Kilkenny; and Messrs. T. Montgomery and Son, House Painters, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. J. G. A. Prim.

Augustus W. Franks, Esq., A.M., British Museum; and Mr. Thomas Hornage, T.C., Parsonstown: proposed by Mr. T. L. Cooke.

Francis Carroll, Esq., C.E., County Surveyor, Stanfield, Wexford: proposed by Mr. Samson Carter, jun.

Mr. Robert Goodbody, Mountmellick: proposed by Mr. Joseph Burke.

James Poe, Esq., Solicitor, Parade, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. A. Denroche.

Mr. J. A. Grace, Christian Brothers' School, Richmond-street, North, Dublin: proposed by Mr. John O'Daly.

John Kinsella, Esq., Waterford; and Mr. James Dobbryn, Mullinavat: proposed by Mr. Patrick Cody.

The following presentations were received, and thanks for them ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the author, Richard Sainthill, Esq., Cork, *Olla Podrida*, Vol. ii., privately printed.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, its *Journal*, No. 39.

By the Geological Society of Dublin, its *Journal*, vol. v. part 3.

By Aquilla Smith, Esq., M.D., the *Supplement* to his Catalogue of Irish Tradesmens' Tokens.

By the author, the Rev. J. R. Brown, three tracts, viz.: *A Translation of the Vafthrudnismal, from the Edda, an Interpretation of the Ygdea-sill*, and *a Translation of Cath Soduinn*.

By the Publisher, the *Builder*.

By Mr. John Spread, a drawing of a bronze bridle-bit, found six feet beneath the surface of a peat bog, in the ploughland of West Loughane, near Blarney, now preserved in Mr. Spread's collection.

By the Rev. James Mease, counterfeit casts of a bronze sword and two bronze celts, as well for the purpose of enabling collectors to distinguish between real and genuine antiquities, as because they were accurate *fac-similes* of the latter. Many similar counterfeits have been sold as genuine. Also, an antique iron spur, the pedigree of which the donor did not vouch for.

By Lord James Butler, several specimens of the gun-money of James II., for the purpose of completing the Society's set of this coinage.

By Mr. Francis R. Davies, Dublin, three leaden bullets, one of which appeared to have been flattened against a cuirass, and a plated button, recently picked up by him on the field of Aughrim.

By the Rev. James Graves, a curious bronze pin, with moveable ring-head, ornamented by looped knobs, also some old coins, comprising a short-cross penny of Henry III., a three-crown Irish groat, and specimens of Confederate and gun-money.

By Sir E. D. Borrowes, Bart., an impression from the steel die of the seal of the ducal family of De la Rochefoucauld, brought over to Ireland by one of that family, a refugee, at the close of the seventeenth century, and from whom the donor is descended.

By the Rev. G. S. Faber, Sherburne House, Durham, an impression of the personal seal of William de Brock, temp. Hen. II., accompanied by the following observations:—

"I observe in an article by the Rev. James Graves, p. 88, vol. i. of the Society's *Transactions*, that seals in the form of the *vesica piscis*, though originally ecclesiastical, were in after times, used indiscriminately both for lay and ecclesiastical purposes. What may perhaps interest the members, I send a somewhat bungling impression of a curious seal which was dug up in the church-yard of Long-Newton, Comit. Dumelm., while I was rector of that parish; I sent an impression to our late antiquary, Mr. Surtees. The exterior legend is perfectly plain—'Sigillum Willelmi de Broc;' the interior one, somewhat perplexed. Mr. Surtees told me that William de Broc was lord of Hurworth, a place about six miles from Long-Newton, temp. Henrici II. He supposed that he must have lost it from his neck, when on a visit to Long-Newton, there being a hole in the shank for the purpose of inserting a small cord. The seal, he said, was valuable from its rareness; it being usual to break them up on the death of the proprietor. My chief object in sending it is, a confirmation of Mr. Graves' opinion that the *vesica piscis* was the shape of seals either lay or ecclesiastical. According to Mr. Surtees, this innovation must have crept in so early as the 12th century. I cannot say whether De Broc of Hurworth was related to the De Broc who was one of the assassins of Beckett. Yet it may have been the seal of an ecclesiastic, a cadet of the Hurworth house of De Broc. You will observe an agnus and cross in the centre."

By Mr. Samson Carter, C.E., a large number of interesting specimens of encaustic tiles dug up by him last summer, during an exploration of one of the abbeys of the ancient deserted town of Clonmines, on the shore of Bannow bay, county of Wexford; they afforded some new types

of ornamentation, especially a graceful running border-pattern of vine leaves.

The Secretary laid on the table a quantity of similar objects found during the works at present in progress at Jerpoint Abbey, and which it was interesting to observe generally presented specimens of similar patterns to those found at Clonmines; also, a perfect example of one of the ancient roofing-slates of Jerpoint Abbey.

Mr. Graves said that he had on a former occasion alluded to the destruction caused at Dunbrody Abbey by the storm of Christmas eve, 1852. At a recent visit made by him to that ruin—now a ruin indeed—he was shocked to find the noble pile choked by heaps of rubbish, the debris of the fallen arcade. A few pounds expended in propping the structure would have prevented the fall of that building, but so far from this having been done, he actually heard the agent of the noble owner, lord Templemore, assert the astounding opinion that the abbey was *improved* by the fall of the arcade—the ruin being rendered more picturesque thereby! He thought that this meeting would hardly agree in the opinion propounded by that gentleman. Mr. Graves further stated he was informed that immediate steps would be taken to preserve what remained. Better late than never, he should say.

Dr. Johnson asked whether the splendid west window, which he had remembered to have seen in the abbey of Dunbrody, had escaped from ruin?

Mr. Graves said he was sorry to say that it had not. That splendid specimen of architecture had, however, fallen many years ago. The rumour of the locality was, that a neighbouring clergyman had asked permission of the lord Templemore of the day to execute some necessary repairs on it at *his own expense*, but was refused permission, in not the most civil manner, being told to mind his own affairs. He (Mr. Graves) hoped that this was not true—he only told the tale as it was told to him.

The Secretary said it was his further unpleasant duty to refer to the demolition of an interesting feature which, up to this summer, adorned the beautiful old church of Thomastown. The chancel of this fine structure had been taken down about forty years since to build the present church, and the south arcade had fallen many years ago, one Sunday morning, from the sure but slow progress of time and decay; but one fine arcade and an interesting two-light side-aisle window had remained, on the north-side, to delight the student of ancient church architecture. What was his dismay, when, on a visit to Thomastown, early in the October of this year, he found this window demolished, its shattered arch and graceful mullion forming a pile of rubbish beneath a yawning breach in the wall! On inquiry he learned that it had been deliberately taken down to prevent the urchins of the village from pilaging the nests of the birds who built in the adjoining parts of the ruin! For his part, and he was sure every lover of antiquity would agree with him, he thought that some broken glass would equally have answered the end in view. He had reason to know that the rector of the parish, the Rev. Mr. Irwin, who had been an active promoter of the repair of

Jerpoint Abbey, had never sanctioned the defacement of the ancient church of Thomastown.

Mr. Francis A. Dunlevy forwarded, through Mr. Hitchcock, an account of the recent discovery of an inscribed stone, found many feet below the surface of the turf bog of Moorestown, near Dingle, and promised to furnish further particulars thereof on a future occasion.¹

The Rev. P. Moore, R.C.C., Rosbercon, communicated the following tradition, which, as he states, "goes to show how tradition may be relied on even when handed down through many generations. At Ballyknock I talked to an old man named Bryan Neill; after some conversation I told him he had a good Irish name, but a northern one rather than from this part of the country. He told me 'his family originally came from the north, and were settled in this county as long before the battle of Anghrim as since it was fought; one of the O'Neills married the lord Mountgarret, she brought six boys and six girls with her, she died after twelve months' time, and all the O'Neills went back again to the north, except one who became a *servant* to the "Ridiri Frenigh," and remained in Ballyknock ever since.'"

In reference to the paper of Mr. Hackett, on the subject of bovine traditions, read at the last meeting of the Society, Mr. Graves said he had received a letter from the Rev. G. S. Faber, stating the interest which he felt in the matter. Mr. Faber observed:—"I have no doubt that the legend of the cows is immediately connected with the mixed Arkite and Sabian superstition. In perhaps every region the cow was the symbol of the ark, but, at the same time, from the resemblance of its horns to a lunar crescent, was the sidereal type of the moon. I have entered very fully into discussions of this nature in my large work on Pagan Idolatry; and all the facts that have since come to light, confirm me in the justice of my principles. Much of the superstitions of Ireland were carried thither, I believe, at a very early period, by a branch of the Palli, or Shepherd Kings, when they were finally driven out of Egypt by the native princes, synchronically with the emigration of Israel, and in consequence of the destruction in the Red Sea, which finally broke their power. I remember a curious passage in Diodorus to this effect; but I cannot, without some trouble, lay my hand upon it. I suspect that there is a good deal of truth hidden under the writings of general Vallancey; but, unfortunately, his mode of reference to his authorities is such, that one knows not what to make of it. Identity in *matters arbitrary*, which is the case with all the old mythologies that I have encountered, proves a *common origination*; and that origination we cannot fix later than the dispersion from Babel. Here I think Mr. Bryant was wrong in his supposition, that the Cuttites *alone* were concerned in the Babel enterprise. Such a circumstance cannot account for the *identity of superstition* in all parts of the world, though he employs all his ingenuity to make out a case."

Mr. M. Walsh, Mullinavat, forwarded a drawing of an escutcheon of the arms of White, impaling Walsh, sculptured on the holy-water stoup

¹ This stone, having been purchased by the Rev. A. B. Rowan, D.D., has been de-

posited by him in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.—Eds.

of the Friary Chapel, Lady-lane, Waterford. On either side were the names, Jacobus White, and Hellen Welshe, beneath was the date, 1626.

Mr. Graves laid before the Society, by permission of the marquis of Ormonde, two interesting documents, from the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle. He observed that the Edmond Meara, whose name appears at the close of the subjoined letter, was probably the son or nephew of Dermot O'Meara, a physician, of Ballyragget, who composed a Latin poem on Thomas, the tenth earl of Ormonde, printed in 1615. Edmond seems to have followed Dermot's profession, and his letter to the duke of Ormonde, now verging towards his last days, and suffering from "noise and palpitation," arising from "y^e spleene," is a curious example of the medical practice of the period, and of cautious professional advice. The receipt for "spleene broth," found with Meara's letter, although written in a different hand, has an addition in the writing of the former:—

"Dublin, 2 Januar., 1674.

"May it please yo^r Grace—I am not apt to believe y^e diett and exercise alone will helpe [. . .],¹ and since nothing hath as yett agreed with you better than yo^r usuall pills ordered by Dr. ffennell, I think yo^r Grace may do well to use them daily for tenn or twelve dayes in a lesser dose than hitherto: but besides in the very beginning of y^e spring more bleeding will be of absolute necessity. My Lord, I would gladly know whether y^e night you took y^e pills sent from heare, you were that night in good measure free from y^e noise and palpitation, if so it is possible they may be so ordered as to work according to your mind, and produce that effect also. Yo^r Grace believes and it is my judgm^t that both these symptoms proceede originally from y^e spleene which in one season seldome admitts of a cure; and comonly y^e last recourse is to minerrall waters, whereof yo^r Grace may have choice either in England or Ireland, where yo^r affairs will require your aboad: this is y^e sence and humble advice of, my Lord, your Graces faithful serv^t.

"EDM. MEARA."

The letter was addressed—"to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, at Kilkenny Castle." Endorsed, in the Duke's hand—"Dr. Meara 2 of Jan. 74, rec. 3 [Jan.]." The seal, three lions passant gardant palewise, within a bordure semé of crescents. Accompanying this letter was the following recipe:—

"To make y^e spleene broth used by my lady of Thurles by Doctor ffennells direction:—

"Tak a good bige coke chickin or younge pullet with a little peece of a knole of veale, put y^m in 3 quarts of water, let y^m boyle and skim it very well, then putt in these ingrediences following: mayden hayre, seaterike, harts tonge, agremony, pellepodium of y^e oake well scraped and stiff, halfe an ounce, a few reasons of y^e sunne stoned, a little anneseeds, with a blade of mase, and a sprige of rosemary. Let these all boyle, Lett haelfe the broth be consumed, y^e take haelfe a pint of this broth in y^e morninge, and as much in y^e afternoone about 4 or five a cloke.' (In a different hand) 'The barke of y^e roote of capers, and y^e middle barke of tameriske as much as of each of y^e other engredients to be added in y^e making of this broth: half a drame of cramer tartar to be dissolved in every dose.'"

Mr. J. F. Ferguson, conservator of the records of the court of exchequer, Dublin, and the efficient local correspondent of the Society,

¹ The original is here injured by damp.

forwarded for exhibition a portion of the original roll of common pleas, held before Roger Outlaw, prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, and lieutenant of John Darcy le Cosyn, justice of Ireland, 4th Edward III. The membrane contained the record of a curious custom of the ancient feudal law, namely, that of the appeal or trial of battle; in this case the appellant or challenger was a lady, viz. Avelina, widow of John de Bermingham, who accused a number of persons, apparently amongst the most respectable proprietors of Louth, comprising the Gernouns of Gernonstowna (now Castle Bellingham), the Haddessers, Clyntons, Cusaks; Everards, Pypards, &c., of the murder of her husband, and appealing them, or demanding the wager of battle (of course by her champion or champions) against them. The accused did not appear, and were ordered to be attached by the sheriff. The accused, indeed, seem to have formed too powerful a faction to be within the reach of the law, for the sheriff returns that they repelled (*deforciaverunt*) his officers *vi et armis*, so that they scarce escaped with their lives. The *posse committatus* is then ordered out, and the sheriff in person at its head desired to execute the attachment; but he fails, and the widowed Avelina in vain appears at Cashel, Trim, and Dublin, and elsewhere, seeking for justice against the slayers of her husband. The record is, unfortunately, imperfect towards the end, and the final result is not ascertainable.

Mr. Graves said that the history of this interesting fragment of the national records was invested with (to the student of Irish history) a sad interest. It so happened that, through the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, rector of Clyst St. George, in Devonshire, and one of the members of this Society, Mr. Ferguson came to the knowledge that in the chateau of a German gentleman, the baron de Lassberg, on the lake of Constance, in Switzerland, there were laid up many of the ancient national records of Ireland, the baron having bought them from a Frankfort Jew, a dealer in such matters, some years since. Mr. Ferguson had laid the matter before the authorities in England, in order to give the nation the option of recovering its property. With a supineness perfectly unaccountable, however, no notice was taken of the matter; and Mr. Ferguson, unwilling that such precious documents should be lost, proceeded, at his own expense, in the course of last summer, to the baron de Lassberg's Swiss castle, and succeeded in purchasing from him the manuscripts in question. How or at what time they were stolen from our Irish record depositories, Mr. Ferguson was unable to learn, although he proceeded to Frankfort on his return, for that purpose. But he (Mr. Graves) could not help saying, that the entire occurrence was calculated to awaken government to the present disgraceful state of the public records in Ireland. When such a fraud as caused the abstraction of such documents as those in question, was possible, how could we be sure that any of them were safe. Fire had done its work on some of the records; damp was and is, slowly but surely, working the defacement of others; and peculation may be still at work, whilst one depository was until lately in the care of a common porter! Lord chancellors and lord chief justices, their *legal guardians*, recked little of their loss or gain—whilst *their* underlings again delegated their duty to inferior hands, until at

last responsibility became so much divided that it was inoperative. Was such a state of things to last much longer?

Mr. Ferguson also forwarded the accounts rendered into the Irish court of exchequer by the seneschals (at that time equivalent to our sheriffs) of Kilkenny, in the 45th and 46th years of Henry III., together with the following very curious *memorandum*, being a copy of a transcript from the original parchment document in the British Museum (Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. xi.), of the 20th year of Hen. VI.

"The Lordes spiritual and temporall of your said Londe and the Commons of the same in your Parlement holden at Develyn the Fryday next after the fest of St. Martyn in Wynter last passed were fully advysed and assented that I & my fellow messer^s for the said Londe should deyre of you, sov'ain Lorde, to ordeyn a myghtye¹ of this youre Realm of Englande for to be your Lieuten^t of your said Londe; that tyme beyng there present the Erle of Ormond as Deputy to the Lorde Welles then your Lieut^t there. Please it your Highnesse to be enformed howe that if it had be [iseyn] goode & profitable for you & for your seide Londe for to have had the said Erle yo^r Lieuten^t he should have been named at the said Parlement, gyving you to understand that they all both Lordes spiritual & temporall & Commons there assembled considered in their wisdome that it was mooste expedient to your sov'ain Lorde to have to your Lieuten^t there a Lorde of the birth of this your noble Realme, whom yo^r people shew woll more favour & obey than to any man of that Londes birth. For men of this Realme kepe better Justice, execute your Laws, & favour more your common people & ever have done before thys tyme better than ever dyd any man of that Londe or ever is like to do. And please it your Highnesse to consider howe that it behoveth that he that shoulde be your Lieut^t there be a mighti courageous & laborous man to kepe the felde & and to make resistance against yo^r Enemyes in comforte & supportac'on of your true Lege people there, and none of thes ben seyn ne founde in y^e ad Erle for both hee is aged unwieldy & unlimty [. . .] hath for lak of labour loste in substance all his castelles towns & Lorde-shippes that he had within your said Londe, wherefore it is not likely that he shoulde conquer ne get any grounds to your sov'ain Lord that thus hath lost his own. [. . .] Moreover plesse it you to wete that at dyvers Parlements when that the said Erle hath the rule there he hath ordeyned & made Irish men & gromes & pages of his householde Knyghtes of the Shyre, the which wolde not in no wyse assent to no goode rule nor to no thing that shulde profite & avaylle to your sovran Lorde, and also hath suffered dyvers Lordes sp'ual & temporal to absent them from Parlements hereafore, takyng of them greates fynes to his singular avaylle there, as the profitte shoulde be youre."

This document has been alluded to by Leland in his "History of Ireland," vol. ii. p. 27, but, as Mr. Ferguson believes, never published in full.

Albert Way, Esq., forwarded a transcript of a very curious letter of the thirteenth century, from the archives of Canterbury Cathedral, being an epistle from David, bishop of Emly, to the prior of Christ's Church, Canterbury, in favour of David, treasurer of Emly, who had been entrusted with the suit of the said prior, against the prior of St. John's, Kilkenny, in the matter of the parishes of SS. Evin and Mary, of New Ross, then the property of the Canterbury monastic house. The bishop concludes by expressing his intention of visiting the shrine of St. Thomas, the martyr, ere he returned to Ireland. David O'Tussigh, abbot of Holy Cross, was elected bishop of Emly in 1275, and died in 1281. The letter is preserved in the treasury at Canterbury (*Cartae Antiquae* I. 240), and is as follows, the contracted words being here given *in extenso* :—

¹ Sic—the word "man" or "lord" probably omitted.

Frater D. miseratione divina Imelacensis episcopus venerabili viro ac religioso Fratri [~~blank~~] Priori Ecclesie Christi Cantuar' salutem in salutis auctore. Noverit discretio vestra quod nos executionem sententie late quondam per Theasaurarium Lysamore nobis per Romanum Pontificem comissam pro domo vestra contra Priorem et fratres domus sancti Johannis de Kylken' in solidum comissimus magistro David Theasaurario Ecclesie nostre, quem vestri gratia curialiter in domo vestra una cum socio suo admissistis, qui plenarie dictam executionem, mittendo vestros procuratores in possessionem Ecclesiarumstrarum Sancti Ewyni et Sancte Marie de nova Ross cum pertinentiis, eat executus, dictos priorem et fratres Kylken' propter eorum rebellionem, contradictionem, inobedienciam mandato Apostolico nobis super dictam executionem directo, cum suis fautoribus vinculo excommunicationis innodando, super quibus missione et executione pretextu dicte executionis factis multa dampna in rebus suis dictus noster clericus a regalibus ad petitionem dictorum prioris et conventus de Kylken' passus est, quare oportuit nos per mandatum Justic' Hibernie de exitibus prebende sue per triennium eidem respondere, de cujus prebende sue exitibus per dictum terminum nullum denarium nobis ad huc percepit. Quare vos rogamus, quatenus si placet ad honestatem curialitatis vestre observandam et ob salutem anime vestre, dum nemini beneficium necnon et officium debet esse juxta juris formam dampnosum, eundem magistrum commissarium nostrum super suis deperditis et dampnis, maxime cum moram trahit in scol', respicere velit, vobis significantes, quod si aliquid super est ad agendum in dicta executione, quod ipse juxta juris formam voluntatem vestram adimplebit, et antequam ad partes Hibernie accesserimus Tumbam beati Thome Martiris per dei gratiam visitare intendimus.¹ Valete.

Mr. Prim read a paper on the Market Cross of Kilkenny, which will be found printed at p. 219, *ante*.

Mr. Hitchcock communicated Notes made in the Archæological Court of the Great Exhibition of 1853, which are given at p. 280, *ante*.

¹ The last sentence, regarding a proposed visit by bishop David to the shrine of St. Thomas, is in paler coloured ink, and al-

though perhaps by the same hand as the rest of the letter, it seems to have been a postscript.

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